











THE  
MODERN PART  
OF AN  
Universal History,  
FROM THE  
Earliest ACCOUNT OF TIME.

Compiled from  
ORIGINAL WRITERS.

---

By the AUTHORS of the ANCIENT PART.

---

VOL. XLI.

---



---

L O N D O N :

Printed for T. OSBORNE, C. HITCH, A. MILLAR,  
JOHN RIVINGTON, S. CROWDER, B. LAW and  
Co. T. LONGMAN, and C. WARE.

---

M.DCC.LXIV.

## *The History of America.*

In the mean while, Sir *William*'s son, *William*, was adding the advantages of a liberal education to the uncommon sagacity he possessed from nature; but, from being an enemy, next to enthusiasm against the established church of *England*, he at last professed himself a quaker. While he was studying at *Christ Church, Oxford*, he and the lord *Spencer*, afterwards earl of *Sunderland*, so noted for the duplicity of his conduct, insulted the students and the clergy who appeared in turblices, and, becoming thereby obnoxious, they were by their parents sent into foreign parts to enlarge their ~~knowledge~~. Young *Penn*, when he was abroad, received an order from his father, on his being appointed admiral as aforesaid, to return home; and it is probable, that, by this time, both father and son had digested within themselves the plan of their future settlement. The juncture and dissolution of the ~~union~~ was likely favourable to their wishes. The royal ~~others~~ wanted to send out of *England* as many sectaries as they could, and thought that the government of them could not be more properly entrusted than with the *Penns*. The latter, on the other hand, could not without great grief see the harassments which those of their own persuasion every day suffered in *England*; and they had before their eyes the flourishing examples of *New England* and *Virginia* to encourage them in their intention of making like migrations of their own sect and their friends to *America*, where there were still vast tracts of unappropriated land to settle. Sir *William* died in the west of *England*, and was buried in *Bristol*; but probably left the plan of his settlement, in which it is said he was greatly assisted by a relation residing in *America*, with his son.

THE young gentleman, when his father died, was so much immersed in religious disputes that he had for some time no leisure to solicit the grant, which had actually been promised to his father by *Charles II.* But the persecution against his sect raging every day more and more, he obtained it in the year 1679; but was not actually invested with it till 1680-81. The allegations of Mr. *Penn's* petition were, a commendable desire to enlarge the *English* empire, and promote such useful commodities as may be of benefit thereto, as also to reduce the savage nations, by gentle and just manners, to the love of civil society, and the Christian religion. The boundaries granted by the charter to the said *William Penn*, and his heirs were, "all that tract, or part of land in *America*, with the islands therein contained, as the same is bounded on the east by *Delaware river*, from twelve miles distance northwards of *Newcastle town*, unto the three and ~~forty~~eth degree: of northern latitude, if the river doth and his charter.

extend so far northward : but, if the said river shall not extend so far northward, then by the said river, so far as it doth extend ; and, from the head of the laid river, the eastern bounds are to be determined by a meridian line, to be drawn from the head of the said river unto the said forty-third degree. The said land to extend westward five degrees in longitude, to be computed from the said eastern bounds ; and the said lands to be bounded on the north by the beginning of the thirty-ninth fortieh degree of northern latitude, and, on the south, by a circle drawn at twelve miles distance from Newcastle northward, and westward unto the beginning of the fortieth degree of northern latitude, and then, by a straight line westwards to the limits of longitude abovementioned.

HAVING thus described the bounds laid down by this charter, &c. it will be necessary for the understanding the history of *Pennsylvania*, that we give a summary of the chief articles of this famous charter, which is justly thought to be a ~~master~~ piece of provincial legislation, and was the basis of many succeeding disputes between the proprietary and the planters.

THE third section secures the true and absolute property *Contents of* of the said province to Mr. *Penn*, but with the saving of his *the same* allegiance and the sovereignty of the *English* crown. The fourth section grants to him, his heirs, &c. full and absolute power, for the good and happy government of the said country ; to ordain, make, and enact, and under his or their seals, to publish any laws whatsoever, for the raising of money for public uses of the said province, or, for any other end appertaining either unto the publick state, peace, or safety of the said country, or unto the private utility of particular persons, according to their best discretion ; by and with the advice, assent, and approbation of the freemen of the said country, or the greater part of them, or of their delegates and deputies, to be assembled in such sort and form, as to him and them shall seem best, and as often as need shall require. The fifth section gives Mr. *Penn* a power to erect courts of judicature for the administration of the aforesaid laws, provided they be consonant to reason, and not repugnant or contrary, but (as near as conveniently may be) agreeable, to the laws and statutes and rights of *England* ; with a saving to the crown in case of appeals. The sixth impowers Mr. *Penn* to make additional laws, or bye-laws, as occasion shall offer (A), but still agreeable to the laws of *England* ; so as the said ordi-

(A) Though we only mention Mr. *Penn*, yet his heirs, executors, &c. are included.

## The History of America.

nances be not extended in any sort to bind, change, or take away the right or interest of any person or persons for, or in, their life, members, freehold, goods, or chattels.

By the seventh section it is provided that a transcript or duplicate of all laws, so made and published as aforesaid, shall, within five years after the making therof, be transmitted and delivered to the privy council for the time being; and, if declared by the king in council inconsistent with the sovereignty or lawful prerogative of the crown, and contrary to the faith and allegiance due to the legal government of this realm, shall be adjudged void. The eighth, ninth, tenth, eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth sections contain little, but what is in common to other proprietary governments. By the fourteenth section Mr. Penn is obliged to have an attorney or agent to be his resident-representative in any known place in London, who is to be answerable to the crown for any misdeameanor committed, or wilful default, or neglect permitted by the said Penn against the laws of trade and navigation, and to defray the damages in his majesty's courts ascertained; and, in case of failure, the government to be resumed and retained till payment has been made; without any prejudice, however, in any respect to the landholders or inhabitants, who are not to be affected or molested thereby. The sections fourteenth, fifteenth, sixteenth, seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth, contain nothing particular. By the twentieth section, his majesty covenants and grants to and with the said *William Penn*, for himself, his heirs, and successors, at no time thereafter to impose or levy any tax on the inhabitants in any shape, unless the same be with the consent of the proprietary, or chief governor, or assembly, or by act of parliament in England.

By the twenty-first section, his majesty, on pain of his highest displeasure, commands all his officers and ministers, that they do not presume at any time to attempt any thing to the contrary of the premises, or that they do in any sort withstand the same: and, on the contrary, enjoins them to be at all time, aiding and assisting, as was fitting, to the said *William Penn*, and his heirs, and unto the inhabitants and merchants of the province aforesaid, their servants, ministers, factors, and assigns, in the full use and fruition of the benefit of the said charter. - By the twenty-third and last section, a provision is made, by the king's special will, ordinance, and command, that, in case any doubt or question should hereafter perchance arise concerning the true sense or meaning of any word, clause, or sentence contained therein, such interpretation should be made thereof, and allowed in any of

his majesty's courts as should be adjudged most advantageous and favourable to he said William Penn, his heirs, and assigns; provided always, that no interpretation be admitted thereof, by which the allegiance due to the crown, may suffer any prejudice or diminution.

IT is an historical phenomenon, that so excellent a set of *His concessions*, constitutions took their rise from an arbitrary court, and a bi-*sions to the* gotted prince; for, it appeared that all the tract of land, now adven-*called Pennsylvania*, had been previously granted to the duke of York by his brother king Charles, and was by him re-*granted in 1682, by deeds of feoffment, to Mr. Penn.* During 1682, the dependency of the charter, Mr. Penn had been busied in collecting adventurers for peopling his new province, in which he found no great difficulty; and, in virtue of the sixth section of the charter, he passed his first deed of settlement, under the title of "Certain conditions, or concessions, agreed upon by William Penn, proprietary and governor of Pennsylvania, and those who are the adventurers and purchasers in the same province." But there is nothing particular in this deed, as it contains only the rules of settlement, and trade with the Indians, with some general provisions for the peace of the colony. Next year, Mr. Penn published a system of government, under the following title: "The frame of the government of the province of Pennsylvania in America: together with certain laws agreed upon in England, by the governor and divers freemen of the aforesaid province. To be farther explained and confirmed there, by the first provincial council, if they see meet." The introduction to this celebrated piece is perhaps the most extraordinary compound that ever was published of enthusiasm, sound policy, and good-sense, and the author tells us, that it was adapted "to the great end of all government, viz. to support power in reverence with the people, and to secure the people from the abuse of power." By this frame, which consisted of twenty-four articles, the provincial council, which was ordered by rotation, and the general assembly, were to be the great sources of the government. The number of the provincial council was to be seventy-two, and the governor, or his deputy, were to preside in it, with a treble vote. The members were to be chosen by the freemen. One third of them was, at the first, to be chosen for three years, one third for two years, and one third for one year; in such manner, that there should be an annual succession of twenty-four new members. The business of this provincial council lay in the executive part of the government, in preparing, and proposing to the general assembly, all bills, which they shall, at any time, think

*Govern-  
ment of the  
province.*

fit to be passed into laws, within the said province; which bills shall be published and affixed to the most noted places in the inhabited parts thereof, thirty days before the meeting of the general assembly, in order to the passing them into laws, as the general assembly shall see meet. As to the general assembly, it was, at first, to consist of all the freemen, afterwards of two hundred, and it was never to exceed three hundred. Besides those acts and constitutions, a set of laws were agreed upon in *England*, in the nature of an original compact, between the proprietary and the freemen, ~~and~~ moral, partly political, and partly economical. Some of them are of a very extraordinary kind, and met with great opposition; particularly that, by which the ~~inhabitants~~ <sup>adventurers</sup>, besides paying the purchase money, were obliged to pay an ~~annual~~ rent of one penny an acre to the proprietary, for the sum of ~~one~~ his <sup>own</sup> ~~ability~~ as governor. The third law provides, that all elections of members or representatives ~~elective~~ in the ~~provincial~~ council or general assembly should be free: and that the elector, who should receive any reward or gift, in meat, drink, money, or otherwise, should forfeit his right to elect. The rest of those laws are very moderate and plausible, and formed upon the most perfect plan of regulated freedom. Besides those laws, certain conditions were agreed upon between the proprietary and the adventurers, concerning the divisions and laying out of the province and territory; for the reader is to observe, that the province of *Pennsylvania* was bounded, as we have seen; but its territory comprehended other lands granted to Mr. *Penn* by the duke of *York*, and the lands which he purchased from the *Indians*, and likewise some part of *Nova Belgia*, which he purchased from lord *Berkley* and the heirs of Sir *George Carteret* for 4000*l.* the possession of which was likewise confirmed to him by a patent.

*Its settle-  
ment.*

THE number of original inhabitants, which Mr. *Penn* carried over in 1581, are said to have been about 2000, most of them non-conformists, collected at *London*, *Bristol*, and *Liverpool*; but, besides those, a considerable number of adventurers were already settled, both in the province and the territory, and he had sent before him a great number of artificers to prepare materials for building houses, and directing other conveniences for the colony. It is certain, that the noble plan of government laid down for this infant colony in *England* was every way so unexceptionable, and so well calculated for all the purposes of civil and religious liberty, that great numbers had embraced it, in firm reliance, that it would be punctually executed. Mr. *Penn* had formed himself greatly upon *Harrington's* principles, as the reader may see by his scheme

## The History of America.

Scheme of rotation, and had been assisted in drawing up his laws and constitutions by Sir William Jones, an eminent English lawyer of the same stamp; but, upon his arrival in America, he found, or pretended to find, some reasons for altering the frame of his government, and for uniting the province with the territory, or, as it is called, the three lower counties, granted him by the duke of York. In the last scheme he succeeded, and brought the people of the province to unite with those of the territory in legislation and government; but it was not till the year 1683, that he introduced another charter.

IN December, 1682, the freemen of the province and its new territory were convened at a place called Chester; but here constituted the insufficiency of the original charter appeared; for, after discussion, the colonists had required twelve persons as members of the provincial council, they insisted, because of the fewness of their numbers, and their inexperience in matters of government; that, of those twelve, three might serve as members of the provincial council, and the remaining nine as assemblymen, with the same powers and privileges that were granted by the charter or frame of government to the whole. This request, if not dictated by the proprietary, was extremely consonant to his views. The original charter was considered as being impracticable, and no more than as a probationary law that was alterable, and to be submitted to the explanation and confirmation of the first provincial council and general assembly that was to be held in the province. Therefore the model, as proposed by the petitioners, or remonstrants, was admitted by a new act of settlement, made the 25th of February, 1682-3. At the same time, an act was passed for uniting the province and territory, by which all the benefits and advantages, before granted to the provincials, were to be in common to the inhabitants of the territory, as to them; and both, from that time, were to be considered as one people under one and the same government. This constitution, however, was liable to great objections, unless it could be proved that the same proprietary and provincial powers, that had been granted by the original royal charter to the province, and under which the adventurers had embarked, were legally communicated to the territory, and to Mr. Penn as being proprietary of the same.

NOTWITHSTANDING all this, the people, both of the province and territory, seemed to be extremely well contented under his government; but, a territorial dispute happening between him and lord Baltimore, the proprietor of Maryland, Mr. Penn made use of that as a pretext to return to England, and

## *The History of America.*

and to leave the government under the direction of five commissioners of state, taken out of the provincial council, and who, as we apprehend, were to represent his person, the remainder of that council, and the general assembly. The conduct of Mr. Penn, after he arrived in ~~England~~, and his close connexions with king *James*, gave rise to various surmises; and it has been confidently asserted that, under the mask of a quaker, he was a concealed jesuit. This imputation appears to be groundless; for it may be with equal propriety said, that his majesty was a quaker, because neither of them had the least concern about any matters of religion without the pale of his own profession. Mr. Penn's attachment to king *James*, therefore, was the very same, that it would have been to a prince of any other denomination of Christians. It is, however, certain, ~~that~~, in the revolution, his personal gratitude to that unhappy monarch carried him to such lengths, that he was consigned as an inveterate enemy to the protestant establishment, and, on that account, was sometimes excepted out of the proclamations and acts of grace published by king *William* and queen *Mary*. Captain *Blackwell*, during Mr. Penn's absence in *England*, administered the affairs of the infant colony, and one *John White* was speaker of the assembly. An attempt was at this time made to dissolve the late charter, but it failed; and one *Moor* was complained of by the assembly to the proprietary, as being a busy meddling fellow. The complaint was signed by *White*, who, it seems, thereby became obnoxious to *Blackwell* and the proprietary, who had done all they could to divide the free-men of the colony, but without effect.

*Grievances of the province.* THE assembly insisted upon a discussion of their grievances, which, upon various pretexts, was evaded. This threw the assembly into a flame, and occasioned their entering not only a kind of protest in their minutes against so flagrant a partiality, but to come to the following resolution, *viz.* "That no person who is commissionated or appointed by the governor to receive the governor's fines, forfeitures, or revenues, whatsoever, shall sit in judgment in any court of judicature, within this government, in any matter or cause whatsoever, where a fine or forfeiture shall or may accrue to the governor." In the mean time, the deputy-governor and the provincial council gave the assembly a meeting, and informed them, that the proprietary had given positive directions for letting all the laws, excepting the fundamentals, drop or fall; and, afterwards, for calling together the legislative authority, to revise some of them, or to pass others, as

as they thought proper. The deputy-governor then complained of the great abuses into which the government had run, the dissension among the members of the provincial council, the uncertain state of affairs in *England*, and the doubtful condition in which Mr. *Penn's* own right as proprietary stood, the revolution having then but just taken place. *Black-bell*, at the same time, insisted that Mr. *Penn* was authorised by himself, and with consent of the freemen, to make laws, and under his seal to publish them.

THE assembly looking upon the whole of the deputy-governor's speech and conduct to be an invasion of their rights and privileges, steadily opposed them, and contended that the laws which they had made could not be dropt, and that they were in full force, *which* was declared void by the king under his *privy seal*. *Scribent* an opposition obliged the deputy-governor to have recourse to other methods; and he prevailed with some of the members to absent themselves from the meeting, in order to introduce a nullity in its proceedings. This drew in the assembly a severe remonstrance, which they presented to the deputy-governor, besides their voting such withdrawing to be treacherous. Nothing but the great innate sagacity of Mr. *Penn* could, at this time, have prevented the ruin of his interest both in *England* and *America*. After obtaining his patent, he had been indefatigable in procuring settlers for his colony; and, to render his possession unquestionable, he bought from the natives all the lands they chose to part with. The *Dutch*, before this time, had been settled at *New York*, and upon the freshes of *Delaware river*, but were often interrupted in their possession by the *Swedes*, so that frequent bickerings happened between the governors of the two nations, who were rivals in trade. The *Dutch*, however, prevailed, and drove the *Swedes* from their possessions, in the same manner as the *Swedes* did them, and great part of them fell to the share of Mr. *Penn*, to the vast emoluments of his colony. After this, every day added to the population and trade of *Pennsylvania*; and the transporting of emigrants, from the west of *England* thither, became a considerable branch of commerce. The town of *Philadelphia* was now laid out, and a company, consisting of Mr. *James Claypool*, Mr. *Nicholas Moor*, and Mr. *Philip Ford*, bought 20,000 acres of Mr. *Penn's* propriety; and set up a tannery, a saw-mill, a glass-house, and a whalery. The conditions of the sale were, that the buyers paid 20 l. for 1000 acres, but still the quit-rent was reserved; but since that time, it is said, that land there has been commonly sold for above twenty years purchase, and reckoning 20 a. per acre.

Difference  
between  
the assem-  
bly and the  
deputy-  
governor.

*The colony flourishes.* THE flourishing state of the colony soon enhanced to the proprietary, the price of Indian lands, which were purchased, not by the acre, but the mile. Mr. Penn, however, still continued to purchase, and found his benefit from the tranquility of his possession, in paying the advanced price. The Indians, on the other hand, came into new life, and by the vast profits they made of their peltry trade, they soon accommodated themselves with the utensils and conveniences of the English peasantry. This new manner of living kept them entirely quiet; and the mild administration of the proprietary himself reconciled to his government the Swedes and the Dutch, who were as numerous there as the English themselves. All the rubs, therefore, that Mr. Penn met with in his administration were entirely owing to the circumstances of his affairs, which, after the revolution, gained him at the court of Eng<sup>t</sup>land, where, as we have already observed, he was looked upon with a very suspicious eye. This was no secret to the Pennsylvanians, and encouraged them in the opposition they made to his deputy, who was a republican, and had been paymaster to the parliament's army. The powers, however, that had been granted by the two royal brothers to Mr. Penn, were after the revolution thought to be derogatory to the royal authority; and, it is more than probable, that Mr. Penn compromised matters with the then government, by consenting to receive a governor for his colony from king William and queen Mary: and colonel Fletcher was by the same commission appointed governor both of New-York and Pennsylvania.

*Colonel Fletcher appointed governor by the crown.*

THIS was a pretty extraordinary transaction; for in Fletcher's commission "no manner of regard seems to have been had to the original charter; and queen Mary sent over an order, countersigned by the earl of Nottingham, then secretary of state, requiring him, as governor of Pennsylvania, without any mention of the freemen of the colony, to lend aid and assistance, in men or otherwise, to the colony of New York against the French and Indians." In short, it appears, as if the whole original constitution of the colony had been now dissolved. Instead of six members, for each of the six counties before mentioned, those of Philadelphia and Newcastle were seduced to four each, and the rest to three, so that sixteen members were struck off at once. Upon the meeting of this new assembly, the governor laid before them his commission, and her majesty's letter; but the members were far from being so passive as he imagined. They passed a vote, *nem. in.* "That the laws of this province, that were in force and practice before the arrival of this present governor,

still in force: and that the assembly have a right humbly to move the governor for a continuation or confirmation of the same." This vote was presented in an address to the governor, in which they intimated that their majesties had appointed him to be their governor, on account of the absence of the proprietary, as if the proprietary's right in appointing a governor had still subsisted. Mr. Fletcher did not suffer the assembly to continue long under this delusion; "The absence," said he, "of the proprietary is the least cause mentioned in their majesties' patent, for their majesties asserting their undoubted right of governing their subjects in this province. There are reasons of greater moment: as the neglects and miscarriages in the administration; the want of necessary defence against the enemy; the danger of being lost from the crown. The constitution of their majesties government and that of Mr. Penn are in direct opposition one to the other: if you will be tenacious in stickling for this, it is a plain demonstration, use what words you please, that, indeed, you decline the other."

WHATEVER objections could be made to Mr. Penn's *Supercedes* grant, or to the constitution of his colony, it is certain, that *the proprietary's* language of Fletcher's was intemperate, and derogatory *proprietary* to the rights of the freemen, who, thereupon, presented a *right*. remonstrance, in which they said, "that, as to superseding the proprietary's government, they apprehended the reasons were founded upon misinformations; for the courts of justice, continued they, were open in all counties in this government, and justice duly executed, from the highest crimes of treason and murder, to the determining the lowest differences about property, before the date or the arrival of the governor's commission. Neither do we apprehend, that the province was in danger of being lost from the crown, although the government was in the hands of some whose principles are not for war. And we conceive, that the present governancy hath no direct opposition (with respect to the king's government here in general) to our proprietary's, *William Penn*, though the exercise of thy authority, at present, supersedes that of our said proprietary. Nevertheless; we readily own thee for our lawful governor, saving to ourselves, and those whom we represent, our and their just rights and privileges."

THIS shrewd remonstrance introduced a demand of having *His difference* laws, which they sent up by ten of their own number, encloses with accepted and ratified by the governor. After an obstinate *the assent* dispute, they carried their point so far, that Mr. Fletcher bly. "sent a message by two of the council to assure the house, in his name, of his confirmation of all the said laws, excepting

*The History of America.*

One relating to shipwrecks) during the king's pleasure." The assembly voted the governor thanks for this message; but, at the same time, they sent a message to the governor, signifying "that grievances ought to be redressed, before any bill of supply ought to pass." This message was attended by a petition of right, claiming and desiring the use and benefit of two hundred and three laws, therein specified, as in all respect consonant to their charter, and none of them annulled by the crown in consequence of the power received by the sovereign. This warm manner of proceeding drew from the governor an implied menace, that he saw nothing would do but an annexation to New York; and this prevailed with the assembly to grant the supply. They had, however, the spirit to resolve, *nem con.*, "that all bills sent to the governor and council, in order to be amended, ought to be returned to this house, to have their farther approbation upon such amendments, before they can have their final assent to pass into laws." Though it was now plain, that the charter Mr. Penn had obtained for his colony was no longer regarded by the government of England, yet a committee of the assembly had the courage to enter upon the assembly's books, the following protest: "We, whose names are hereunto subscribed, representatives of the freemen of this province in assembly, do declare, it is the undoubted right of this house to receive back from the governor and council all such bills as are sent up for their approbation or amendments: and that it is as necessary to know the amendments, and debate the same, as the body of the bills: and that the denial of that right is destructive to the freedom of making laws. And we also declare it is the right of the assembly, that, before any bill for supplies be presented for the last sanction of a law, grievances ought to be redressed. Therefore, we, with protestation, (saving our just rights in assembly) do declare, that the assent of such of us, as were for sending up the bill this morning, was merely in consideration of the governor's speedy departure, but that it should not be drawn into example or precedent for the future."

*Goes to  
New  
York.*

AFTER this, Fletcher set out for New York, without giving his sanction to the laws required; and, by the total rejection of Penn's charter, it was generally concluded that the crown had got a complete victory over the proprietary right. Next year Markham, the lieutenant-governor, issued writs for an assembly, which accordingly met; but, when they began to talk of redressing grievances, an order was produced from Fletcher for their adjournment, in order to supersede their farther proceedings. Notwithstanding this, they appointed a committee

grievances, and entered their complaints against the arbitrary conduct of the governor, asserting their own right to adjourn themselves: that their cases, legally determined by juries, should not be voided by determinations in equity; and that the ~~op~~hey which had been voted should be regularly and duly applied, together with many other grievances, which they insisted should be redressed. The state of affairs in *England*, at this time, did not admit of Fletcher's acting strictly up to the tenor of his instructions; and, Mr. Penn, who continued still in *England*, had found means to mollify the administration therenon his behalf. Upon Fletcher's return from *New York*, he met the *Pennsylvanian* assembly with more than usual complacency; but laid before them the danger they were in of their Indians joining in the rebellion of the five Indian nations, which had always depended upon *England*, but were then confederated with the French. His speech, on this occasion, ended in the following remarkable manner:—"Gentlemen, I consider your principles, that you will not carry arms, nor levy money to make war, though for your own defence; yet I hope you will not refuse to feed the hungry and cloath the naked: my meaning is to supply those Indian nations with such necessaries as may influence them to a continuance of their friendship to these provinces.—And now, gentlemen, if you will consider, wherein I may be useful to you, according to the tenor of my commission, in redressing your grievances, if you have any, you shall find me ready to act by the rules of loyalty, with a true regard to liberty and property."

THOSE soothing expressions did not divert the assembly Mr. from their main purpose; and having passed a money-bill, they Penn's insisted upon their right of naming collectors for the same, <sup>right</sup> and appropriating it to the purposes for which it had been <sup>red.</sup> voted. In this demand, they continued so obstinate, that the governor thought proper to dissolve them. All this while, the assembly had never thought fit to give any answer to the English government concerning the queen's letter, by which they were required to assist the province of *New York*. When the next assembly sat, the same refractorines, on their part, continued; and they were again dissolved. In 1696, Mr. Penn had managed matters so well for himself, at the court of *England*, that he was restored to his right of naming governor; and he accordingly nominated Mr. *Markham*, who was his nephew, and had been his secretary. The new governor, as deputy to the proprietary, summoned the assembly, and recommended to them Fletcher's late request of succouring the Indians of *New York*, whose corn and provisions had

## The History of America.

had been destroyed by the French. The assembly readily agreed to do this, provided the governor would settle them in their former constitutions, as they stood before Fletcher's administration. This request, before the assembly thought proper to grant the Indian charity, produced a joint committee of the council and the assembly, who drew up the following expedient. "That the governor, at the request of the assembly, would be pleased to pass an act with a salvo to the proprietary and people; and that he would also issue out his writs for choosing a full number of representatives, on the 10th of March next ensuing, to serve in provincial council and assembly, according to charter, until the proprietary's pleasure should be known therein; and that, if the proprietary should disapprove the same, that then the said act should be void, and no ways prejudicial to him or the people, in relation to the validity or invalidity of the said charter."

This expedient was unanimously approved of by the house, and a sum of money was immediately raised for the support of the government, and the relief of the poor Indians. In the act of settlement, proposed by the expedient, the rotation principle was entirely set aside, and it was resolved that the elections, both for the council and assembly, should be annual and stated. The members of the council for each county were to be two, and those for the assembly four; with proper qualifications as to fortune and residency. The governor or his deputy was to preside in the council; but no act of government was to be valid without the concurrence of the council, or a majority of it<sup>a</sup>. That two thirds were to be a *quorum* in the upper walk of business, and one third in the lower; that the assembly should have power to propose bills, as well as the council: that both might confer on such terms as either of them should propose: that such as the governor in council gave his consent to, should be laws: that the stile of those laws should be, By the governor, with the assent and the approbation of the freemen, in general assembly met: that duplicates thereof should be transmitted to the king's council, according to the late king's patent: that the assembly should sit on their own adjournments and committees, and continue to prepare and propose bills, redress grievances, and impeach criminals, till dismissed by the governor and council; and to remain during the year liable to serve upon his and their summonses: should be allowed wages and traveling charges: two thirds to make a *quorum*: all questions to

New pla.  
of govern-  
ment.

<sup>a</sup> Vide Historical Review of the Constitution and Government of Pennsylvania, p. 35.

“~~as~~ decided by a majority: affirmations to be admitted in all courts, instead of oaths, where required: all persons in possession of lands, by purchase or otherwise, so to continue: sheriffs and their substitutes to give security for office-behaviour: elections were to be free, regular, and incorrupt: no member being permitted to serve without wages, or for less wages than by this act appointed: neither the form or effect of this act was to be diminished or altered, in any part or clause thereof, contrary to the true intent or meaning thereof, without the consent of the governor, and six parts in seven of the freemen in council and assembly met: it was to continue and be in force, till the proprietary should, by some instrument under his hand and seal, signify his pleasure to the contrary: and it was provided, that neither this act nor any other should preclude or debar the inhabitants of this province and territories from claiming, having, and enjoying, any of the rights, privileges and immunities, which the said proprietary for himself, his heirs and assigns, did formerly grant, or which of right did belong, unto them the said inhabitants, by virtue of any law, charter, or grant whatsoever, any thing therein contained to the contrary notwithstanding.”

SUCH was the new settlement of *Pennsylvania*; but though governor *Fletcher* repeated his applications for aid and assistance to the colony of *New York* against the *French* and their *Indians*, he could obtain none; and thus stood affairs in the province, when in the beginning of the year 1700, the proprietary Mr. *Penn* came over in person. He immediately convened the assembly, and laid before them the great disrepute <sup>1700:</sup> *Mr. Penn returns to* which the colony had incurred in *England*, on account of *the province*, <sup>1700:</sup> *their piratical practices, and illicit trade; requiring them to* *vince.* <sup>1700:</sup> proceeded vigorously against both. Those matters were referred to proper committees; and a son-in-law of the late governor *Markham*, being found the most culpable as to piratical practices, was committed, and obliged to give bail for his appearance. As to the charge of illicit trade, the assembly disclaimed it, and effectually justified themselves. After this, some farther regulations with regard to the next assembly being appointed, particularly that three members of the council should be chosen in every county, and six for the assembly, they separated. The next assembly proved to be very querulous, and they prolonged their session beyond the time limited by their charter, which probably was occasioned by a new plan of government that was under their deliberation.

The truth is, Mr. *Penn's* notions of government were in some respects too refined to be practicable, and were perpetually fluctuating. The next assembly consisted only of wretched-

twenty-four members, that is four for each county; and instead of *Philadelphia*, they met at *Newcastle*. The governor informed them of the defects of their constitution, and demanded a supply for the support of his government. Those matters, especially the union between the province and the territory, created prodigious debates, and threatened an immediate separation; but, at last, the debate was referred to a future assembly. The settlement of the property was secured by a bill for the effectual establishment and confirmation of the freeholders of both parts of the united colony, and a liberal supply was granted. The assembly met again the following *August* at *Philadelphia*, and a letter from his majesty, requiring a sum of money for raising fortifications on the frontiers of *New York*, was laid before them, but no regard was paid to it, under pretence that the province was exhausted by their former grants. In *September*, 1701, Mr. *Penn* convened another assembly, and informed them of the indispensable necessity he was under to go to *England*, to obviate some ill offices done by his and their enemies with the government there; but offered to do every thing that was in his power to secure them in their privileges and properties. The assembly, in their answer, expressed great dissatisfaction to the state of both, and required some farther security; to which the proprietary gave evasive answers, but offered to leave the nomination of the deputy-governor, who was to act in his absence, to themselves: but they declined that honour, and went upon a new charter of privileges.

*A new charter.* THIS introduced a breach between the members of the province, and those of the territory; the latter insisting upon some particular privileges, which, when they were refused them by the others, made them withdraw from the meeting, and it required all the authority and address of the proprietary to make up the breach. At last, after great heart-burnings on both parts, just when Mr. *Penn* was about to embark, a charter of privileges was presented to him, and, being ratified by him, is now the rule of government in *Pennsylvania*. By this important charter, liberty of conscience is granted; and, all christians, taking the proper oath of allegiance and fidelity, whatever denomination they were of, were enabled to serve the government, either legislatively or executively. By the second article, it is provided that an assembly should be yearly chosen by the freemen, to consist of four persons out of each county of most note for virtue, wisdom, and ability, or of a greater number, if the governor and assembly should so agree, upon the 1st of *October* for ever, and should sit on the 5th following, with power to chuse a speaker and other

other their officers, to be judges of the qualifications and elections of their own members, sit upon their own adjournments, appoint committees, prepart bills, impeach criminals, and redress grievances, with all other powers and privileges of an assembly, according to the rights of the free-born subjects of *England*, and the customs observed in any of the king's plantations in *America*. If any county or <sup>Contents of  
his last  
charter:</sup> counties should neglect to send deputies, those who met, provided they were not fewer in number than two thirds of the whole, were to be considered as the legal representative of the province.

THE freemen of each county were to pitch upon three men, whose names they were to present to the governor, to serve the offices of sheriff and coroner, and he was to pitch upon one with the provisions as usual in such cases. The fourth article provided, that the laws of this government shall be in this stile, *viz.* By the governor, with the consent and approbation of the freemen in general assembly met. The fifth article provides, that all criminals shall have the same privileges of witnesses and council as their prosecutors. By the sixth article, all matters of complaint relating to property were to be answered before the governor and council only, in the ordinary course of justice, unless appeals thereunto shall be thereafter by law appointed. By the seventh article, the governor was to grant no licence for any public house, without a recommendation from the justices of the county, who, in case of misbehaviour, were empowered to shut it up, or otherwise punish according to law. By the eighth article, in cases of suicide, all property was to descend to the next heirs, as if the deceased had died a natural death; nor was the governor to be intitled to any forfeiture, if a person should be killed by casualty or accident. The same article provides, that no act, law, or ordinance whatsoever, should at any time hereafter be made or done to alter, change, or diminish the form or effect of this charter, or of any part or clause therein, according to the true intent and meaning thereof, without the consent of the governor for the time being, and six parts in seven of the assembly met: and that the first article, relating to liberty of conscience, should be kept and remain without any alteration inviolably, for ever: That the said *William Penn*, for himself, his heirs and assigns, did thereby solemnly declare, grant, and confirm, that neither he, his heirs or assigns, should prosecute or do any thing or things whereby the liberties, in this charter contained and expressed, nor any part thereof, should be infringed or broken; and, that if any thing should be done

done by any person or persons contrary thereto, it should be held of no force or effect.

**Hamilton governor.** THIS new constitution differed greatly from the original. The governor might nominate his own council, and he was least tingle in the executive part of the government, and had liberty to restrain the legislative, by refusing his assent to their bills. The assembly, on the other hand, acquired the important privilege of propounding laws, as well as of amending or rejecting them; but though this new cbnstitution was thankfully accepted of by the province, it wa- unanimously rejected by the territory; and affairs stood in this untowardly state, when Mr. Penn sailed for England, after having named Andrew Hamilton, Esq; to act as his deputy in his absence. Mr. Hamilton's great endeavour, during his administration, was to bring about an union between the province and the territory, but, having found impracticable, the province met in consequence of their new charter, and came to a resolution confirming their own powers. In the mean while, Mr. Hamilton died, and was succeeded in his administration by John Evans, Esq;

**Succeeded by Evans who broke with the assembly.** THIS gentleman, soon after his arrival, affected to be surprized that the representatives of the province, and those of the territory, acted as two distinct bodies, and advised them to unite; intimating, at the same time, that, if they did not, neither of them would be in a condition to act at all. The provincials threw the blame of the disunion upon the territory people, who, at last, offered to receive the charter, and to co-operate with the provincials, who now declined the proposal, to the great disgust of the new governor. The assembly, after this, passed a bill for confirming their charter, but it was sent back to them with amendments, which they voted were destructive to their constitution. This vote was followed by resolutions and addresses, which widened the breach between the governor and the assembly, and the latter resolved, that to admit of the power of dissolution, or prorogation in the governor, will manifestly destroy or frustrate the elections, settled by the charter; which is as a perpetual writ, supported by the legislative authority of this government, and will make way for elections by writs, grounded upon a prerogative, or rather a pre-eminence, which the proprietary and his deputy are by charter debarred to resume. The governor, in his answer, denied that the proprietary by the late charter had granted away that power, and refused to comply with the assembly till he could obtain instructions from England; but, in the mean time, he recommended them to dispatch the other business that was before them, which the exigencies

Exigencies of the government necessarily required. The assembly, in their rejoinder to this answer, carried their resentment so high, that they refused to proceed upon any other business, till they received satisfaction as to the great point in dispute. They likewise unanimously came to nine resolutions, in which the proprietary himself was charged as having broken the original charter, and, by his artifices, defeated them of their privileges. He was likewise charged with having extorted from the province great sums of money, on pretence of negotiating their affairs in *England*, and of relieving them as to oaths; but, instead of that, the queen's letter required oaths to be administered to all the members, by which the quakers were disabled from sitting in courts. They made likewise grievous complaints concerning the abuses of surveyors, the clerks of the courts, and justices of the peace, who, they said, were all put in by the proprietary, and thereby he became his own judge in his own cause. Those and other matters were the heads of a representation, or rather remonstrance, drawn up and sent to the proprietary, then in *England*, in which he is represented as an oppressor, and as falsifying his word in almost every respect with the provincials. Many, if not the whole, of those allegations were overstrained, or entirely false; but it seems pretty certain, that Mr. Penn's extreme caution and anxiety to finish a complete model of government, did subject the province to inconveniences, which, by designing men, were represented as intolerable grievances. Amongst other regulations, which the provincials insisted upon, one was, that a royal commissioner should be established in *Pennsylvania*, for determining all matters wherein the provincials had just cause to complain against the proprietary, his deputies, or commissioners; or that the inhabitants should be restored to their original right, which they had by their first charter, of electing judges, justices, and other officers, as the people of *New England* had by king *William's* charter.

FROM the whole of this representation it appeared, that Mr. Penn and the parties were determined to bring the constitution of the *obtains* a province as near as possible to its first principles. The representation was sent; but the parties themselves acted with *in the* such firmness, that, though several of the council, and the *assembly*, governor himself, earnestly demanded a copy of it, they were refused it, under pretence that they were not willing to expose the proprietary to censure. 't be true reason, however, why they let the affair sleep, notwithstanding their loud outcries against their proprietary, was their apprehension of falling under the immediate power of the crown, in which case

they might have oaths multiplied upon them, and be charged with the militia duties, both which were highly repugnant to the principles of the majority of the council. It is more than probable that Mr. Penn, and his administration in *Pennsylvania*, were fully sensible of the difficulties the provincials lay under in this respect, and they managed so well, that, at last, they obtained a majority in the assembly, who submitted to all the grievances they had formerly complained of. Those disputes were greatly augmented by the intemperance of the quakers themselves, who, notwithstanding all their zeal for liberty of conscience, persecuted *Keith*, one of their most famous preachers, upon his returning to the church of *England*, and went so far as to throw him into prison. This was looked upon as being highly inconsistent with quaker-principles; and his persecutors, by way of apology, (though it is a very trifling one) pretended that they did not punish him for his religious principles, but for having insulted the civil government.

*In 1706-7.* *Differences between them and the proprietors* The assembly of *Pennsylvania* was far from being so complaisant as of late to the governor and the council; and two parties were formed, the one headed by Mr. *Logan*, secretary to the governor and the council, and the other by David *Lloyd*, speaker of the assembly. Many exasperating motions and messages, not material to be mentioned here, passed between the two parties, and, it is now agreed on all hands, that both of them were so blinded by passion and animosity, it is hard to say, which was most to blame. *Logan* insulted the members of the assembly, when they came with messages to the governor, who seems to have been entirely under the direction and influence of *Logan*; and, therefore, they proceeded against him as a delinquent. The governor, on the other hand, treated *Lloyd* as an incendiary, and threatened to make him feel the weight of his power. All this while, three charters were depending for confirmation. One was that of the privilege; another that of the city of *Philadelphia*; and the last that of securing property; and the assembly were given to understand, that the two former must remain in the same precarious state they were then, until the proprietary and his governor were put upon proper establishments, and freed from the invasions of the assembly. As to the last charter, the governor told the assembly, that it was no better than an unjust project of the speaker to encroach upon, and even to ingross, the proprietary's rights. The assembly, in answer to this, maintained that nothing had been inserted in the charter, but, by the proprietary's own direction; but we are to observe, that this happened at a juncture,

when the proprietary apprehended that his own powers might be abridged by a bill depending in the English parliament; and he found it his interest to strengthen, all he could, the property of the provincials.

-- By this time, the deputy-governor had received from Mr. *Penn* heavy complaints of the indignity done him by the representation we have already mentioned, and a copy of the same with which he upbraided the assembly; but they excused themselves from taking any cognizance of the paper, as it was the act of a former assembly, for which they were not to answer. They therefore insisted still upon a redress of grievances. The governor in this contest had manifestly the superiority. The assembly had sent him up a bill, which they had passed for establishing courts of justice, and which the governor thought he could not properly agree to, because, at his arrival in *Pennsylvania*, he had found the frame of their government settled by their last charter of privileges, which had been thankfully received and signed by themselves, and therefore he did not apprehend it to be within his commission or instructions to agree to so important a variation from that charter. The assembly, in reply to this answer, alledged, that even the last charter had been violated, and, very inconsistently with themselves, complained of its insufficiency, because it fell far short of the rights they claimed by their original constitution. At last, they drew up two different remonstrances to Mr. *Penn*, complaining of the governor and the secretary, and of the proprietary himself, for having left them to be destroyed without any protection by their injustice and tyranny. They then renewed all their complaints contained in their former representation, and added fresh ones. This new remonstrance, to say the last of it, was worded in terms, and with a spirit which plainly enough evinced that they were not to be satisfied, even if all their demands had been granted them.

THE dispute between *Logan* and the assembly still continued, and they drew up an impeachment, consisting of thirteen articles against him, charging him with malversation in his office, and offering to prove all their allegations; but they were evaded by the governor. This produced a remonstrance against the governor himself, containing twelve articles, and charging him with being loose in his principles, arbitrary in his disposition, and scandalous in his private life and deportment. At last the proprietors thought proper to recall *Evans*, who had the mortification to see an address of thanks passed by the assembly on that account, and was succeeded by *Charles Gookin*, Esq. This new governor ~~was~~ as much

Gookin <sup>governor.</sup> much under the influence of *Logan* as his predecessor had been. It seems to be pretty plain that all the grievances of the province, and the dissensions between the assembly, and the proprietary, were owing to the unhappy state of Mr. *Penn's* private affairs in *England*, which did not permit him to reside upon his province. He was an illustrious instance of that public spirit which can form the greatest plans, without the least immediate attention to domestic interest. *Gookin*, as well as *Evans* had been, was in necessitous circumstances, and both of them sought their own emolument with an equal disregard to that of the proprietary <sup>(A)</sup> of the provincials. We do not perceive that the change of *Evans* for *Gookin* (B) was of any service towards extinguishing the heats between the governor and the assembly. The latter by this time talked in a more positive haughty strain than ever. This was occasioned by the knowledge they had of the proprietary's distress circumstances (for we are informed that about this time he was confined for debt in the prison of the fleet) which threw his governors upon the province for their subsistence. This obliged them to act a most scandalous part; for if they did not obey the orders of the proprietary, they were disp'aced; if they broke with the assembly, they were in danger of starving. The assembly, therefore, now declared that they expected some more consideration than formerly from the governor, whom they supported at their own expence. *Gookin* at first pretended to act with a high hand; and by *Logan's* advice he disown'd the power of the assembly, and refused to hold any correspondence with them. He lived, however, long enough in *Pennsylvania* to repent of this haughty proceeding, and before his return to *England*, he convened the assembly, and made them the following mean proposition, "That, for the little time he had to stay, he was ready to do the country all the service he could; and that they might be their own carvers, in case they would in some measure provide for his going back to seek another employment." All the answer the assembly thought fit to make to this prostituted offer, was to present the governor with 200*l.*

*Sir William Keith* <sup>am Keith</sup> <sup>viceroy.</sup> The next deputy-governor was *Sir William Keith*. This gentleman, when young, had been engaged in some treasonable practices with *Fraser* afterwards *Lord Lovat*, the same who lost his head on *Tower-hill*, not from any principle either civil or religious, but in hopes of becoming useful to the government, by the discoveries he could make, and thereby re-

(B) The author of the British empire in America, is so ignorant of the affairs of this pro-

vince, that he entirely omits the mention of this governor.

## The History of America.

pair his ruined fortune; which he never could do, for he died a beggar, in the lowest sense of the word. Tho' a man of no deep parts, yet he was plausible, insinuating, and cunning, and by affecting to be a professed politician, he gained from many, even sensible, people, an opinion of his wisdom. He was sensible of *Penn's* distresses, and he had address enough to get himself recommended by the board of trade as a proper governor for *Pennsylvania*. Having observed the miscarriages of the two last governors, and how little their private fortunes were indebted to their administration, he resolved to observe a conduct very different from theirs. Having called the assembly together, he dropt all the high airs of a governor, and made them a most soothing speech, without mentioning even the name of a proprietary. In short, he insinuated in his speech enough to let the members know, that provided they considered him, he was resolved to refuse them nothing they could decently ask for. They struck in with his meaning; and though *Keith* was a very expensive man, yet he conducted himself with so much address, that they appeared to be entirely satisfied with his administration, as he was with their retributions; and the indulgence he shewed to all their requests, though upon the mercenary motives we have mentioned, greatly contributed to the present flourishing state of the colony.

ONE effect which this good understanding between the governor and the assembly produced, was the diminishing the influence of *Logan* in the assembly. Mr. *Penn*, in 1718, died at his seat near *Reading* in *Berkshire*, and left his interest in the province in the hands of trustees, who were his widow, *Henry Gouldney*, *Joshua Gee*, and his secretary *Logan*. This share in the trust soon revived the interest of the latter, who by representing *Keith* as a needy man, and as attempting to ruin the proprietary's interest in the province, divided a majority of the council against him. *Keith*, on the other hand, accused *Logan* with having vitiated the records of the council, and the latter standing on his own defence, and throwing out great personal abuse against the governor, *Keith*, ventured not only to dismiss him from his post of secretary, but to fill it up with another. *Logan* upon this, went over, full of resentment, to *England*, and received from the other trustees letters to *Keith*, whom they reproved for his behaviour to *Logan*; and private instructions for his future conduct. Those instructions turned upon very interesting points. In them, the widow *Penn*, who seems to have taken the lead in the affair, complains bitterly that the power of the legislature having been

1718.

\* See governor *Keith's* letter to the widow *Penn*, Sept. 2; 1724.

## *The History of America.*

lodged in the governor and assembly, the absent proprietary had been deprived even of his negative, contrary to his intention and his undoubted rights. *Keith* is likewise charged, with having transmitted the laws enacted in conjunction with the assembly, directly to the ministry at *London*, without any intermediate check. "Therefore (continues the widow's private instructions) for remedy of this grievance, it is required, that thou advise with the council, upon every meeting or adjournment of the assembly, which require any deliberation on the governor's part: that thou make no speech, nor send any written message to the assembly, but what shall be first approved in council; that thou receive all messages from them in council, if practicable at the time; and shalt return no bills to the house, without the advice of council; nor pass any whatsoever into a law without the consent of a majority of that board."

*His artful management.* *KEITH*, unwilling to enter on any dispute that might disappoint him of his government, had, at his first entering on it, submitted to give a bond of 1000*l.* to the proprietary, that he would follow certain conditions of government. This undoubtedly was an unconstitutional measure, and nothing but Mr. *Penn* and his family's distresses, by which they saw themselves become insignificant in the province, could have induced them to exact it. *Keith*, however, stood so well with the assembly, that he not only ventured to disregard this bond; but against all the rules of sound policy, if not in direct violation of his trust, he openly communicated to the assembly all the several instructions he had received, with all the answers he had returned to the same. *Logan*, in the course of the dispute, discovered, that the proprietary, during his absence, had not received one shilling of profit from the government. The assembly pretended, that by their original article of quit-rents, they were exempted from the obligation of paying any thing towards the expenses of the government, though, in fact, they had paid a great deal. They therefore closed with *Keith*, without taking notice of the government-subsidies, and agreed with him in obstructing all demands of that kind, or any other contained in the said private instructions that were repugnant to their charter, or inconsistent with their privileges, which they grounded, not very consistently with themselves, upon their original constitutions.

*KEITH* remained after this in so high credit with the provincials, that he could have defeated all *Logan's* schemes; but he seems to have been too much intoxicated with his popularity. He had, during his dispute, been strenuously supported with the interest, the advice, and the pen (such as it was).

(was) of *Lloyd*, the assembly's speaker, whom we have already mentioned; but, thinking himself now above any assistance, he quarrelled with *Lloyd*, though he had received four thousand pounds from the assembly for his extraordinary services in joining with them against the proprietary's interest. *Lloyd* and his party then joining with *Logan*, managed so well with the trustees in *England*, that the latter ventured to promise to send a successor to *Keith*. The provincials, having now some hopes of emancipating themselves from the least dependance upon *Keith*, in the next assembly shewed a sudden and surprising coldness towards all he proposed. Two motions were made, the one for furnishing him with six hundred pounds, and the other with five hundred; but both were over-ruled, and all he could obtain was four hundred. In all the subsequent part of the session they treated him with remarkable neglect. They delayed the business of the province, which they reserved for the administration of his successor; and when *Keith* warmly insisted upon their giving him a public testimonial of his good government, they were, with great difficulty, brought to give him one that was very scanty, and not adequate to his merits. This raised *Keith's* indignation so much, that, though he knew he was to lose his government, he did not apply as his predecessor *Gookin* had done for any present. After nine years administration of remarkable tranquillity, *Keith* was reduced to the condition of a private man; but even then he could not submit to a private condition. Being in hopes that he could still embroil the affairs of the government, so as to render it necessary for the proprietaries to reinstate him, he very imprudently procured himself to be chosen an assembly-man; but all the views he had of embarrassing the government, and distressing the proprietaries miscarried; and he was obliged to return to *England*, where he lived without a friend to support him, and spent the very small remains of his fortune in fruitless expectations.

IT was about this time that the foundation of the dispute *Continued*—was laid concerning taxing the estates of the proprietary. The *ance* of the proprietaries pretended that the presents which they made to *the Indians*, in a manner, paid for the lands purchased from them by Mr. *Penn*. When those lands were resold, the quit-rents upon them were still retained by the proprietary, who, by the original charter of the province, was the only merchant who could buy them, and by the amazing increase of population in *Pennsylvania*, the value of lands so purchased improved so greatly, that it was easily to be foreseen the quit-rents must, in a short time, amount to an imminent sum. As those quit-rents had been reserved by the proprietary, who was likewise

*And miserable fate.*

governor, under the pretence of their defraying the expences of government, which ever since his residence in *England* had been paid by the province, it was insisted upon by the assembly that the proprietary's estate should be taxable in common with the rest of the property of the province. This claim was vigorously opposed by the proprietaries, there being nothing in the charters to authorize it, and both sides becoming obstinate, the dispute at last brought the province to the brink of ruin.

THE reader in the history of a province chiefly peopled by men whose principles disclaimed the use of arms, and who were far from being adventurers in matters of commerce, can expect little entertainment, besides its civil transactions; and indeed they are perhaps more instructive than any other, when we consider the stupendous prosperity of this country, so lately planted, and so flourishing by pacific measures. After the Revolution had taken place, *Pensylvania* was no longer considered as a refuge for the persecuted, but as one of the chief emporiums of *America*, and it was filled with colonists from all parts of the world. Besides the *English*, *Scotch*, and *Irish*, vast numbers of *Palatines* went every year to it from the port of *Rotterdam*; and their example was followed by other *Germans* and *Swedes*, who, notwithstanding their different sects of religion, lived in wonderful harmony together, and the whole formed perhaps the most peaceable and industrious, and therefore the most happy, people in the world; nor is it perhaps an over-stretched calculation to say, that at this time *Pensylvania* contains 280,000 souls.

THIS prodigious increase of population, together with the growing power of the *French* in *North America*, introduced into *Pensylvania* maxims very different from those of its original planters, who, when they sought an asylum there, could not foresee that one time or other they should be in danger, without the use of arms, of falling a prey to their ambitious neighbours. As to Mr. *Penn*, the father of the colony, it is pretty plain by his reserving to himself, in the sixteenth section of his original charter, the office of captain-general, and the power of making war, when necessary, that he was void of those passive sentiments; and his governors had made repeated efforts for establishing a military force in the province; but, for some time, they had not been able to succeed thro' the vast majority which the quakers had in every assembly. We shall, in the course of our history, see the terrible effects which this ridiculous principle of non-resistance introduced.

*Cafe of its currency.* THE next greatest interesting point that occurs in the history of this province is the *cafe* of their currency. *Pensylvania*,

like the other *English* colonies in *North America*, found that its current specie was insufficient to answer the defect that arose upon the ballance of trade between them and *England*; but long resisted the general practice entered into by the other colonies of issuing a paper currency for supplying the topical purposes of gold and silver, which they were obliged to send to *England*. It was not before the year 1722, that they issued 15,000*l.* in provincial bills; but even in issuing this inconsiderable sum, they proceeded with vast caution and circumspection. They made no loans but upon land security, or plate deposited in their loan office. They obliged the borrowers to pay five-per cent. for the sums they took up; and they made their bills a tender in all payments, under the pain of forfeiting the commodity or vacating the debt. That they might keep their paper currency as near as possible on a par with their specie, they even imposed penalties for those who made extraordinary allowances for being paid in the latter instead of the former; and that they might be more gradually reduced, they provided that one eighth of the principal, as well as the whole interest money, should be annually paid. The provincials, however, finding by experience, and, in course of time, the insufficiency of so small a paper currency, to answer the exigencies of so populous a province, increased their currency by degrees to 80,000*l.* to be current for sixteen years. This measure was attended by one, perhaps, not equally warrantable; because it gave a power to the trustees of the loan office to re-emit the currency as it should be paid off either to the same persons or others, without any due authority for that purpose.

At first the proprietaries made no objection to those issues; Gordon but finding their interests likely to be affected by them, Major *Gordon*, who succeeded Sir *William Keith* in the government, though he approved of the increase of paper currency in general, gave the provincials to understand that they would be no longer gratified in the emission of paper money, unless particular care was taken to pay the quit-rents of the proprietaries in gold and silver; and at least, that as paper, notwithstanding all the precautions which had been taken, was now at a discount, that not only the difference between that and specie or bullion, should be made up to them, but likewise the loss arising upon the exchange; and to this demand the province was partly obliged to submit. In the year 1740, the *Pennsylvanians* were included in the complaint which the merchants of *Great Britain* brought into the house of commons, on account of the excessive abuse of paper-money in the eastern colonies of *America*, and which, for want of pro-

per funds to support its credit, was greatly depreciated, to the infinite prejudice of the national commerce. The house, upon this, addressed the throne to put a stop to the evil, by instructing the several governors not to give their assent to any farther laws of that nature, without an express proviso, that they should not take effect till his majesty's approbation had been first obtained. A bill was afterwards brought in to restrain the northern colonies in general from issuing paper bills of credit, but was opposed, and miscarried, chiefly through the influence of the proprietaries of *Pennsylvania*. Notwithstanding the above address, and the general outcry raised by the merchants against a paper currency, the lords of trade and plantations were so well satisfied of the necessity of the circulation of 80,000*l.* paper currency in *Pennsylvania*, that an act for that purpose, then lying before the lords of trade, was, by their recommendation, passed into a law, but not till after the proprietaries demands had been satisfied.

*History of  
the com-  
merce of  
Pennsylva-  
nia.*

HAVING thus given our reader, we hope, a full view of the civil interests and concerns of *Pennsylvania*, we shall now proceed upon those that are commercial. According to a letter published from Mr. Penn <sup>o</sup> in the infancy of the colony, the province of *Pennsylvania* consumed above 180,000*l.* yearly of English growth, and the whole of this its commerce added 30,000*l.* a year to the revenue. During Sir William Keith's government, he settled in *Pennsylvania* a number of *Palatines*, who had been disappointed of their settlements in *New York*; and those emigrants poured in such numbers into *Pennsylvania*, that the government of that province refused to receive any more, unless they paid a pecuniary tax for their reception, which obliged many ships full of them to go to other *British* settlements. This undoubtedly was bad policy, as the country was then but thinly peopled; and the *Pennsylvanians* themselves were so sensible of their mistake, that the tax was abolished. To give some specimen of the swift encrease of population in this country, we need but to mention that from December 25, 1728, to December 25, 1729, no fewer than 6200 *Germans*, and others, were imported into the colony; and this importation continued till it was thought by many that the proportion of numbers within the province between *British* subjects and foreigners, was too unequal, and would in time require some public regulation. Even the losses of the province were so many proofs of its wealth, for, by a fire which broke out in the year 1730, the loss of houses, goods, and furniture in *Philadelphia*, was greater than sev-

ral other cities in the *British America* could have suffered without being ruined. In the year following, an association amongst the merchants of *Pensylvania* was entered into for supporting the paper currency, which had been emitted by the lower counties upon *Delaware* river, and is distinguished by the name of the *Pensylvanian* territory, which currency was limited to 12,000*l.* This measure proved to be as wise as it was generous, and placed the territory currency upon a par with that of the province. As the population of *Pensylvania* increased, so did the measures taken for its prosperity. Supplementary laws were made to secure both the liberty and property of the provincials. The act against buying lands of the natives was explained. Hawkers and pedlars were regulated. A tax was imposed upon persons guilty of certain heinous crimes, and an excise laid on all, wine, rum, brandy, and other spirits retailed in the province. Precautions were likewise taken against the importation of poor and impotent persons; and for raising good hemp, and imposing penalties upon all who should manufacture into cordage unmerchantable hemp. According to the best accounts we have been able to receive, the *Pensylvanians* finding that their raising tobacco would be but an unthankful manufacture, because *Maryland* and *Virginia* were sufficient of themselves to supply all *Britain* with it, wisely applied themselves to other home cultivations, in which they have prospered, considering the shortness of the time, a degree exceeding almost belief. This, in a great measure, is owing to the industry and penurious living of the *German* and other foreigners. The country produces all kinds of *British* grain, *Indian* corn, buck-wheat, and its soil is particularly adapted for the cultivation of flax and hemp; so that it is thought that nine tenths of the common people and labourers are clothed in the 'innen' manufacture of *Pensylvania*, besides what the inhabitants manufacture for sale to other provinces. At present, the *Pensylvanian* flax seed is thought preferable to that exported from *Holland*.

BESIDES the commodities we have already mentioned, the *Pensylvanians* export salt beef, and pork, hams, bacon, cheese, butter, soap, wax candles, starch, powder, apples, cyder, &c. *Foreign* and domes-  
tained leather, tallow and tallow candles, common wax, myrtle wax, strong beer, linseed-oil, skins, furs, castor, and a very small quantity of tobacco. In order to encourage the culture of hemp, they at first granted a bounty of one penny a pound on its exportation, and then three half-pence; but finding all this encouragement to be ineffectual, they at last manufactured their hemp into cordage. They likewise made considerable exports of iron, in pigs, bars, and pots, walnut-  
rogs,

## The History of America.

logs, planks, staves, heading and hoops. Ship-building is another very profitable branch of *Pensylvanian commerce*; but the number of tons of shipping, though amounting to some thousands, which they yearly build, exclusive of those employed in the colony trade, is not, in the present flourishing state of the colony, easily to be ascertained. The same may be said with regard to the present state of their trade with their neighbours. It is certain, that the *Pensylvanians* import dry goods of all kinds from *Great Britain*, and their wines from *Madeira* and other places. Their salt, by an act of the *British parliament* in 1727, is allowed to be imported duty-free. From the western sugar islands, and other *British colonies*, they import sugar, rum, molasses, cotton, indigo, coffee, dying woods, mahogany plank, and other commodities. They likewise trade with *Virginia*, *Maryland*, *Carolina*; and, by the way of *Jamaica*, with the *Spanish islands* in *America*. Their trade with the *French* and the *Dutch Antilles* islands, though illicit, is very lucrative; and it is said that they return near 6000 pistoles a year from *Curaçao* alone, besides what they gain by provisions, which they sell at *Surinam*, and to the *French*. But it is necessary, for the information of the reader, to be a little more explicit. In 1736, the entries in the port of *Philadelphia* were two hundred and twelve, and the clearances two hundred and fifteen vessels. Before the *French war* was broken out, in 1742, the entries rose to be two hundred and thirty, and the clearances two hundred and eighty-one. The number of vessels cleared from that port for twelve months preceding *March 12, 1750-1*, is three hundred and fifty-eight; those that were bound to the northward of *Delaware capes*, viz. to *New York*, *Rhode Island*, *Boston*, with its out-ports, *Halifax* and *Newfoundland*, make about ninety of that number; to *Virginia*, *Maryland*, *North and South Carolina*, and *Georgia*, about twenty-nine; and the remainder sailed for *Europe*, and the *West India* sugar islands and colonies. Their craft that go to the southward, viz. to *Virginia* and *Maryland*, are not so valuable as those that go to the northward, some of which carry five or six hundred barrels of bread, and flour.

BESIDES their trade with the *Europeans* and their colonies, the *Pensylvanians* carry on no small traffic with their neighbouring *Indians*; of whom it is necessary to say somewhat in this place. The *Indian* traders from *Pennsylvania* find the rivers *Delaware*, *Susquehanna*, and *Potomack*, fordable in the summer season, which is an infinite convenience to them.

They set out in the beginning of *May*, and continue out three or four months. They buy the skins they trade for, not from the *Indians* themselves, but from a kind of brokers who are settled on their confines, and to whom they pay gold and silver for all they receive. It is observable, that till of late, by the instigation of the *French*, the *Pennsylvanians* never lost a single man by the *Indians*, which ought to be an instructive lesson, that good usage, a peaceable behaviour, and, at least, plausible dealing, will do almost every thing with those savages that can or ought reasonably be desired of them. Tho' the *Iroquois* savages, of whom we have treated so much in the history of *Canada*, and who now consist of six nations, go by the general name of *Mohawks*, yet the last is reckoned to be the smallest of all the six nations. In the wars among the other *Indians*, of which we have very little knowledge, *Its interest* the tribe called *Tuscarora* being worsted, was adopted and received by the antient five nations, and formed the sixth. Indians. Those savages are far from being so heedless as is commonly imagined with regard to their own interest, and they often put the *English* in mind that the *Delaware* and *Susquehanna* Indians had been conquered by them, and that they therefore had no right to dispose of their lands. The *English* not only supply those savages with guns, hatchets, and kettles, but mend them gratis, which perhaps is no bad policy, as it prevents them from applying themselves to handicraft operations. We shall have occasion to mention those Indians farther when we treat of the congress between them and the *English* at *Lancaster*. To conclude this account of the *Pennsylvanian* trade, its amazing improvement may be known by the imports from *England* to that province, which in the year 1757, amounted to 268,261. 6s. 6d. sterling. For this they paid annually to *Great Britain*, besides their own natural productions, 60,000*l.* in specie or bullion; of which they receive 10,000 from *Virginia* and *Maryland*, 25,000 from *Spain* and *Portugal*, 4000 from the *Canaries*, 4000 from *Newfoundland*, and the rest from the *French* and *Dutch* islands.

THE flourishing state of this colony is a sufficient proof of the sound judgment of its founder *Penn* in his legislative and commercial capacity, however unaccountable he may have been (and such he certainly was) in other points of conduct. Upon his death his family reaped the benefit of all his plans; and notwithstanding the tenaciousness of the assembly in matters of property and independency, they made good their original claims; so far as they were founded on the new constitution of 1704. In *August* 1732, *William Penn*, Esq; the

*Arrival of* then proprietary, arrived at *Chester* in *Pensylvania*, and was so cordially received by the inhabitants, in gratitude to their beneficent founder, that he entered his capital (as we may call it) of *Philadelphia* at the head of almost eight hundred horse, who came out to meet him, and was received by a formal speech from the recorder. Soon after he met the heads of the six *Indian* nations, and renewing the friendship between them and his province; made each of them a present of a curious gun.

WHEN, in consequence of the war declared between *Spain* and *Great Britain*, the expedition against *Carthagena*, under admiral *Vernoy*, was undertaken, *Pensylvania*, among the other northern colonies, was called upon to furnish soldiers for that service. Mr. *Thomas* was then governor of *Pensylvania*, and he had succeeded to *Logan*, who had acted as president from 1736 to 1738. The reader may easily conceive that such a message was highly disagreeable to an assembly of quakers. The necessity of the juncture, however, induced them to vote 4000/. for the king's service, and they left to the governor the care of raising the soldiers. Here the provincials it must be admitted, behaved in a mean and disingenuous manner; for though they themselves were sensible, that the governor had no way of raising men, but among the labourers of the colony, who were, most of them, indented servants, the assembly opposed them. Their pretext was, that those servants were part of their property, and as transferable as the rest of their goods. In this ridiculous plea they were joined by the freemen, their representatives, and the dispute was carried on so obstinately, that they brought lawyers from *New York* to plead their cause in the courts of *Pensylvania*. There they must have been defeated, had not the assembly stept in and refused to part with the supply they had voted, unless the servants were restored to their masters. This condition was what the governor could not comply with, and the money was accordingly applied to the indemnification of the freemen.

So flagrant an insult upon justice and government could not fail of rendering the assembly apprehensive of its consequences; and therefore next year they strove to wipe off all suspicion, by passing the following vote, "The house taking into consideration the many taxes their fellow-subjects in *Great Britain* are obliged to pay towards supporting the dignity of the crown, and defraying the necessary and contingent charges of government, and willing to demonstrate the fidelity, loyalty and affection of the inhabitants of this province to our gracious sovereign, by bearing a share of the burden of our fellow-

*Refracto-*  
*tiness.*

fellow-subjects, proportionable to our circumstances, do therefore And com-  
fore, chearfully and unanimously resolve, that 3000*l.* be paid pliance of  
for the use of the king, his heirs and successors, to be ap- the assen-  
plied to such uses as he, in his royal wisdom, shall think fit by.

to direct and appoint." In consequence of this vote, three thousand pounds were actually paid into his majesty's exchequer by the colony's agent. In the year 1745, when the expedition against *Louisbourg* was resolved on, it was communicated to the assembly of *Pensylvania* by governor *Shirley*, and they were required to assist in the same. They accordingly took the message into their consideration, and voted a supply of 4000*l.* to be laid out in provisions for the troops; but they refused to be any other ways assisting in the expedition, and expressed great doubts as to its practicability. This supply, however, was extremely seasonable.

NEXT year, the success of the *Louisbourg* expedition encou- Their ex-  
taged the British ministry to form a scheme for driving the ~~pences ro-~~  
~~French~~ entirely out of *North America*, and many impractical-~~wards the~~  
calculations were made of the proportions of men or money, ~~war.~~

or both, which each *American* province was to furnish towards this momentous enterprise. The *Pensylvanians* among others were called upon by letters from the secretary's office at *Whitehall*, dated the 6th of April, 1746, and they voted 5000*l.* as their contingent. This, however, they did with a very bad grace; for pretending that the revenue could not furnish the ~~money~~, they proposed to raise it by adding the like sum to their paper currency. The governor informed them that he was expressly restrained by his instructions, a matter which the assembly themselves well knew, from agreeing to any extension of the provincial paper currency, and therefore desired that they would raise the money by some less exceptionable method. The assembly, upon this, agreed to issue the supply out of the money dormant in the loan office, for exchanging torn and illegible bills, and to replace it by a new emission of bills to the same amount, to be sunk out of the product of the excise in ten years. Though this method was not without exception, yet the governor agreed to it, and passed the bill, and five hundred men were raised, and employed for near eighteen months, in defending the frontiers of *New York*. When this expedition, for reasons best known to the ministry at home, was laid aside, a new bill was brought into parliament for restraining the northern colonies in general from issuing paper bills of credit; but it fell to the ground. Mr. *Thomason*, by this time, had been succeeded in the government of *Pensylvania* by *Anthony Palmer*, Esq; as president, and in the year 1748 he was relieved by *James Hamilton*, Esq; who was appointed governor,

native of that place, and son of the famous barrister, whom we have mentioned on another occasion. Though this appointment was unexceptionable, and though by the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, Pennsylvania, as well as the rest of North America, was restored to tranquility, and though the interest of the proprietaries had been greatly instrumental in defeating the abovementioned bill, yet nothing could reconcile those stubborn provincials to the proprietary government.

They saw with a jealous eye the great and astonishing increase of the proprietary's estate and interest in the province; and they complained that the whole was obtained at their charge by being obliged to defray the expence of the Indian affairs, which was every day growing upon them. The governor saw their drift, and would willingly have diverted it, but was unable, and, at last, they formally called upon the proprietaries to take a share of the charge upon themselves. The latter replied, "That they did not conceive themselves to be under any such obligation, even though the people had been taxed for the charges of government: that as not one shilling had been levied on the people for that service, it was so much less reasonable in the people to ask any thing of them: that they had, notwithstanding, charged themselves with paying their interpreter even much more than could be due to him on their account, and were also then at the expence of maintaining his son with a tutor in the Indian country, to learn their language and customs for the service of the country; as well as of sundry other charges on Indian affairs: that they had been at considerable expence for the service of the province both in England and there: that they pay the Indians for the land they purchase: and that they are no more obliged to contribute to the public charge, than any other chief governor of any other colony."

*A letter from the Assembly to the Governor Hamilton.* In answer to this reply the assembly, in May 1751, remonstrated upon the justice of their request; upon the vast advantages the proprietaries gained by the Indian treaties, and upon the large sums raised by the interest of the paper money and the excise, the last producing 3000<sup>l</sup>. a year, with the tax arising from licences of various kinds; all which was appropriated to the governor's support, and therefore they repeated their request to know what share of the Indian expence the proprietaries were willing to bear. It was no wonder, after what had passed, if the proprietaries returned a very sharp answer, in which they threw off some bitter insinuations against the assembly's conduct, as tending to inflame the minds of the people. They denied all the matter of fact advanced by the assembly; they pleaded the authority of the board of trade in England on their side; and they asserted, that the province

upon an average had not expended above four-hundred pounds a year upon the Indian affairs, an inconsiderable sum, when compared to the immense advantages it reaped by having those savages for its friends and allies. The rest of the remonstrance is in the same strain. The whole of it is firmly, but decently penned, and signed by the two proprietaries, *Thomas and Richard Penn.*

WHEN this answer was laid before the assembly, being unable to reply to it, they ordered it with all the papers introductory to it to lie upon their table. They had at this time under consideration the immense increase of their colony, and they had unanimously resolved to strike an additional sum of 20,000/. in order to replace defective bills, and increase the provincial capital, in proportion to the increase of inhabitants; as also to re-emit and continue the sums already in circulation. It is almost incredible, that men of sound and sober sense should so obstinately insist upon a matter which they themselves knew to be impracticable. When they carried up the bill to the governor, he returned it with his negative, which was softened with several obliging expressions as to the measure itself, but excused himself by the time being too unseasonable, on account of the outcries raised in Great Britain about plantation paper currency, for an application to be made to the crown concerning any extension or re-admission of theirs. The assembly treated this answer as an evasion, and seemed to be under no apprehensions of what was suggested by the governor; but they adjourned themselves, that they might take his answer into farther consideration. Upon their meeting towards the end of May, the governor sent a message to inform them, "that the country of Allegheny, situate on the waters of the Ohio, partly within the limits of Pennsylvania, partly within those of Virginia, already was, or soon would be, invaded by an army of French and Indians from Canada: in which case the Indians inhabiting there, who were a mixture of the six nations, Shawanees, Delawares, and Tugtweets, lately recommended as allies to the provinces by the said six nations, would be obliged to leave the country, and his majesty's subjects trading with them would be cut off, unless timely warned by the messengers sent to them by himself for that purpose: that Montour, an interpreter, had heard the French declaration delivered, and the reply of the Indians, which was firm and resolute, but not to be relied upon as they were ignorant of all things." The governor then proceeded in the most pathetic manner to recommend to their consideration the danger of the colony.

*State of  
the colo-  
ny's com-  
merce.*

THE assembly's conduct on this alarming occasion seemed to give grounds for thinking, that they rather rejoiced, than grieved, at the distresses of the colony. They urged that the British government had never meant to comprehend Pennsylvania, a province that had been always remarkable for supporting its public credit, in the prohibitions for extending the paper currency. They remarked, in their answer, that the three years preceding 1739, when their paper currency for 80,000*l.* was under consideration, the exports from Britain to Pennsylvania amounted to no more than 179,654*l.* 9*s.* 2*d.* Sterling; but that for the years 1749, 1750, and 1751, they amounted to 647,317*l.* 8*s.* 9*d.* Sterling, which vast increase they very properly urged as an invincible argument for their demand. The governor, though satisfied in his own mind that the measure was right, put off giving them any answer to this representation until their next meeting, which was to be in August. This was a well judged delay, for the members of the assembly employed the interval in procuring from Indian traders intelligence of the state of affairs on the Ohio, the designs of the *Canadians*, with the condition of the *Twigsues*, and other English Indians; and finding all that the governor had laid to be true, they voted eight hundred pound to be raised as a present to the savages, of which six hundred was to be distributed by the governor at his discretion. The other two hundred was allotted to cover, as the Indians call it, fourteen *Twigsues*, who had been killed by the French and their Indians, while they were generously protecting in their village some English traders, though there was then no war between France and Great Britain.

UPON the next meeting of the assembly, the governor passed the currency bill; but with an amendment, to which he was indispensably bound by his instructions, which was, that the act should have no effect till it received the royal approbation. The reading of this proviso set the house in a flame, and they unanimously resolved, "not to agree to this amendment, because they apprehended it to be destructive of the liberties derived to them by the royal and provincial charters, as well as injurious to the proprietaries rights, and without any precedent in the laws of the province." The governor, on the other hand, laid before them the inability he was under from his instructions to pass the bill without the clause. They justified themselves under their charter claims, and insisted upon it, that the instruction was only a thing of course, and that they were exempted from the apparent intention of it, which never was meant to affect them. Notwithstanding this, and a great deal of reasoning to the same purpose, the governor

vernor refused to pass the bill without the amendment; as he did not think that the occasion was so extraordinary as to justify his breaking through his instructions. The complication of this dispute reflects no great honour upon the quakers; because it very plainly appeared that *Pennsylvania* was so well established in its credit at the court of *Britain*, that had the bill gone over with the governor's consent, it would readily have received the royal approbation. The governor during the whole dispute appears to have behaved with all the decency and tenderness possible towards the provincials, and put them in mind how very jealous the ministry of *England* then were of charter-governments. Nothing could convince the quakers, who still unwarrantably insisted upon their governor's breaking into a royal instruction, and one too that was founded on an address of a *British* house of commons, and, rather than accept of an amendment, they unanimously ~~dropt~~ the bill. Not contented with that, they insulted the governor with farther papers and declarations, the reasonings of which, if they contained any meaning, was, that the governor ought to do what the assembly directed, without being bound down to any instructions, either from the crown or the proprietaries. In this full disposition they remained till the year 1754, at which time, though the *French* were making the most alarming encroachments upon all the *British* colonies in *America*, they seem to have taken no concern either in resisting them, or securing themselves.

IN February 1754 the province met, and ordered in a bill for striking 40,000*l.* to be made current, and emitted on loan, and for re-emitting and continuing the currency of the bills already in circulation. While they were proceeding on this bill, the governor sent them down a written message, together with three letters, one from the earl of Holderness to himself, a second from the commissioners of trade and plantations, and a third from the *French* commandant on the *Ohio*, to Mr. D'isroiddie, deputy-governor of *Virginia*. That from the earl of Holderness informed him of an intention the *French* had to, invade the *British* settlements with an armed force, and enjoining him to be upon his guard, and to resist by force any hostile attempts made upon the province by a foreign power; and that it was proper all the other provinces should correspond together, and be assisting to each other in repelling such invasion, and that he should call together the assembly, and engage them to grant such supplies as the exigencies of affairs might require. The latter from the commissioners of trade mentioned a sum of money that had been ordered by his majesty for presents to the six *Indian* friendly nations;

*The History of America.*

nations; and his having directed the governor of New York to hold an interview with them; "and it having, continues the letter, been usual upon the like occasions formerly, for all his majesty's colonies, whose interest or security were connected with, or depended upon them, to join in such interview; and that, as the present disposition of those Indians, and the attempts made upon them to withdraw them from the British interest, appear to them to make such a general interview more particularly necessary at that time, their desire was, that he, the governor, would lay this matter before the council and general assembly, or the province under his government, and recommend to them forthwith, to make a proper provision for appointing commissioners, to be joined with those of the other governments for renewing the covenant chain; and that the said commissioners might be men of character, ability, integrity, and well acquainted with Indian affairs." The letter to Mr. Dinwiddie denied the charge of the French encroachments upon the British dominions, but asserted that monarch's right to the lands upon the Ohio.

*Message of  
the gover-  
nor on the  
same.*

THE governor in the message he sent to the assembly with all this interesting intelligence, endeavoured to rouse the members into a sense of their danger, and to persuade them to raise the force necessary for repelling it, informing them at the same time how willing the other British governments were to co-operate with them. He likewise recommended that they should send an agent to the banks of the Ohio to reside with the Indians there, and prepare a bill for regulating the Indian trade. Though nothing could be more wise and just than those admonitions, yet the answer the assembly sent was vague and accompanied by their currency bill, the passing of which they, in fact, made the price of any attention they were to pay either to the letters that had been laid before them, or to the preservation of the province. The governor, in his answer, upbraided them with this, and again rejected their bill; but offered, if they would establish proper funds, to agree to their striking a farther sum in bills of credit, in which he thought he was warranted by the emergency. The assembly, in return, entered upon the most shameful evasions and distinctions, in which it is plain they were still resolved to do nothing for their own security; though at last they promised to send commissioners to Albany. The governor shewed wonderful patience at those insults upon his understanding, and that of every man of common sense in the British America; and contented himself with remonstrating upon their stubborn disobedience to his majesty's orders at a time when he assured them that his dominions were invaded by the French,

*Obstinacy  
of the as-  
sembly.*

*French*, adding, that their own province was the most immediately in danger.

To explain this last hint, it is to be observed, that the *French* at that very time were fortified upon a spot of ground which always had been foreseen, would endanger the province if it came into their possession; and therefore Mr. *Penn*, the proprietary, had actually proposed to have a fort, or strong trading house, erected near that place, and had offered four hundred pounds, and one hundred pounds per annum for twenty years for building and maintaining it. But this proposal was, for very slender reasons, rejected by the provincials. The governor then proceeded to inform them, that the place fortified by the *French* actually was within the limits of the province, but very properly observed, that they were equally bound to the obedience of his majesty's directions, whether it lay in *Pensylvania* or *Virginia*. The assembly most ridiculously demurred to this last proposition, under pretence that the governor was only instructed to act upon the defensive, that they had nothing to do with the defence of *Virginia*, and that they were not fully apprized of the boundaries of the two provinces. It was in vain for the governor to combat their obstinacy, by producing gentlemen who had been witnesses of the *French* encroachments, and who gave evidence of their being within the province of *Pensylvania*. In short, notwithstanding all the tenderness he shewed, and the compliances he made, they adjourned themselves to the sixth of May.

On the 2d of April they met again by a special summons *Farther* from the governor, who laid before them fresh advices he *danger and* had received from the governor of *Virginia*, and the necessity *a supply* of their granting a speedy supply to obviate the danger of the granted. *inclosure*. This message being laid before the assembly the sums of 20,000, 15,000, 10,000, and 5,000*l.* were proposed to be given, but all of them rejected by a double majority of voices. And then they adjourned themselves, on presence of their consulting their constituents. When they met again the governor communicated to them the news he had received of the *French* assembling upon the *Ohio*, to the number of 3000, regulars, and having taken the *Virginian* fort there. He likewise laid before them the pressing instances of governor *Douglas*, and governor *Delancy* of *New York*, for their coming to speedy and vigorous resolutions. Proposals in consequence of a plan sent from the ministry at *London*, were likewise mentioned for a confederacy of all the British provinces in *North America*, so as to act in concert against the common enemy, which the governor likewise recom-

## The History of America.

recommended, and desired, that they would instruct their commissioners, who were to repair to Albany upon that head. Those sensible, and indeed pathetic representations, had no other effect with this stubborn undutiful assembly, than to raise their demands upon the governor in proportion as his calls arose upon them for their own defence. It is true they offered a joint bill for granting an aid of 10,000*l.* to the king, and 20,000*l.* for replacing torn and ragged bills. This bill was likewise returned, (as they could not but foresee,) by the governor with an amendment, which, though rational and equitable, threw the house into such a flame, that they unanimously rejected the bill with the amendment (C). It is observable, during the whole of this debate, and the reasoning upon it, this assembly of humble quakers put themselves upon the very same footing with a British house of commons, and maintained that the governor could no more alter their money-bills, than the house of lords could those of the commons. This absurd and ridiculous prepossession influenced all their proceedings. It is foreign to this work to take notice of the various altercations those quakers ran into from this principle. It may be proper, however, to observe, that they were at this very time possessed of more public money than could have answered the supply, without burdening the people with a ten years farther extension of the excise.

Another THOUGH the danger became every day more and more ~~very~~ threatening to Pennsylvania, yet the assembly, instead of providing against it, entered upon a set of resolutions, in which on the like they endeavoured to throw all the blame of their inactivity upon the governor and the proprietary interest, and to erect themselves into an absolute independent money-court. Having come to those resolutions, they, in a civil message to the governor, declined to be concerued in the proposed confederacy, but said they had given a present to be made to the Indians at Albany by their commissioners. Upon the next meeting of the assembly, which was by special summons, August the 7th, the governor acquainted them with Washington's defeat upon the Ohio, with the duty they lay under of providing for their distressed Indian allies, who had been driven to take refuge in Pennsylvania, and the necessity of their dropping all farther disputes, and raising an immediate supply, especially, as their brother provincials upon the frontiers

(C) The assembly proposed ten years, but the governor was of opinion that four years were sufficient.

tiers had applied to him for protection. He likewise acquainted them with the proceedings of the commissioners at Albany, with their being unanimous as to the confederacy proposed, and laid before them their plan for putting it in execution. The result of all this intelligence was, that the assembly, after various debates, prepared and presented to the governor a bill for striking 35,000*l.* in bills of credit, of which 25,000 was to be for the king's use, and the remainder for replacing defective bills. The governor, who possibly expected him, in a very polite manner excused himself from passing the bill without amendment, but referred them to his successor, who was expected in a few days.

THIS was the last act of Mr. Hamilton's government. He Mr. Mor-  
had desired to be dismissed from so undesirable a service, in his succeeds  
which he had behaved with the utmost moderation and equa- Mr. Ha-  
infinity, and with so much tenderness to the absurdities of the milton in  
provincials he governed, that he acquired the esteem even the go-  
of the Quakers themselves. He was succeeded in the beginning ver-  
of October 1754, the time when a new assembly had been  
just chosen, by Robert Hunter Morris, Esq. The first speech  
of this new governor contained little besides general professions  
of his attachment to the interests of the colony, of his  
readiness to concur with them in passing any additional laws  
they might think to be for their benefit, and representations  
of the danger of the colony from the now avowed intentions  
of the French against the British provinces. However harm-  
less in the course of things this speech was, it excited won-  
derful doubts and jealousies among the members of the as-  
sembly. They called for a copy of the governor's commis-  
sion, and the royal approbation of it, and then returned a very  
dry common place answer; but they gave his excellency, at  
the same time, to understand that they were resolved to tread  
in the footsteps of former assemblies, concluding, in a desire  
to be adjourned, in which the governor concurred. Their  
next meeting was in the beginning of September, when the  
governor laid before the assembly the annexed letter from Sir  
Thomas Robinson, the secretary of state (D), to which we re-  
fer

(D) Whitehall, July, 5, 1754.

"Sir,

"Your letter of the 25th of November last, in answer to the  
earl of Holderness's of the 28th of August, having been received  
and laid before the king, I am  
to acquaint you, that it is his

majesty's express command, that  
you should, in obedience there-  
to, not only act vigorously in  
the defence of the government  
under your care, but that you  
should likewise be aiding and  
assisting his majesty's other Amer-  
ican colonies, to repel any  
hostile

## The History of America.

refer the reader. The reproaches in this letter, though justly were harmless and ineffectual, and prove the great ignorance of the British ministry as to the character of the Pennsylvania quakers. The letter was enforced by a more particular information of the strength and progress of the French, and of the wavering condition of the six friendly nations of Indians, who certainly would, all of them, go over to the French, which many of them had already done, if the English did not bring into the field a power sufficient to protect them. All those representations, as they were unbacked by any compulsive power, were treated by the assembly with the usual contempt. They knew the power of money was in their hands, that in that, none could controul them, and they were the best judges of their own danger. The old expedient of a currency was again proposed, and the new governor was presented with a fresh bill for striking the sum of 40,000*£.* in bills of credit; one moiety for the king's use, and the other for replacing damaged bills. This bill was suspended by a message, in which they attempted, in a most scandalous manner, to throw the blame of their province's danger upon their former governors, insisting upon the amendment of their bills; and insinuating, that from Sir Thomas Robinson's letter they thought they had been misrepresented to the ministry in England.

Sir Dudley Rider's opinion. DURING the dispute between Mr. Hamilton and the assembly, Sir Dudley Rider, the attorney general, gave his opinion upon that governor's case in the following manner, "I am of opinion, it is by no means safe or adviseable, or consistent with his duty, to pass such bills without a suspending clause." In consequence of this opinion, to which the quakers paid no regard, the governor refused to give his assent to the bill without the amendment; but, in consideration of the

hostile attempts made against them; and it was with great surprise, that the king observed your total silence upon that part of his majesty's orders, which relate to a concert with the other colonies, which, you must be sensible is now become more essentially necessary for their common defence, since the account received by you from major Washington, with regard to the hostilities committed by the French upon the river Ohio,

which verify, in fact, what was apprehended, when the earl of Holderness wrote so fully to you in August last, and which might have been, in great measure, if not totally prevented, had every one of his majesty's governments exerted themselves according to those directions, the observance whereof I am now, by the king's command, to enforce to you in the strongest manner." I am, &c.

emer-

emergency, he offered to join with the assembly in any bill the members should think the pressing occasions of the province demanded, provided a fund was established for sinking the & some other expressions of ours

by his majesty's would cause in the province, by the paper-bills becoming of no value, I need not particularly mention." This answer, the latter part of which the members thought struck at their independency and despotism in money matters, threw the assembly into a greater flame than ever, and they charged him with subserviency to the proprietary interest, as he had offered to dispense with the much litigated instruction, if that could be served.

WHILE matters remained in this untowardly state between *Messages and answers up-on a new letter from the secretary of state.* the governor and assembly of *Pensylvania*, another letter, more explicit than the former, came from the secretary of state to be communicated by the governor to the assembly. It informed them that the ministry having come to some resolutions for the defence of *America*, his majesty had commanded two regiments of foot, consisting of five hundred men each, to repair to *Virginia*, there to be completed to seven hundred each, and that governor *S Shirley* and Sir *William Pepperell* had been ordered to raise two regiments more of 1000 each, which were to be officered from *Great Britain*; all of them to be commanded by a general officer of rank and reputation, who happened afterwards to be major-general *Braddock*. The same letter strongly recommends the furnishing the officers and troops with proper necessaries and conveniences. It insists upon the province raising in proportion to its ability, contributing towards establishing a common fund for the *American service*, and for levying and paying the men to be raised there. This letter was enforced by a speech from the governor, shewing the expediency and necessity of their compliance. Though nothing could be more plain and reasonable than all that the ministry had required, yet the assembly, instead of complying, fell upon the attorney-general's opinion, as proceeding on wrong principles, and, in a message they sent to the governor, they not only endeavoured to shew that *Pensylvania* was not comprehended in the instruction insisted upon, but that they had sufficiently provided for the emergency, if the governor would pass the bill. They then demanded of the governor to know whether the royal instruction was the ~~an~~ impediment to his passing the bill, and required him to lay before them the instructions he had given the proprietors. To this message, which was both *voluminous* and *impertinent*,

tinent, the governor, in answer, evaded laying before them the proprietary instructions, till a proper time, and declined passing the bill, because the supply could be otherwise raised. " Were there, said he, no other method of raising money for the present service, but that by them proposed and insisted upon, their conduct might have appeared in a more favourable light : but that as they had, or ought to have had in bank by the laws in being, 14, or 15,000*l.* together with a revenue of 7000*l.* a year ; as the city and province were in rich and flourishing circumstances, the people numerous, and burdened with none, or very trifling taxes, he could not consent to pass the bill proposed." To this, and many other arguments urged by the governor, the assembly returned a rejoinder, justifying the requisition they made of his instructions ; and intimating, that an appeal to the crown was the only method left them of being contiguously in the use and benefit of their birth-right and charter liberties ; which they insinuated to be in danger by their being refused a sight of them.

*Measures  
for a mil-  
itia.*

THE governor had already so far agreed with the assembly's request as to the proprietary instructions, as to acquaint them, that he had it in charge from the proprietaries, to recommend to them in the most pressing manner to provide with all imaginable dispatch for the defence and safety of the province, not only by affording such aids as his majesty from time to time should require, but by establishing a regular militia, providing arms and stores of war, and building proper magazines ; all to be done in such a manner as to be least burthensome to the inhabitants, and particularly so, as not to oblige any to bear arms, who were, or might be conscientiously scrupulous against it. But the governor finding the assembly insist upon a sight of the other instructions, as their right, he treated this pretence with some indignation, and put them at defiance, as to any address they intended to present to the crown. He then endeavoured to divert their attention from those ridiculous subjects, by informing them that he had lately received intelligence, that 6000 (E) of the best troops of France were actually arrived at the lower fort on the Ohio, and were there employed in fortifying the country. He therefore once more entreated them to grant the supplies required, and to enable him to raise a considerable body of men to be employed in conjunction with his majesty's troops ; to establish a regular militia, and provide the necessary stores of war.

(E) When we consider the would have acted more politely, astuteness of those quakers, we if he had not aggravated the are of opinion the governor danger beyond the truth.

THE assembly treated this alarm with the utmost contempt *Security of and neglect*, and in all their subsequent proceedings they *rose the affem-* in their insults upon the governor. They ordered the papers, *bij*, which had passed between the proprietaries and them, to be printed, which they pretended they had delayed till then, out of tenderness to the proprietaries. Those papers, however, when rightly considered, do no discredit to the proprietaries, as acting under a royal charter. The assembly then came to unanimous resolutions concerning the proprietary instructions, in which they declare it as their opinion, that the said instructions were the principal, if not the sole, obstruction to their bill: and refer to points contained in their reply to the governor's charge against them. They then descend to other particulars, in which they upbraid the governor with his ignorance of their constitution, and after various strictures upon the revenue of their province, they attacked him upon the alarm he had given them upon the *French Invasion*, which they endeavoured to ridicule, by fixing it to the limits of *Vir-* *ginia*. They then shewed the improbability of 6000 *French* troops getting, as it were, by stealth, to the lower fort of the *Ohio*. In the course of their reply they make use of the following strong expressions, which we cannot in justice to the original settlers omit, however little they are applicable to the then assembly. "Under the sanction, say they, of a charter, a sober, industrious people, without any charge to the crown or the proprietor, first settled this wilderness, and by their frugality, and the equity of their laws, laid the foundation of a flourishing colony, which already, within the ordinary life of man, has made a considerable addition to the dominions of the crown, by an increase of dutiful and loyal subjects, and bears no mean rank in contributing to the wealth and trade of our mother country."

After this remonstrance, in consequence of the plan *Five thousand* *sand pound* *raised*. which they had formed of being independent as much as they possibly could, both upon the proprietor and the governor, they unanimously resolved to raise 5000*£* on the credit of the province, for the accommodation of the king's troops; and impowered certain members of their own to negotiate the loan, and allow such interest as should be found necessary. This resolution produced a tedious contest of very little importance to our readers. At last the assembly came to a resolution to make their appeal to the crown, and that a fair and modest state of their case would recommend them to the royal protection, and screen them from the malignity of their adversaries. Of this resolution they apprized the governor, whom they still accused of being totally ignorant of their condition and finances,

## The History of America.

finances; and thus, in the main, stood the state of affairs in this province when general Braddock arrived in America. Upon that gentleman's arrival, the assembly met again on a special summons from the governor, who repeated the old topics of their danger, the necessity of a supply; the opening roads from the inhabited parts of *Pennsylvania* towards the *Ohio*; the junction of the *Pennsylvanian* forces with those of the eastern provinces, and the cutting off all the supplies, which the French had used to receive from the *British* colonies, and which had enabled them to subsist their troops. He added, that it was general Braddock's desire, a post shd be established between *Philadelphia*, and a place called *Winchester*; and that the money, for their quota of the expedition, should be deposited in the hands of a common treasurer, who was to act as such for the contingents of the other provinces. Some ridiculous alterations happened after this, between the governor and the assembly, in which he seems to have been to blame; because the charges he brought against them were frivolous, and served only to exasperate them at a time, when their hearty concurrence with public measures was so necessary for public safety.

THE next affair of importance that fell out, was an application from governor Shirley to governor Morris, to know how far the province of *Pennsylvania* would contribute towards the charge of his building a fort near *Crown Point* upon the *British* territories. The arrival of the troops from Great-Britain happened about this time, and the governor sent them another message, in which he informed them, among other things, that to render his majesty's measures effectual, it was expected, that the colonies should raise an additional number of forces, and should furnish provisions, and all necessaries, to those employed for their protection: that this being so reasonable in itself, he could not doubt its being complied with by all the provinces, in proportion to their abilities; and he hoped, that as *Pennsylvania* was the most interested in the event, they would exert themselves as became the representatives of a province actually invaded, and having their all depending on the success of the present enterprize. The rest of the message ran in the usual exhortatory terms. The result was suitable. Twenty-five thousand pounds were granted to the king's use: five thousand pounds of it were appropriated for the sum borrowed for the service at the last sitting, ten thousand pounds for the purchase of provisions, at the request of the government of *Massachusetts-Bay*, for victualling their forces: five thousand pounds to answer the occasional draughts of general Braddock: and the remaining five thou-

*Farther  
expenses of  
the pro-  
vince.*

sand, for the maintenance of such Indians as had taken refuge in the province; and other contingent expences. This plausible vote was, however, only an empty sound, because the money was to be raised by an emission of paper-currency, which was to be sunk, according to the former ineffectual proposal, by a ten year's extension of the excise. The bill, consequently, was rejected by the governor, who, at the same time, recommended to their encouragement one *Scarroyady*, an Indian chief, of great consequence among the *Ohio Indians*, and so well affected to the English interest, that he had raised a company of men for its service. That same day, Mr. *Quincy*, who was commissioner to *Pennsylvania* from the government of *Massachusetts Bay*, presented a memorial to the assembly, begging them to find some other means for rendering their vote of supply effectual; representing, that it was impossible for his province to do more than it had done; it being quite exhausted by its immense expence against the French, and putting them in mind that they had not a moment to lose.

NOTHING can better illustrate the character of those stubborn *Pennsylvanians* than their conduct on this occasion. Devoted enthusiastically, not as they said, to the soil, but the constitution of their province, they had suffered the sword, in a manner, to be put to their throats, rather than agree to a measure they had once declared against, and with a governor as immoderately obstinate as themselves. The latter, perhaps, was the most indefensible, as it cannot be supposed, that in the then urgency of public affairs, he could ever have incurred any blame had he agreed to the quaker's proposal. But no sooner did Mr. Quincy apply to them in a mild and pathetic manner, than they voted to raise 15000 £. of which 5000 £. were to repay the sum so before borrowed for victualling the king's troops; and 10,000 £. to answer the request of the *Massachusetts*' government. This favour was duly acknowledged by Mr. Quincy, who won the hearts of the assembly, by seeming not greatly to approve of their governor's conduct. In the meantime, the governor had not thought proper to return, as usual, the last money-bill that had been sent up to him by the assembly; giving for this reason, "That it was a bill of so extraordinary a nature, that he thought it his duty to lay it before his majesty, and should keep it for that purpose."

At the 'faute' time, the government informed the assembly, that the French had fitted out fifteen sail of the line, on board of which they had put 6000 land troops; that they were bound to America; and that they knew Pennsylvania to be <sup>an alarm about a</sup> <sup>French invasion.</sup>

be a plentiful, but a defenceless, country. After this, the governor accompanied the governors *Sirby* and *Delany* to *Annapolis*, where they had a conference with general *Braddock*, and the governors *Sharp* of *Maryland*, and *Dinwiddie* of *Virginia*. When the assembly met again, squabbles arose between them and the governor upon the most uninteresting points; and he sent them a very sharp message concerning the disposal of the money raised against the *French*, no more than 5000*l.* of which were left to the disposal of general *Braddock*; the remainder being 20,000*l.* and all the surplus of the excise, for eleven years to come, being subjected to some members of their own houses, and to the assembly for the time being. In the answer, which the assembly returned to this charge, it is absolutely denied. In the bill, said they, 5000*l.* of the sum was appropriated to pay for provisions bought, and given for the use of the forces in *Virginia*, under general *Braddock*; 10,000*l.* more was given to buy provisions for the *New England* forces under his command; 5000*l.* more was subjected to his order, and to be disposed of for the king's service as he should think fit; and the remaining 5000*l.* was appropriated for the subsistence of *Indians* taking refuge in this province, payment of posts or expresses, hire of carriages, clearing of roads, and other necessary contingent expences for the king's service, as might be incumbent on this government to discharge. The rest of this answer, which is very long and spirited, bears very hard upon the governor. Upon the breaking up of the house, they were assembled by special summons on the 13th of June, and several letters were read, from Sir Peter *Halket* and colonel *Dunbar*, officers who served under *Braddock*, acknowledging the receipt of certain presents from the house to the officers of their respective regiments, of the most acceptable kind, and returning thanks for the same.

GENERAL *Braddock*, by this time, had set out upon his expedition against fort *Du Queſne*, not without venting severe reproaches against the *Americans* in general, and particularly the *Pennsylvanians*, for their backwardness in enabling him to take the field before the trees of the woods through which he was to march had put forth their leaves, so as to conceal the *Indian* ambushes, to which, in fact, he afterwards owed his defeat, and the loss of his life. Before he set out on his march, he sent messages to the governors of *Pennsylvania*, *Virginia*, and *Maryland*, acquainting them with part of his plan of operations, and that he expected they would supply him and his army with whatever they might want. At the same time he sent them intelligence, that he was

was informed, the *French* intended to fall upon their back settlements. Those advices were the grounds of the extraordinary summons of the assembly; and the governor demanded their counsel how to proceed, laying before them, at the same time, the necessities of the juncture, and their own danger. The assembly demanded a copy of *Braddock's* letter, which was refused them; though the governor offered to communicate it to a committee. In a few days after, he sent them another message, that all the money that had been advanced by the province to the commissaries of the army was expended; that the *French* were determined to oppose *Braddock* with the whole force of *Canada*; that *Pensylvania* was every day threatened with new dangers and invasions, and that men must be raised for public services; a variety of which this message pointed out.

THE quakers of *Pensylvania*, by this time, began to be sensible how impracticable their pacific system was against a designing and determined enemy like the *French*, and such merciless inhuman savages as their *Indians*. They were, however, too proud to own their error, and though convinced of it, they continued to treat the governor's messages with their usual contempt and distrust. They insinuated, that all those alarms only served to authorise a fresh demand for a militia. *Measures* ~~law~~, which the governor knew to be incompatible with their *for a militia* principles as quakers. Notwithstanding this, they prepared two money-bills, one for striking 10,000*l.* for the exchange of defaced bills; and one of 15,000*l.* more for the king's use. Those bills were drawn upon the model of that which had been passed by governor *Thomas*, and approved of by the crown, even after it had met the so much litigated instruction. In this, the assembly triumphed greatly, and, indeed, they seem to have then been in earnest. *Pensylvania* had that year been afflicted with a severe frost and drought, which had subjected the inhabitants to numberless inconveniences; and the assembly earnestly pressed the governor to dispatch the bills, that the members might return to their respective homes, where they were threatened with the calamitous circumstances, not only of war, but of famine. The governor returned the bill, with amendments, which the assembly steadily refused to agree to, (which, to say the truth, he could not but foresee) and he adhered to them with equal obstinacy. The 10,000*l.* bill, however, at last was passed. The assembly upon this adjourned to September; but they had a special summons to meet on the 23d of July.

*Compliance of the assembly with Mr. Quincy.* THE occasion of this extraordinary meeting was the famous defeat of general Braddock; which the governor, in a speech to the assembly, set off with all the horrid circumstances attending it; and represented to them the danger of a province, which, like *Pensylvania*, was unprovided with a militia. "There are, said he, men enough in this province to protect it against any force the *French* can bring, and numbers of them are willing and desirous to defend their country upon the present occasion; but they have neither arms, ammunition, nor discipline; without which it will be impossible to repel an active enemy, whose trade is war... I therefore hope, that you will, without delay, grant such supplies, as may enable me not only to secure the people of this province, but, by reinforcing and assisting the king's troops, enable them to remove the *French* from their present encroachments." The assembly was sensible of their danger, and immediately voted an aid of 50,000*l.* by a tax upon all real and personal estates in the province. The governor, while this affair was under their consideration, informed them, that colonel Dunbar was upon his march from fort *Cumberland* to *Philadelphia*; and that they must fall upon measures for the protection of their western frontier. To this message the assembly replied with great quickness, that they hoped Mr. Dunbar's troops would be employed on that service.

*Proposal concerning the Allegany mountains.* NEXT day, while the assembly was deliberating upon the proposal for taxing the proprietary estate in common, *John Ulmer*, one of the proprietaries, of a thousand acres of land, west of the *Allegheny* mountains, without purchase-money, and for fifteen years clear of quit-rents, to every colonel who should serve on an expedition from that or the neighbouring provinces against the *French* on the *Ohio*; seven hundred and fifty to each lieutenant-colonel and major; five hundred to each captain; four hundred to each lieutenant and ensign; and two hundred to every common soldier: and requiring the house to afford some assistance to such as should accept the same. At the time this message was delivered, the town of *Philadelphia*, and indeed the whole province, was in a prodigious ferment. Not only the defeat of *Braddock*, but the daily accounts which the *Pensylvanians* received of the *French* and *Indian* cruelties, excited a general indignation against the ill-timed obstinacy of the assembly; and a great number of the inhabitants joined in a remonstrance, which was presented to the members, representing, that 100,000*l.* was as small a sum as would answer the present exigency; and signifying the willingness of the presenters to contribute their proportion of the same, or

of a larger sum if necessary. Besides this remonstrance, some thousands of inhabitants in other townships, joined in petitions to the same purpose, and praying to be furnished with arms and ammunition for the defence of their houses and families. Those representations sunk deep into the minds of the assembly, and produced from the members an address to the governor, of which the following quotation is a part : “ We think it our duty, on this occasion, to be neither parsimonious, nor tenacious of such matters as have been in dispute, and now under the consideration of our superiors ; but, reserving to ourselves all our just rights, we have resolved to grant 50,000*l.* for the king’s use, by a tax on all the real and personal estates within this province, in which we shall proceed with all possible dispatch ; hoping to meet in the governor the same good dispositions he so earnestly recommends to us.”

*A grant of  
50,000*l.**

Those professions, however, came to nothing, and were calculated only to blind the public ; because the proprietary estate was to be taxed for part of the money that was to be raised ; a provision which the assembly knew would defeat the grant, if the governor should obstinately adhere to the letter of his instructions ; the 50,000*l.* money-bill, therefore, was returned with an amendment, by which the whole proprietary estate was to be exempted from the tax. The governor, when called upon for his reasons for this exception, gave four. The chief one, next to his instructions and commission, was, “ For that the proprietaries, by their governor, having consented to a law for vesting in the people the sole choice of the persons to assess, and lay taxes, in the several counties, without reserving to themselves, or their governor, any negative upon such choice ; and this concession being made with an express proviso, that the proprietary estates should not be taxed, it will be very unreasonable to empower such persons by a law, without their previous consent, to tax their estates at discretion.” He afterwards repeated his offer of lands to the west of the *Allegheny* mountains to officers. The assembly stuck by their tax, in which they said they were warranted by common sense, and all the general maxims of policy, which led them to lay a tax upon part, in order to save the whole. They said, that if this argument had any force, it had the same force in behalf of the people ; and, consequently, he ought, in duty, to reject both parts of the bill for the same reason : that, for their parts, happening to think otherwise, they had laid the tax as chearfully on their own estates, as on those of their constituents. As to the grant of the *Allegheny* lands, they treated it as a

matter of amusement, and as proposed only to make the taxing of the proprietary estate appear less reasonable, adding, that they did not propose to tax the proprietary as governor, but as a fellow-subject, a land-holder, and possessor of an estate in *Pensylvania*; whose estate would be more benefited by a proper application of the tax than any other estate in the province: that the proprietary did not govern them: that the province, at a large expence, supported a lieutenant to do that duty for him: that if the proprietary did govern them in person, and had a support allowed him on that account, they should not have thought it less reasonable to tax him, as a land-holder, for the security of his land.

*Differences continued between the governor and the assembly.*

THEY insisted farther, that the positive law of the province, mentioned by the governor, was no other than the law for raising county rates and levies, which were by the same act appropriated to purposes for which the proprietaries could not reasonably be charged; such as wages for the assembly-men, rewards for killing wolves, and the like; and not a general constitutional law of the province. Their remonstrance was closed in a most masterly spirited manner; and the obstinacy of the governor, in adhering as he did to the exemption, was generally condemned. He was unmoved by all the pathetic, and indeed affectionate, exhortations to compliance, which they could lay before him, still trusting that the growing danger of the province would oblige them to pass the bill with the amendment. It was easy to foresee the train that must attend this obstinacy on both sides; and that another point, as disagreeable to the quakers as the exemption of the proprietary estate, must soon come upon the carpet, which was a militia-bill. It is to the honour of the more moderate quakers, that perceiving the violence which their agreeing to such a bill must do their profession, some of them resigned their seats in the assembly; and others of them employed all the interest they had in the province, in procuring members to be elected in their room, who were not quakers; and some private gentlemen generously struck out a plan for removing the objection of taxing the proprietary estate.

ALL those wise and publick-spirited purposes were in danger of being defeated by the madness of the lower rank of people, actuated by ignorant enthusiasts and preachers. They no sooner understood that the French had not followed the blow they had given Braddock, than they despised the danger under which a few hours before they had trembled; they termed Braddock's defeat a just judgment of God, for disturbing the French in the quiet possession of their own country; and concluding, that *Pensylvania* was under the immediate pre-

protection of Providence, they set at nought all military men and measures. On the 9th of August 1755, the governor sent the assembly a very alarming message, requiring them to put the province into a posture of defence by establishing a militia; so as that a due regard may be had to scrupulous consciences. Two days after, he informed them that he had been required by colonel *Dunbar* to provide quarters for his troops; but had been answered by the mayor and corporation of *Philadelphia*, that they knew of no law for that purpose, and recommended it to them to prepare one, those troops being then upon their march into the province, whether they were to remain there or not. Next day, he informed the assembly, that the *Owendets* and other *Indians*, who had come to *Philadelphia* on invitation from the government, expected to be treated with large presents. The assembly, in answer, said, they knew nothing of the matter; that they never had invited those *Indians*; and that his refusing to pass the money bill, had disabled them from making presents of any kind. The governor, at the same time, offered to pass a bill for striking any sum in paper-money, provided funds were established for sinking it in five years. The assembly refused to alter the bill they had already sent up.

MATTERS stood in this situation, when the assembly was given *The English* to understand, that notwithstanding their application to the *English* government, that the residue of *Braddock's* troops should remain *in* *Pennsylvania*, upon their frontier, they were, by governor *Shirley's* order, *from the* *English* *to quit it*, as *Pennsylvania* was populous enough to protect it-*frontiers*. self. The governor, therefore, called upon the assembly to secure the back-settlements. The members treated this alarm as a matter that had been concerted between the two governors, and were quickened by fresh messages from their own governor; that his secretary would lay before them the copies of sundry petitions, which had been presented to him from several parts of the province, representing their naked and defenceless condition; and praying to be enabled to defend themselves, which they were sensible was not in his power to comply with: that he would also lay before them a letter from one *John Harris*, giving an account of a large party of *Indians*, actually set out from the *French* *fort*, with design to fall upon, and destroy, the inhabitants of this and the neighbouring provinces: he therefore advised them to be upon their guard. The *French*, at *Louisbourg*, at this time were so much distract for provisions, that it was thought if they were not supplied from *Pennsylvania*, which was the only *English* province capable of doing it, they must surrender the place;

1755.  
The confi-  
deration of  
the militia  
resumed.

for which reason, the governor required the assembly to fall upon some measure for preventing such supply. This was, undoubtedly, a very necessary caution. *Pennsylvania* at that time abounded with the necessaries of life, and many of the inhabitants, though industrious, were mercenary, and had for ready money supplied the *French* agents. In the meantime, governor *Shirley*, as *Dunbar's* superior, sent him an order to resume the expedition against fort *du Quesne*, with the assistance he might have from *Pennsylvania*, *Maryland*, and *Virginia*, in reinforcements, provisions, ammunition, artillery, ordnance stores, carriages, horses, and all other things to fit him out for his march. Governor *Morris*, therefore, recommended the consideration of the said order to the assembly. It was about this time that a very singular measure took place.

*Five hundred pounds generously offered by private persons.* There was an association of private gentlemen of the province, not members of the assembly, to the following purpose; which ought to stand on record as a perpetual evidence of their disinterested public spirit: "We the subscribers observe, with great concern, that the governor and assembly differ in opinion, in respect to the taxing the proprietaries estate; and, lest by such difference in opinion, the bill for raising 50,000*l.* for his majesty's service should not take effect; and as the assembly, in their message to the governor, seem to be of opinion, that were the proprietaries lands to be taxed, the sum would not exceed five hundred pound: we, rather than the least check should be given to his majesty's service at the time of imminent danger, by a matter so very trifling, do hereby promise and engage to pay five hundred pound, money of *Pennsylvania*, into the publick stock, for the king's use, in lieu of what the proprietaries would pay as their part of the 50,000*l.* were their lands to be taxed. And we declare the absence of the honourable the proprietaries to be our motive for making this proposal, being well assured, that, were they present, it would have been altogether unnecessary; and we doubt not but they will honourably acquit every subscriber of this expense."

*Fresh masters of constabulary.* THE assembly refused to take any cognizance of this offer, farther than to order that the proposal be sent up to the governor, as a farther security to him, in case he should give his assent to the bill for raising 50,000*l.* for the king's use. They again, at the same time, pressed him to pass the money-bill, as the most effectual way of assisting the expedition against fort *du Quesne*; and they put him in mind, that there was a law in force against supplying *Louisbourg*, or any of the

the *French* settlements with provisions (F). All this did not reconcile the breach between them and the governor, who still called out for a militia; but at last they came to a resolution to order 1000*l.* if so much remained in their treasury, to arm the back inhabitants. Matters continuing in this desperate state, they told him that they purposed to adjourn to the 16th of September; and that they would refer the discussion of the militia to a new assembly; intimating, at the same time, that both his and their conduct was under the deliberation of the ministry at *London*. At their next meeting, the governor demanded an additional supply of provision to be sent to *Albany*, for the use of the additional forces raised by the province of *Massachusetts-Bay*, who were to be employed against *Crown-Point*, and this at the request of governor *Phipps*. He likewise demanded a like supply for the additional provincial troops of *Connecticut* and *Rhode-Island*, that were to be employed in the same service. Upon this, the assembly demanded a sight of governor *Phipps's* letter, but it was refused them; though he offered to communicate some part of his information to a few of them. The public business was then agitated with more acrimony on both sides than ever; and fresh disputes arose concerning the expence of 1000*l.* which had been employed upon the public roads towards the *Ohio*; and which the assembly represented as being extravagant, and triple the estimate which had been laid before them. At last, the assembly, to clear themselves from all possible imputation either of insincerity or backwardness, towards raising money, voted a loan, or voluntary subscription, of 10,000*l.* (G) the same to be paid to the lenders by the ensuing assembly, the time for whose meeting was at hand. But this was not done before they drew up, with the greatest accuracy and precision, a full vindication of themselves from all the bitter charges brought against them by the governor, of their having, by their delay and parsimony, obstructed and hurt the public service; and, particularly, of their having been the occasion of *Braddock's* defeat, and of all the inhumanities that had been perpetrated by the *French* and *Indians* in the back settlements. This they did by producing a variety of testimonials from the gentlemen of *Massachusetts Bay*, and officers employed in the service, all of them

(F) This law seems not to have been sufficient, as the *French* might have been supplied by the *Indians*, and other nations, trading in provisions with *Pennsylvania*.

(G) The names of the trustees for the receipt of the loan, were *Isaac Morris*, *Evan Morgan*, *Joseph Fox*, *John Mifflin*, *Reese Mereditb*, and *Samuel Smith*, of the city of *Philadelphia*, gentlemen.

(G) The names of the trus-

acknowledging the vast benefit they had received from the alacrity of the province of *Pensylvania*, and the seasonable supplies it had sent them.

*Ten thousand pounds voted for provisions.* THE vote of 10,000*l.* by a voluntary subscription was towards furnishing of provisions and blankets, or other warm cloathing, to the troops now at, or near, *Crown Point*, on the frontiers of *New York*. A new election being then at hand, it seemed to be the general sense of the province, that something effectual should be done towards establishing a militia, and, as we have already observed, most of the well intentioned quakers procured an assembly of different professions to be chosen in their room: The party, however, continued firm in their resolution to tax the proprietary estates, and the governor had left no means untried to procure a majority of the proprietaries friends to be returned for the ensuing assembly; but his endeavours seem to have been frustrated. Upon the meeting of the assembly, on the 14th of *October* they were informed by their speaker, that he had seen in the secretary's hands some letters of importance to the assembly concerning *Indian* affairs. Upon this information, they acquainted the governor, after sitting four days, that unless he had something concerning *Indian* affairs to communicate to them, they would adjourn, which they accordingly did to the 5th of *December*. Fifteen days of this recess were elapsed, when the governor convened them again, and informed them, that a party of *French* and *Indians*, to the number of 1500, as he was informed, had passed the *Allegheny* hills, within about eighty miles of *Philadelphia*, and were encamped on the *Susquehanna*. He then reproached them for their inactivity, in terms the best calculated to make them unpopular. He upbraided them for having suffered the *Delaware* and *Shawanee* Indians to be gained over by the *French*, and informed them, that their parsimony had deprived him of all the means of furnishing the back settlers with money, or forming them into regular bodies to be of service, though they were a very brave and a willing people. He then repeated his demands for a supply, represented the ravages then committing in their province by the *French* and their *Indians* in the most frightful colours, required them to prepare a bill for establishing a regular militia, and declared himself ready and willing to consent to a law for emitting any sum in paper-money the present service may require, if funds were established for sinking the same in five years. But he desired them not to waste their time in offering him such a bill as had been presented to him in the late assembly.

*Different petitions to the assembly.* THE conjuncture was now so terrible, that the assembly was staggered by numbers of petitions, which poured in upon

on them from all quarters of the province. Some of the petitioners applauded the spirit which the assembly had shewn, some condemned it, and recommended a coalition with the governor upon any terms, while some recommended pacific measures, and trusting to providence. The assembly, after recovering from their alarm, examined the letters and papers that had been laid before them, and declared, that they could not find from them that any such number of *French* and *Indians*, as the governor had mentioned, were encamped upon the river *Susquehanna*; and all that they could discover was, that the back settlers were greatly alarmed and terrified; that cruelties had been committed on the inhabitants by the *Delaware* and *Shawanese Indians*, principally within the lands purchased by the proprietaries at *Albany*, but the year before. They insinuated, at the same time, as if the hostilities of the *Delaware* and the *Shawanese* had been owing to some underhand management, which they did not care to go into upon. The next message the governor sent to the assembly, import-ed, "That the enemy had fallen upon the settlements at a place called the Great Cove, and slaughtered or made prisoners such of the inhabitants as could not make their escape: that those adjoining were quitting their habitations, and retreating inwards: and that he must therefore most earnestly press them to strengthen his hands, and enable him speedily to draw forth the forces of the province, as any delay might be attended with the most fatal consequences."

As the members of the assembly had as good intelligence as he had of what passed in the province, they knew that this was no false alarm; they therefore took the governor's message into immediate consideration, and granted 60,000*l.* to the king's use, to be struck in bills of credit, and sunk by a tax of 6*d.* per pound, and 10*s.* per head, yearly for four years, laid on all the estates, real and personal, and taxable within the province. This bill, when sent up, was immediately rejected by the governor, who thereby incurred the severest censure of preferring his own safety to that of the province, and the service of the proprietaries to that of the king and the public. He still continued to upbraid the assembly with its inactivity, and informed them that his council had unanimously advised him to repair to the back settlements, where affairs were in a most miserable situation, which he proposed to do, and to take with him a quorum of the council, that he might pass such bills, if agreeable to him, as they should please to send him. All the answer the assembly made, was a desire to know whether he would or would not pass the bill, which he evaded answering, but re-fused

*They grant  
60,000*l.**

fused to return it. Soon after, the governor sent the assembly a message, that three hundred of the *Susquehanna Indians* had sent to him, proffering their service to act in conjunction with the provincial troops. The governor intimated, at the same time, that if they were not taken at their words, they would certainly join the *French*, which might be attended with the ruin of the province; and that he had delayed his journey to the back settlements, till he should know what support they were willing to give those savages. The assembly sent him nothing in answer, but recriminations, and some suggestions, as if the falling off of the *Delaware* and *Shawnee Indians* had been effected by the ill treatment they had received from the proprietaries and their agents. They pressed him to pass the money bill, in which it was provided, "that if at any time, during the continuance of the act, the crown should declare the said estate exempt as aforesaid, in such case the tax, though assessed, should not be levied, or, if levied, should be refunded, and replaced by an additional tax on the province." The truth is, the assembly was far more justifiable at this period, than the governor or the proprietary interest; as they substantially agreed to every thing he could desire, and he differed from them only as to the form of raising the money. Finding all they did ineffectual, to leave him inexcusable, they sent him the following message. "May it please the governor, We have considered the governor's message of yesterday, relating to the application and pressing instances of the *Indians*, and are glad to find, that he is at length prevailed on to declare himself ready and desirous to do any thing consistent with his duty to the crown, for the protection and assistance, as well of our allies, as of the inhabitants of this province in general. We never have, and we hope never shall, desire him to do any thing inconsistent with that duty. He has it now in his power to do what he may think the exigence requires, for the service of the crown, the protection of our allies, and of the inhabitants of the province. As captain-general, he has, by the royal charter, full authority to raise men; and the bill now in his hands, granting 60,000*l.* will enable him to pay the expences. We grant the money chearfully, though the tax to sink it will be a heavy one; and we hope the bill will receive his assent immediately."

*Message.* TOGETHER with this message a bill was sent up for supplying the western and northern *Indians*, friends and allies of the Indian *Great Britain*, with goods at more easy rates, supporting an agent, or agents among them, and preventing abuses in the Indian trade. During all this dispute, the indecision of the govt-

governor still continued; but the danger of the province increasing, the provincials themselves took the alarm. The mayor of Philadelphia, and several of the principal inhabitants of the city, to the number of one hundred and thirty-three, presented to the assembly, a representation inforcing the necessity of a militia law. "We hope, said they, we shall always be enabled to preserve that respect to you, which we would willingly pay to those who are the faithful representatives of the freemen of this province. But, on the present occasion, you will forgive us, gentlemen, if we assume characters something higher than that of humble suitors, praying for the defence of our lives and properties, as a matter of grace and favour on your side: you will permit us to make a positive and immediate demand of it, as a matter of perfect and unalienable right on our own parts, both by the laws of God and man." They then proceeded as follows: "Upon the whole, gentlemen, we must be permitted to repeat our demand, that you will immediately frame, and offer, a law for the defence of the province, in such a manner as the present exigency requires. The time does not permit many hands to be put to this representation. But if numbers are necessary, we trust we shall neither want a sufficient number of hands nor hearts to support and second us, till we finally obtain such a reasonable demand."

At the time this very extraordinary representation was presented, an address came from some of the quakers, which seemed to blame the assembly for raising unnecessary disputes with the governor, and both the address and the representation were referred to a committee. The danger of the province became now so apparent, that at last both parties seemed to be sincerely disposed towards an agreement; but they again split upon the mode of granting the necessary supply. The governor was for passing the bill with a suspending clause. The assembly adhered to what they had done, and came to the following vigorous resolution: "That, in case the governor should persist in refusing his assent to their bill, which was so just and equitable in its nature, and so absolutely necessary at that time for the welfare of the British interest in America, after he should receive the answer of the house to his message then under consideration, they would make their appeal to the throne by remonstrance, humbly beseeching his majesty to cause their present governor to be removed, or take such other measures as might prevent the fatal consequences likely to ensue from his conduct." The above resolution passed unanimously, and the assembly hinted at some breach of faith that had been committed by the proprietary interest in

in an *Indian* treaty held with the *Shawanese* in the year 1753. The governor made no other answer than by plying the assembly with messages, and magnifying the massacres committed by the *Indians*, and demanding an immediate supply; but the assembly justified the bill they had sent him, both in matter and manner.

*This militia-bill claimed, if possible, even a more speedy dispatch than the money bill. Petitions from the quakers themselves came up, that they were willing to defend themselves and country, and desirous of being formed into regular bodies for that purpose, under proper officers, with legal authority. Upon this, the assembly passed a bill for the better ordering and regulating such as are willing and desirous of being united for military purposes. This bill was worded so as not to compel any who could not conscientiously bear arms.* The governor, when he received this bill, lost himself in invectives; he upbraided the assembly with their past conduct, and even reproached them for their delays, which he represented as being the occasion of *Brad-dock's* defeat.<sup>9</sup> Notwithstanding this, he passed the militia bill under a precise declaration of its absurdity and impropriety. After this he laid before the assembly a discussion of *Indian* affairs, which had been prepared by his council. He then called the assembly to provide for a number of *French* inhabitants, who had been banished out of *Nova Scotia* by-governor *Lawrence*. He next informed & left on the part of the proprietaries, that such was their care and regard for the people, that they had no sooner received the account he had sent them of general *Braddock's* defeat, than they sent him an order upon their receiver-general for 5000*l.* as a free gift to the public, to be applied to such uses as that event might make necessary for the common security of the province: that he had directed the said receiver-general to have the money ready as soon as possible; and that it should be paid by such persons as should be appointed by act of assembly for the disposition of any sum they might think necessary to raise for the defence of the province in that time of danger.

*Present of 5000*l.* by the proprietaries.* This seasonable act of munificence in the proprietaries rendered their interest so popular, that the mayor of *Philadelphia*, and his corporation presented to the assembly another remonstrance, “ Reptooching them with losing their time in deliberations, while their fellow-subjects were exposed to slaughter, and in debates about privileges, while they were deprived of the great first privilege of self-preservation, and requiring them to postpone all disputes, grant necessary supplies, and pass a reasonable law for establishing a militia;

and,

and, in the close of it, recommending dispatch, as the people seemed already in a deplorable and desperate state, and they feared it would not be possible to preserve the peace and quiet of the city, or of the province itself, much longer." The house drew up a very sharp answer to the governor, which, however, they did not think proper to send him, and contented themselves with one more short and mild. While *Petition of* they were deliberating upon this point, a number of the in-<sup>the Phila-</sup>habitants of the county of *Chester* joined those of *Philadelphia*, in representing to the assembly the necessity of a good <sup>and other</sup> understanding between them and the governor. Upon this *inhabi-*<sup>tants</sup> the house came to the resolution, "That in consideration of the governor's message of yesterday, by which it appears, that the proprietaries have sent him an order on the receiver-general for 5000*l.* to be paid into the hands of such persons as shall be appointed by act of assembly, and applied with such sums as the assembly should grant, to such uses as may be necessary for the common security of the province; and as it would not be reasonable or just, at this time, to tax the proprietary estate, in order to raise money therefrom, over and above the said grant from the proprietaries, the house will immediately proceed to form a new bill for granting a sum of money to the use of the crown, and therein omit the taxation of the said estate."

In consequence of this resolution, such a bill was ordered in the same day, and received the governor's assent. After that the assembly sent another message to explain the nature of the *Indian*-trade-bill, and pressing its being passed. The governor evaded a compliance with this message, but soon after informed them that general *Sherley* had, in pursuance of his majesty's orders, appointed to meet him at *New York* upon matters of great importance, but especially to concert a general *Meeting of* the American treaty with the *Indians*, both to the southward and the north-<sup>the Amer-</sup>ward. He therefore requested their advice, whether he should <sup>vessors at</sup> *New York* go or not. The assembly offered to pay commissioners to go in his stead, and urged his passing the *Indian*-trade-bill. About the same time, in resentment of the remonstrances that had been made to the assembly, they resolved, "That though it was the undoubted right of the freemen of the province, not only to petition, but even to advise their representatives on suitable occasions, yet all applications whatever to the house ought to be respectful, decent, pertinent, and founded in truth." After this preface they proceeded to censure the remonstrators, but in mild terms, for their applications to the house, and rejected the last representation that had been made to them.

*Proceedings there.*

On the 3d of December this session ended, and the governor thought proper to attend the assembly at New York, from whence returning, he laid before the assembly, under the seal of secrecy, the result of that meeting. He was very sanguine as to the success of it, provided the assembly furnished him with supplies, and told them that every thing possible had been done for the security of the province: that a chain of forts and block-houses, extending from the river Delaware along the Kittatanny-hills (where he had formerly said the 1500 French and Indians had taken post in their way to Philadelphia) to the Maryland-line, was then almost completed. He added many other particulars in praise of the measures that had been entered into by the congress for the benefit of the province; but according to the assembly's representation of matters, the whole of his message terminated in a call on them for a supply towards an offensive war.<sup>6</sup> The plan that had been agreed on at the congress was that 10,250 men should be raised among all the British provinces, of which 1500 were to be the contingency of Pennsylvania. Though this, notwithstanding all the suggestions of the government's enemies, was far from being an unequal taxation of men, in a province so populous as Pennsylvania, yet an accident happened that brought the service into great difficulties, occasioned indeed by the attachment of the Pennsylvanians to their own interest. General Shirley had planted recruiting parties through all Pennsylvania, and they had enlisted many purchased servants, whose masters complained to the assembly, as if such enlisting was robbing them of their property (H). The Pennsylvanians, on this occasion, presented to the assembly a very strong remonstrance, setting forth, that their province had furnished as many recruits to the army as any in America; and that they were apprehensive, if the practice of enlisting purchased servants went on, it would injure the population of white men in the colony, and that they must have recourse to purchasing negroes, which must lay them under infinite disadvantages. The assembly entered keenly into the interests of the remonstrants, and gave them a favourable hearing. The governor himself acknowledged the equity of their complaints, which were the more just, as the freemen of the province had but a little before made the troops a voluntary present of warm waist-

(H) The Pennsylvanians undoubtedly had a right to complain of this practice; but when we consider the circumstances of the province at this time the complaint was very ridiculous.

Even in Great Britain, necessity in that very war justified the practice of impressing, the greatest violation that possibly can be offered to personal liberty.<sup>9</sup>

coats, stockings, and mittens. Necessity, however, superseded all other considerations; and Shirley, in flat contradiction to a former opinion he had given, cited in favour of the practice, that of his own government, "Where it was common, he said, to impress both indentured servants and others for garrisoning the frontier towns, where they often remained several years."

ABOUT this time the king had ordered a present to be *A present* made to the *Six Nations*, and it was to be distributed by Sir *to the Indians.* Charles Hardy, governor of *New-York*; which province having made a considerable addition to the royal munificence, governor Morris put the assembly of *Pensylvania* in mind that they ought to do the like. The *Pensylvanians*, at this very time, had agents with Sir William Johnson to give them intelligence of the dispositions of the *Six Nations* towards them; and though they seemed not at all averse to the governor's request, yet they did not think proper to give a determined answer to it till their agents returned; especially, as the distribution could not take place sooner than six weeks. In the mean while, they put their governor in mind of the bill that lay before them for regulating the *Indian trade*; and he, on the other hand, prest them to take some measures for preventing the exportation of provisions out of the province. At this time, they sent up two bills, one for regulating the *Indian trade*, and another for continuing the excise; and both of them were returned by the governor with amendments, which were unanimously rejected by the house. The governor took no notice of this rejection, but set out for *Newcastle*, where he said his majesty's service demanded his presence; while the assembly passed a bill for regulating the officers and soldiers in the service and pay of the province, and made a short adjournment until the 5th of April.

UPON their re-assembling, the governor prest them to declare war against the *Delawares* and  *Shawanees Indians*, which *The governor* they declined doing, not more from principles of conscience *nor presses* than of prudence: when the affair came to be debated, a great variety of opinions appeared in the assembly; but the majority being for healing measures, no question was put upon the subject. This produced great perplexities both without and within doors: a large body of *Philadelphia* quakers petitioned the assembly in favour of pacific measures; and, indeed, it was generally thought that an accommodation was not even then impracticable. On the other hand, the governor informed the assembly, that great numbers of the back settlers were resolved to proceed in a body, to make certain demands upon the legislature of the province; but, *he\**

he added, " That by the advice of the council, he should give immediate orders to the provincial, and other magistrates, to use their utmost endeavours to prevent the mischiefs which might attend so extraordinary a procedure." The assembly, alarming as this intelligence appeared, instead of taking much notice of it, addressed the governor to lay before them the informations he had received, concerning the views and designs of the insurgents, or wherein they apprehended themselves to be neglected or aggrieved. The governor, without paying any regard to this address, declared war, as by his office he was empowered to do, against the *Delaware* and *Sarwanese Indians*. At the same time, he published rewards for scalps and prisoners, and demanded fresh supplies, as great part of the 60,000*l.* that had been raised was then expended.

*His reasons  
for the  
same.*

IT is evident that the assembly, at this time, paid, perhaps, too little attention to the governor's representations of their danger. He informed them, that the *Indians* upon the frontiers of the province were ready, upon some discontent, as he supposed, to remove to the country of the *Six Nations*; and he advised them to give their two leaders, *Scarroyady* and *Montour*, a present; and to let the others depart in as good humour as possible. The house declined entering upon any fresh money matters, and prest the passing of the *Indian trade-bill*, as the best means of conciliating the affections of the savages to the province. At the same time, they refused to comply with the governor's request for stopping the exportation of provisions. The governor expressed no objection to those resolutions, but put the assembly in mind that they had contributed nothing towards the operations that had been agreed upon for the next campaign; and complained heavily of the small appointments he himself had received from them, though he had done more duty than any of their former governors. The assembly were in no humour for gratifying the governor, and came to a resolution, that, having received no assistance from their mother-country, having expended vast sums in their own defence, and lying under immense grievances in having their indentured servants pressed, and their freemen employed in the war, they could contribute no farther to it. As to his representation of his own situation, they took no notice of it. He reconvened them on the 10th of *May*, and sent them a message, representing the growing calamities of the province, and the inutility of the militia-bill, which he had passed for its defence, recommending, at the same time, to pass another. He added, that, as by the latest accounts from *Europe*, a considerable armament

ment from France was to be expected in America, now to become the seat of war; and, as the enemy would, in such case, depend upon being supplied with provisions from the king's colonies, by the intervention of the Dutch, he conceived a general embargo would be necessary. He likewise recommended the building a fort at a place called Shamokin. A petition was presented to the house from the officers of the provincial troops, complaining of the insufficiency of the militia-law, as it then stood, and praying that a new one might be passed. The assembly considered this petition, and all the governor's representations of their danger, as so many inveigling arts to increase his own power and importance in the province. He was then at a place called Harris's Ferry, at a considerable distance from Philadelphia; a circumstance, which the assembly took amiss, and they treated all his alarms of danger with the greatest contempt, nor would they even enter into a consideration of the militia-act. They, however, sent him a bill for prohibiting the exportation of provisions or war-like stores from the province, which he passed; but at the same time informed them, that it would be ineffectual, unless the territory was put under the same restriction as the province. An end was then put to the session, which lasted no more than four days.

WHEN the assembly met again, the governor renewed his <sup>D</sup>~~regard~~<sup>to b</sup> alarms of the danger of the province, grounded on the accounts he had received from the governors <sup>of</sup> Dinwiddie and Sharpe. He, likewise, laid before them the great things which the other British governments had done for his majesty's service; and pressed them to follow their example in pushing vigorous measures. At the same time, commodore Spry complained of want of seamen, and desired, "That he might be enabled by bounty, or otherwise, to raise and send him as many men as the province could spare, which would be a very seasonable and acceptable service." A money-bill was ordered in; but, in the mean while, Sir Charles Hardy and Sir William Johnson, sent intelligence that the Delaware and the Shawanees Indians were disposed towards a reconciliation with the province. The governor, upon this, ordered a suspension of arms to be proclaimed; and the assembly recommended to the managers of the 60,000*l.* supply, that they should furnish ~~for~~ such supplies of money as might be necessary for establishing peace. The assembly then, after dispatching some other business, adjourned themselves, without taking any notice of the governor's repeated request, of having his allowance taken into their consideration. Before this adjournment took place, six members of

the assembly desired leave to resign their places; not, as they say in the paper that they gave in on that occasion, "From any design of involving the house in unnecessary trouble; but as many of our constituents seem of opinion, that the present situation of public affairs call upon us for services in a military way, which, from a conviction of judgment, after mature deliberation, we cannot comply with; we conclude it most conducive to the peace of our own minds, and the reputation of our religious profession, to persist in our resolutions of resigning our seats, which we accordingly now do; and request these our reasons may be entered on the minutes of the house."

*Cafe of its  
signers.* IT must be acknowledged that the assembly, on this occasion, acted very inconsistently with themselves. They had always been fond of comparing their own constitution with that of a *British* house of commons; and yet they supported the validity of those resignations, which never could take place in the *English* parliament (I). The governor's secretary, very properly, refused to issue any writs for filling up the vacancies; upon which, the speaker issued his own writs, which being obeyed by the sheriffs, the returns were made in the usual form, and the house unanimously resolved, that the members, so returned, had been duly elected: we are not apprised as to any farther opposition made by the governor on this point. When the house met again, the governor intimated to them the appointment of the earl of Loudoun to be commander in chief of all the *King's* forces in *America*; and acquainted them, that he was commanded to give his lordship, and his troops, all the assistance in his power; and he particularly recommended to them, to appropriate such part of the funds already raised, or to be raised, for the publick service, so as to be issued as his lordship should direct. The governor was likewise charged to inform the assembly of the raising the *American* regiment, which, by act of parliament, was to consist of 4000 men, without any exception to foreigners, either soldiers or officers. He likewise recommended to them, to indemnify, out of the funds raised for the publick service, the masters of such indentured servants as should enlist themselves in the army. He then pressed their passing a bill for the more effectual prohibiting all trade and commerce with the *French*, and desired them to grant farther supplies.

(I) A seat may be vacated in the *English* parliament by a member's accepting a place under the crown, but it cannot be resigned.

The assembly treated this message with great coldness, Difference and recriminated upon the governor his having enacted a <sup>between it</sup> law in the territory, invalidating the acts of the other colonies, and the go-  
vernors, by limiting the continuance of their act against the ex-  
portation of provisions to one month only. They, likewise, <sup>and the go-</sup> observed, that the ports of *Maryland*, where greater quan-  
tities of provisions were raised, continued still open. As to  
the governor's demand of a supply, they demanded of him  
to know whether he had come to any resolution on the ex-  
cise and *Indian* trade bills. His answer was, that he could  
not recede from his amendments to the latter; and, to excuse  
himself from passing the former, he produced the following  
proprietary instruction: " You shall not give your assent to <sup>Proprietary</sup> any law for prolonging the present excise, or laying any other <sup>instructions.</sup> excise, or raising any money on the inhabitants of the said province of *Pensylvania*; unless there be an enacting clause, that all money arising from the said excise, or other duties, shall be disposed of only as we, or either of us, exercising the office of governor, or the lieutengant-governor, or, in case of his death or absence, the president of the council, and the house of representatives, for the time being, shall direct; and not otherwise." The assembly triumphed greatly on the discovery of this instruction, and the proprietaries were accused in no obscure terms of selfishness and tyranny, and of sacrificing the safety of the province to their own interests. They, accordingly, <sup>were</sup> to some very severe resolutions on that head, and adhered to the excise-bill they had sent up, rejecting the governor's amendments. Even some difficulties, which were removed by a new act, occurred in getting in the 5000*l.* presented to the province by the proprietaries, and which was to be raised out of the arrears of their quit-rents.

On the same day that the bill was sent up, the house sent <sup>Money-bill</sup> up a money bill for granting the sum of 40,000*l.* for the rejected king's use; and for striking the said sum in bills of credit, and to provide a fund for sinking the same. The governor, without rejecting this bill, informed the messengers that he was, at that time obliged to repair to *Newcastle*, to meet the assembly of the three lower counties; but that he would give it all the dispatch in his power. A few hours after, he alarmed the assembly with fresh intelligence; that the western *Indians* were assembling to fall upon the province about harvest-time; and they recriminated upon him, that if he pleased to pass their act he would have, in his hands, money enough to provide for the security of the province. About the same time, great difficulties were madg under <sup>the pre-</sup> <sup>text</sup>

text of the bill against exporting provisions out of the province ; about clearing out two ships, one freighted with provisions for Newfoundland, and the other for Jamaica. Upon this, the assembly passed a bill to permit the exportation of provisions for the king's service, notwithstanding the prohibition-act. The governor, on this occasion, trifled most egregiously with the assembly, for he evaded passing either of the bills he had sent up ; and they entered upon their journals a kind of a protest that they should bear no part of the blame, whatever might happen, in consequence of the delay. They then adjourned to the 23d of August ; but the governor called them together on the 19th of July, being the heat of their harvest-time, desiring them to continue the prohibition act. Next day six merchants, owners, and masters of vessels, then lying at the port, presented a petition to the house : " Setting forth, the damages and losses they had already sustained for want of being allowed proper clearances ; as also the disadvantages, discouragements, and losses, which the whole province would specially and unavoidably be liable to, in case the embargo was to be continued for a longer time than by the late law was provided : recommending bonds, with sufficient penalties, to be discharged only by the certificates of the British consuls residing at such foreign ports ; as the several vessels and cargoes were entered for, and consigned to, as the only proper expedient to answer the ends proposed by such laws, without destroying that trade, on which the well being of their province depended ; and requesting such relief and assistance, in the premises, as they in their wisdom, shall judge most expedient ; as no wise doubting their ready and hearty disposition towards the general good and service of their country."

*Hardships upon Pennsylvania.* THE reader is to observe, that the peculiarity of the case of Pennsylvania consisted in that province being the only British government that could suffer by the continuance of the embargo. Fish, which was the only commodity that *Boston* could furnish, was excepted out of the act. The troops consumed all the provisions that *New York* could spare, and the ports of *Virginia* and *Maryland* had never been shut up. The assembly were provoked beyond measure at the governor's behaviour, and sent him up a warm remonstrance, which turned entirely upon facts, concerning the embargo, and setting forth the vast detriment accruing to the province, by its continuance. Some other differences passed between him and the assembly, concerning the preamble of the bill for supplying 4000 l. of the proprietaries present, in which the house had artfully inserted, that it was granted in considera-

tion of the proprietary interest not being taxed. They likewise demanded to know, whether he had come to any resolution concerning the excise-bills and the 40,000*l.* bill for the king's use. As to the former, the governor informed them, he neither could, nor would pass it; and he sent down the letter with amendments, exempting the proprietary estate from taxation, which the house rejected.

It must be acknowledged, that the behaviour of both parties was somewhat captious, and that the assembly was too *sairs*, assiduous in catching at every slip of the governor, and in expoling him on all occasions. He had given them an alarm, for which, perhaps, he was not to blame, concerning the hostile intentions of the western savages against the province, during harvest; but it now appeared, that the same savages, at a conference they had with Sir ~~William~~ Johnson, had agreed, not only to lay down the hatchet against the *English*, but to take it up against the *French*. At the same time, *Tedjusung*, king of the *Delawars*, and a number of the *Susquehannah Indians*, agreed, upon proper provisions being made for them, to give the governor a meeting, and to renew all their connections with the province. The governor demanded 4 or 500*l.* the commissioners for the 60,000*l.* act complained of their inability, and of the governor's refusing to pass the money-bills, and endeavoured to throw the expence upon the proprietaries, who, they said, would be chiefly benefited by the proposed meeting; but the house offered him 300*l.* towards his expences, and that they inclined to adjourn till the 16th of *August*. The governor, by his answer, accepted of the 300*l.* but informed them, that before his return, he was to meet with lord *Loudon* at *New York*. About this time, the assembly received from general *Sherley*, who had been recalled from his government, a farewell compliment, and a very honourable acknowledgment of the "repeated instances of their contributing towards the defence of his majesty's just rights and dominions, and to assure them of his hearty wishes for their welfare."

This assembly met according to their adjournment, and the *New arms* governor informed them of the taking and burning fort *Grantsville* upon the *Fusanta*. He likewise mentioned barracks for 1000 men, which were wanted by major *Rutherford*, the commanding officer in that province, for the new American regiment then raising; "and that his recruits, being chiefly indentured servants, it would be necessary for the house to make provision for the payment of their masters, for the residue of the time each had to serve, in conformity to his majesty's instructions." He likewise informed them, that

their treasury was exhausted, their troops wanted pay, and that a supply was necessary. This drew fresh recriminations upon the governor from the assembly, which was the last scene of altercation between him and them; he being superseded by captain *William Denny*, who succeeded him in his government.

*Governor  
Denny  
succeeds  
Morris.*

The new governor was received as the guardian angel of the province, and even the assembly assisted at an entertainment given him by the mayor of *Philadelphia*. They not only complimented him very highly on his arrival and accession (for that was the term) to his government, but made him a present of 600*l.* notwithstanding their distress for money. His first speech undeceived them in all their prepossessions in his favour. He mentioned the *French* encroachments upon the *Ohio*, as lying within their province, (an acknowledgment, that had been always carefully avoided by the assembly) and that, therefore, they were peculiarly interested in expelling them (K). The governor, at the same time, after painting, in the most hideous colours, the ravages of the *French* and their *Indians*, recommended unanimity and dispatch in their proceedings, and promised to deny them nothing that he could grant, consistent with his duty to his majesty, and the rights of the proprietaries. This speech gave them to understand, that in fact, the name, but not the government, was changed. Instead of the 40,000*l.* bill, which they had voted under governor *Morris*, they offered in another, with a blank for the sum. In the mean while, the governor, to quicken them, sent them down dispatches, which he had received from lord *Loudon* and colonel *Armstrong*. They seemed in no great hurry to take notice of all those alarming messages. In their address they observed, that their frontier was so much extended, and the settlers upon it so much dispersed, that the horrors he had mentioned in his speech could not be prevented; that they had conceived their province to be in as good a state of defence as any of the neighbouring colonies; and that they would do all in their power, consistent with their just rights, to enable the government to protect the people. In answer to his request for a supply, they insisted, in order to prevent delay, on a right of his proprietary instructions, relating to money-bills of any kind.

*THE* governor immediately complied with this demand, and laid before them the 11th, 12th, and 21st articles of his pro-

(K) The assembly thought it a matter of indifference to them upon what province those encroachments were made, as the ground belonged to the proprietaries, who were therefore most concerned in recovering it.

*U. S. pro-  
prietary  
infrastruc-  
tus.*

*proprietary*

Prietary instructions. By those articles, it appeared, that the proprietaries conceived they had a joint right with the assembly in disposing of the interest-money arising from the provincial bills of credit and from the excise; and the governor was prohibited from giving his assent to any bill or act of assembly, for emitting, or re emitting, or continuing, any paper-currency, unless the whole of the interest-money arising therefrom should be disposed of only to the very purposes to be specified in such act; or where that could not be conveniently done, by the joint concurrence of governor and assembly for the time being; and the same prohibition is also extended to all excise-laws, unless the disposition of the money, to be raised by them, is also appropriated in the same manner. The governor, by the 12th article, was entrusted with a prudential power of adding 40,000 £. to the then currency; but still with strict regard to the proprietary interest. The last instruction regarded the proprietary estate, which its owners insisted upon ought to be exempted from all taxes; and here was introduced a long recapitulation of facts and circumstances in defence of the proprietaries conduct, which would be tedious to insert here, but concluding as follows: "and whereas the said assembly appear to us to have been inclined, not only to load and burden our estates with taxes by their authority, directly contrary to former usage, but even to charge the same disproportionately, and in an unequal manner, in order to ease the estates of others, which is a measure we are by no means willing to consent to: and as the present invasion of his majesty's American dominions may make it necessary to raise farther supplies for his service in our said province, the assembly may hereafter propose and offer bills or acts of assembly, to lay additional taxes on real estates there. You are, therefore, hereby required and directed, not to give your assent to any bill or act of assembly of that sort, unless the act be made to continue for one single year only, and no longer." After this paragraph, the governor receives a power to agree to bills, taxing the proprietary manors or lands, which were actually let out on leases, either for lives or years; but the same to be paid by the tenants or occupiers, who were to charge them up to the proprietaries.

The house demanded to know of the governor, whether, notwithstanding the above proprietary instructions, he apprehended himself to be at liberty to pass bills that were consistent with his own judgment, and agreeable to the laws enacted by his predecessors, and which had received the royal assent. The governor, in answer, told them, that he could not recede from his instructions; and the house prepared a

## The History of America.

bill for striking the sum of 60,000 *l.* to be sunk by an excise. Ten thousand pounds of this money was to be rendered subject to the orders of the earl of *Loudoun*, and was to go to the general fund that had been raised for the defence of the colonies. Ten thousand pounds were allotted for discharging the debt contracted by the province, for the provisions that had been furnished towards the expedition against *Crown-Point*; (*Pensylvania* having received no part of the 15,000 *l.* that had been granted by parliament for the colonies) and the residue was for the current service of the year. The governor, before he would pass this bill, demanded a conference with a committee of the house, which was accordingly agreed to. There he objected to the term of twenty years, which was fixed for sinking the sum, and to the inconsistency of the bill with his proprietary instructions, by leaving the surplus-money to the disposal of the assembly alone. He excepted to the subjecting the 60,000 *l.* for the general fund to the order of lord *Loudoun*, instead of the commander in chief for the time being; and to the applying any part of the money for discharging their debt incurred by the *Crown-Point* expedition; because the sum was issued on a fund already established: for these, and some other reasons, he rejected the bill. The house justified their proceedings, and complained of the dearth of their land, which had thinned the province of inhabitants; and consequently reduced the excise-duty. They inveighed against the proprietary instructions, justified the trust they had put in lord *Loudoun*, which they refused to repose in any other commander, and pleaded that their funds for the *Crown-Point* debt had failed. All this, with a variety of other reasoning justifying the bill, made no impression upon the governor, who again peremptorily rejected it, and told the assembly that he was ready to give his reasons for so doing to his majesty: upon which the house broke up without coming to any conclusion. Three days after, the house came to very severe, and indeed unprecedented, resolutions against the proprietary instructions, as being arbitrary and unjust, an infraction of their charter, a total subversion of their constitution, and a manifest violation of their rights, as free-born subjects of *England*. They then vindicated all their proceedings, and threw the blame of all the disagreeable consequences upon the governor and the proprietaries. They next entered a kind of a salvo of their own rights, referring them, in their full extent on all future occasions, and, protesting against the proprietary instructions and prohibitions, do, nevertheless, in duty to the king, and compassion for the suffering inhabitants of their distressed country, and in humble, but full,

con-

confidence of the justice of his majesty and a British parliament, waive their rights on this present occasion only ; and do farther resolve, that a new bill be brought in for granting a sum of money to the king's use, and that the same be made conformable to the said instructions."

THIS new bill was only for 30,000*l.* which was to be *who are sunk by the excise* in ten years ; and, after receiving some *obliged to corrections from the governor*, he passed it. This was considered as a complete victory on the part of the proprietaries, *a protest*. while, the assembly represented their proceedings as having been extorted from them by the imminent danger of the province. The proprietaries, however, had no great occasion to triumph : the assembly entered in their books a full vindication of themselves, and loaded the proprietaries with all the odium of dictatorial power. Along with this vindication they published a most curious estimate of the proprietary estate in *Pensylvania*, which they calculate (and indeed their reckoning does not seem to be overstrained) to be worth above a million sterling ; and that the whole property of the people there does not exceed six millions. Together with this estimate, is an account of seven millions of acres of *India* land bought by the proprietaries, who alone can make such purchases from the natives, for no more than seven hundred and fifty pounds sterling ; which the proprietaries afterwards sold at the rate of fifteen pound for every hundred acres. The *Indian council at Onondaga*, however, disapproved of their deputies parting with so much land, and in the year 1755, obliged the proprietaries to re-convey great part of the same to the *Indians*.

HAVING thus finished what we may call the civil history *Conduct of Pensylvania*, though we cannot help thinking that two *the Pennsylvanians* much heat prevailed among the assembly-men, in the dispute with the proprietary ; yet no palliative can be brought during the for the invincible obstinacy of the governors, who not only war. risked the very existence of the province, but, had it not been for the unity of the administration at home, would have endangered the proprietary charter. It is true, some quakers were against resistance ; but they liberally voted money for raising troops towards their defence, and they were so convinced at last of the inconveniency of their principles, that of thirty-six members who compose the assembly, no more than twelve were quakers ; and, indeed, the governor's conduct was universally blamed by those who had the best access to know the state of the province. That the people of *Pensylvania* were not dilatory in defending themselves, appears from their having erected, to cover their frontier, *Henry's fort*, on the *Dela-*

*Delaware*, fort *Hamilton*, fort *Norris*, fort *Allan*, fort *Franklin*, fort *Lebanon*, fort *William Henry*, fort *Augusta*, fort *Halifax*, fort *Granville*, fort *Sherley*, fort *Littleton*, and *Shippenburgh* fort, besides many smaller stockades; and places of defence, and all of them garrisoned at the expence of the province. This protection was so powerful, that it encouraged almost all their frontier settlers, who had abandoned their habitations, to return to them, and to continue to cultivate their lands. Their troops, under colonel *Armstrong*, performed great services upon the *Ohio* against the *French* and their *Indians*, by destroying the *Indian* town of *Kittanning*, and killing their great captain *Jacobs*, recovering also a great number of *English* captives. Besides their frontier garrisons, they armed, cloathed, and paid, 1100 provincial rangers. The batteries of *Philadelphia* were mounted with no fewer than seventy-five heavy cannon, and the province had besides a train of artillery, all new brass field-pieces, a magazine stored with ammunition, a quantity of large bomb-shells, and a magazine, containing a reserve of above 2000 small arms, the whole being in excellent order. They likewise fitted out a twenty gun ship of war to scour the coast and protect the trade, not only of that, but the neighbouring provinces; a service which no colony to the south of *New England* had ever performed. By land, *Pensylvania* covers the greatest part of *New Jersey*, the whole of the *Delaware* counties, and great part of *Maryland*; but without receiving any contribution from those colonies. Upon the whole, it appeared by a fair account, that from the year 1754 to 1758, the province of *Pensylvania* furnished towards the expences of the war 218,567 l. 14 s. and in the year 1758, in pursuance of a letter to their governor, by Mr. secretary *Pitt*, they raised 2700 men.

*Disputes about the disposal of public money.* THE great dispute between the governor and the commissioners, for applying the public money, regarded the manner of employing this force. The commissioners insisted upon raising companies of rangers, and falling immediately into the enemy's country, which they thought would be the best method for preventing their incursions. The governor had his reasons for preferring a militia-bill, which the commissioners vigorously opposed, because it increased his power by the nomination of its officers. The march and fatigues of colonel *Armstrong* at *Kittanning* seemed to justify the former; and it is certain, that a militia, trained up to regular field or garrison duty, form too unwieldy a body, and are too slow in their motions, to be of much service against the sudden incursions of those savages. During the reduction of *Guaadalupe* and the other military operations in *America*, the *French* had so often

fully practised upon the six English Indian nations, that they brought them even to enter into hostilities, on pretence that the English had killed, or otherwise ill-treated, some of their brethren. The *Delawares* and *Minisinks*, at the same time, complained that the English had invaded their lands and possessions, and for that reason they too had entered into hostilities; but of all the Indian nations the *Twightwates*, who were settled on the banks of the *Ohio*, seemed to be the most averse to the English interest, and that, perhaps, with the best reason. Their ground of dissatisfaction arose from an attempt made to establish an English *Ohio* company, and some British subjects had been inconsiderate enough to alarm and provoke them by making surveys of their country, in which they trod down their corn. *Tecdyuscung*, the *Delaware* chief, was a friend to the English, and proposed healing measures, so that by his means, principally, a conference between the English governors of *Pensylvania* and *New Jersey*, assisted by Sir *William Johnson*, was agreed upon by all the Indians, inhabiting the country between the lakes and the *Apalachian* mountains. This conference was likewise attended by four members of the council of *Pensylvania*, and six of the assembly, together with a vast number of other *Pensylvanians*, chiefly quakers, and two agents for the province of *New Jersey*. The Indians, who by their chiefs, or deputies, met there, were the *Mohawks*, *Oneidores*, *Onondagas*, *Cayugas*, *Senecas*, *Tuscaroras*, *Nanticoques*, and *Conoy*, the *Tuteloes*, *Chagnuts*, *Delawares*, and *Unamies*, the *Minisinks*, *Mohicans*, and *Wappingers*.

The business of this conference was to settle the limits of the disputed lands, and to make up all differences between the *Delawares* and the six Nations, over whom they claimed a superiority, and affected always to treat them as their nephews, but they thought they now usurped too much independence; to detach all those savages from the French interest, and to restore a good correspondence with the *Twightwates*. The meeting was extremely formal, and accommodated to all the punctilio's of American deliberation and superstition. It was held at *Lebton*, about ninety miles distant from *Philadelphia*. The English were welcomed by *Tecdyuscung*, who was seconded by the chief of the *Cayugas*; and then the *Mohawk* warriors, by the mouth of one of their chiefs, entered their complaints. Considering the rudeness of those barbarians, the accuracy and minuteness they disclosed in this negotiation was wonderful; nor was there a personal affront or injury done to any of their nations, since the time of their last treaties that they omitted to mention; but, above all, they

*A conference with the Indians.*

they complained of the English encroachments upon their lands. At last, the Mohawk chief addressed himself to the governor of Pennsylvania in the following terms: "Brother, we must put you in mind, that four years ago, you bought at Albany a large tract of land, for a part of which that was settled, the proprietaries agents then paid 1000 pieces of eight: we acknowledge the receipt of that money, and the validity of so much of the purchase; but for the other part, that was not paid for, that we reclaim. Our warriors, our hunters, when they heard of this vast sale, disapproved our conduct in council; in the deed, our hunting-grounds are included, and without them we must perish."

THE Delawares then entered their complaints; but it was observed, that while Teedyuscung was speaking, that the chiefs of the Six Nations took what he said so much amiss, that they left the assembly; upon which, he was silent. They reassembled, however, next day, when Mr. Barnard, governor of New Jersey, offered to satisfy the Minisinks for all their complaints; but the business between the Delawares, the Six Nations, and the English, was not yet adjusted; and Teedyuscung explained what he had to say to Mr. Denny at his own house. Next day, by the same governor's desire, Teedyuscung complained, that he heard his uncles the Six Nations had sold their lands at the Yomink and Shamokin, to the English: Mr. Denny, to compromise this affair, gave them an additional thousand dollars for the lands in dispute; but this liberality seems to have induced the savages to rise in their demands. The chiefs of the Six Nations and Teedyuscung came to a good understanding together, and started new objections about lands and limits; and it is hard to say, what the effect might have been, had not an authentic account arrived of general Forbes, who was then upon his march against fort de Quesne, having repulsed the French and Indians, who had attacked him at Loyal-Hanning. This news seems to have brought the savages to reason, and the conferences ended to the mutual satisfaction of all parties. The whole was managed as usual by strings of wampum, which were produced at the finishing every proposition, and in metaphorical hyperboles, which generally were not without their beauty, and were adopted by the English as well as the Indians. The whole negotiation lasted from the 8th to the 26th of October. When it was over, the Indians, whose number assisting at it, including their wives and children, amounted to 500, were gratified with a considerable present, consisting of looking-glasses, knives, tobacco-boxes, sleeve-buttons, thimbles, chears, gun-locks, ivory combs, shirts, shoes, stockings, hats, caps, hand-

handkerchiefs, thread, cloaths, blankets, gartering, serges, watch-costa, and a few suits of laced cloaths for their chieftains. After this, large quantities of rum was distributed amongst them, by which they all got drunk, and next day they returned home, all of them well satisfied.

THIS treaty, which was conducted with great address on the part of the *English*, was of infinite service to their affairs in *America* during the remaining part of the war, by leaving them in a state of security within their own colonies; and therefore more at liberty to attend the other great objects of the campaign. Governor *Denny* was succeeded as lieutenant-governor and commander in chief of *Pennsylvania* by the former governor Mr. *Hamilton*, who had always been popular in the province. The restoration of peace, which was attended by a vast increase of commerce and riches to *Pennsylvania*, introduced likewise into that province luxuries unknown to it before, and inconsistent with their original constitutions. Those abuses produced an address to governor *Hamilton*, from the pastors and ministers of all persuasions in the province, setting forth the ill-consequences of encouraging gaming, and all sorts of luxurious and vicious public diversions, particularly, a new subscription, by way of lottery, for opening public gardens, baths, bagnios, and other schemes of dissipation, which they observe, have already increased too much within these few years; all which they petition the governor to use his influence to suppress, as they are willing to preserve the character that province has hitherto borne of a sober, sedate, industrious, frugal and religious people. The governor returned a most obliging answer to this address, and promised, upon his honour, that he would disown every scheme tending to the dissipation of the minds of the people: this being the last transaction of any consequence relating to the affairs of *Pennsylvania*, we are now to attend to the present state of that country.

THE province and territory of *Pennsylvania*, as we have in *Description* part already observed, had a complicated kind of a conveyance from the crown; besides the patent, granted by *Charles* *vania* and the *Ud*. *March* 4, 1680-1, the duke of *York*, in 1683, sold Philadelphia to *William Penn* the elder, the town of *Newcastle*, alias *Dela-*

wake, and a district of twelve miles round the same; and by another deed of the same date, he made over to the said *William Penn*, his heirs and assigns, that tract of land from twelve miles south of *Newcastle*, to the *JWhore-Kills*, otherwise called cape *Henlopen*, divided into the two counties of *Kens* and *Sussex*; which with *Newcastle* district, are commonly known

## The History of America.

known by the name of the three *Lower Counties* upon *Delaware* river. We have already mentioned the great disputes which the difference of the two constitutions, that of the province, and that of the territory, made between the proprietaries and the province of *Pennsylvania*. This was complicated with another proprietary dispute between Mr. *Penn* and the lord *Baltimore*, proprietor of *Maryland*. The grant of the latter was fifty years prior to that of Mr. *Penn's* of *Pennsylvania*: but there was in it an exception of lands then belonging to the *Dutch*, and which now form the three *Lower Counties* upon *Delaware* river; and when Mr. *Penn* took possession of those counties, he there found one *Dutch* and three *Swedish* congregations. The dispute was concerning the construction \* of the expression forty degree of latitude. *Maryland* grant, 1632, says, to the forty degree of latitude, which the *Maryland* side of the question construe to be to forty degrees compleat; *Pennsylvania* grant, 1682, says, to begin at the beginning of the fortieth degree, which the *Pennsylvanian* side construe to be just after thirty-nine degree is compleated; thus there was a dispute of the extent of one degree in latitude, or fifty-nine *English* miles. In 1732, in consideration of the improvements made by the *Marylanders* within the fortieth degree complete, an agreement was made between the parties, importing, that a due east and west line be run from cape *Henlopen* to the middle of the peninsula, and the said strait line to run from the westward point thereof, northward, up to the said peninsula (and above the said peninsula, if it required) till it touched, or made a tangent to the western part of the periphery of the said twelve miles circle, and the said due south and north line to run from such tangent, till it meets with the upper or more northern east and west line; and the said upper east and west line to begin from the northern point or end of the said south and north line, and to run due westward, at present, thro' *Susquehanna* river, and twenty five *English* statute miles at least on the western side of the said river, and to be fifteen *English* statute miles south of the latitude of the most southern part of the said city of *Philadelphia*, were, and shall, and should at all times, for ever hereafter, be allowed and esteemed to be the true and exact limits and bounds, between the said province of *Maryland* and the said three lower counties of *Newcastle*, *Kent*, and *Sussex*, and between the said provinces of *Maryland* and *Pennsylvania*.

\* Dovelass's Summary, Vol. 2, p. 309 and 310.

IN consequence of this agreement, mutual releases, according to the terms of it, passed on both sides; that on the ~~with~~ lord part of the *Penns* was signed by *John, Thomas and Richard Baltimore*. *Penn*, the then proprietaries of *Pensylvania*, not only for themselves, but for all their claims under *William Penn*, their grandfather, the founder of the colony, *Springet Penn*, and *William Penn* the son. It was farther agreed, that commissioners should be appointed on both sides, to mark out the aforesaid boundaries, and the penalty on the failing party was fixed, at 6000*l.* The respective commissioners appeared, but differed in their opinions; those of lord *Baltimore* alledging, that he had been deceived in fixing cape *Henlopen*, twenty miles south westerly of the western cape of *Delaware bay*; whereas, cape *Henlopen* is the western cape itself: but those of the *Penns* affirmed, that according to the *Dutch* maps and descriptions, the western cape is cape *Cornelius*, and cape *Henlopen* is about four hours southerly of it. In 1735, the *Penns* preferred a bill in chancery against the ~~then~~ lord *Baltimore*, for non-performance of the above agreement; and praying, that it should be carried into execution. This suit depended till the 15th of May, 1750, when costs of suit were decreed against lord *Baltimore*, and that the agreement of 1732, should be carried into execution; but that commissioners should be appointed for the actual marking of the boundaries. The basis of this commission was to be founded on the lord chancellor's decree: first, that the center of the circle be fixed in the middle of the town of *Newcastle*: secondly, that the said circle ought to be of a radius of twelve English miles: thirdly, that cape *Henlopen* ought to be deemed at the place laid in the maps, annexed to the articles of 1732.

When the commissioners met, which they did in November the same year, fresh disputes arose. Lord *Baltimore*'s commissioners insisted upon their measuring the miles superficially, and those of the *Penns* upon geometrical and astronomical mensurations. Upon this, the commissioners on both sides stopt, and wrote to their respective principals for further instructions; but the affair was afterwards amicably adjusted, though greatly in favour of the *Penns*. Such of our readers as know the value of land in that country will not be surprized at so long and so expensive a dispute concerning it; but we cannot give those who do not, a more clear idea of the flourishing circumstances of this province, than by a description of its capital, *Philadelphia*.

THIS beautiful city, one of the most regular in the world, *Description* is situated in 40 degrees 36 minutes of north latitude, and is *on* of *Philadelphia*.

an oblong of two miles, extending from the river *Delaware* to the *Schuykill*, the east end fronting the river *Delaware*, and the west the river *Schuykill*, each front being a mile in length. The river *Delaware* is navigable from the sea for large vessels above two hundred miles, and that of *Schuykill*, as far as *Philadelphia*. Every man in possession of one thousand acres, has his house either in one of the fronts facing the rivers, or in the *High street*, running from the middle of one front, to the middle of the other. Every owner of five thousand acres, besides the abovementioned privilege, is entitled to have an acre of ground in the front of his house, and all others may have half an acre for gardens and court-yards. Every quarter of the city forms a *lqua*; i.e. eight acres, and almost in the center of it is a square of ten acres, surrounded by the town-houle, and other public buildings. The *High-street* is one hundred feet wide, and runs the whole length, of the town: parallel to it, run eight other streets, which are crossed by twenty more at right angles, all of them thirty feet wide, and communicating with canals from the two rivers, which add not only to the beauty, but the wholesomeness of the city. Ships of four or five hundred tons may come up to the quay, which is two hundred feet square, and furnished with all the conveniences for ship-building, as well as for loading and unloading goods. The reader, however, is not to imagine that the whole of this magnificent plan is already carried into execution; but as it is every day complicating, *Philadelphia* may, in time, dispute (if it does not already) with *Boston* and *New York*, for the precedencey of all the *North American* cities. Its town-houle is so magnificent, spacious and regular, that it would make a figure in any capital of *Europe*: it was erected in the year 1732, and stands in a square of 396 feet by 255. The other public buildings of *Philadelphia*, are, the court houle, two quakers meeting-houses, two presbyterian meeting-houses, one church of *England*, one baptist-meeting, one Dutch *Lutheran* church, one Dutch *Calvinist* church, one *Moravian* church, one mas-s-house, the academy, the quakers school-houle, the city alms-houle, the quakers alms-houle, the hospital, prison, and workhoule.

*Academy at Philadelphia.* THE noblest institution, however, in the province of *Pennsylvania*, is its academy. This public spirited proposal was set on foot by a set of private gentlemen, who, joining together, without the least regard to religious differences, formed a body of constitutions, with liberty to alter and amend them as they thought proper, for carrying their plan into execution, and it was so well liked, that the subscriptions to it rose,

rose, in a short time, to 800 £. a year for five years. The trustees were not without their difficulties in their proceedings; they could hope for little or no encouragement from the assembly; where the leading men were quakers, who had formed an institution for education, at their own expences; and though the proprietary Mr. Penn, was no enemy to the proposed academy, yet he inclined to have it built out of the city. On the other hand, the success of the undertaking depended in a great measure upon the superintendance of the trustees, whose business could not admit them leaving the town so often as might be necessary; and therefore they purchased a convenient building, (L) which served all their immediate purposes, and as much ground and other edifices near it as might be improved with five quadrangles, for the accommodation of the students. The corporation of Philadelphia, sensible of the utility of this scheme, voted two hundred pounds to be immediately paid to the trustees, and one hundred a year for five years. Fifty pounds of this money is to be allotted for the erection and maintenance of a charity-school; out of which, one of the most promising boys is to be chosen yearly, and transplanted into the academy, where he is to complete his education at the expence of the trust. The plan of education in this academy is rational and practicable; especially, in the instruction of the pupils in Greek, Latin, and English, but with the strictest view to their morals; and by the public encouragement, which it has already, or may hereafter receive, it bids fair, in time, to rival the brightest seminaries of learning in the mother-country, especially under a reign so beneficent, as the present is, to literature.

THAT the reader may form some idea of the numbers of *Various sectaries* in Philadelphia, we shall present him with *sectaries* the burials of the years 1750, 1751, and 1752, which the *there-* reader will find in the note (M). From the same note,

(L) It had been a meeting-house, erected by some of the followers of *Whitefield*, or other sectaries.

	1750.	1751.	1752.
Swedes	—	10	42
Lutherans	—	68	180
Burials in 1750.		1751.	1752.
Swedes	—	13	27
Presbyterians	—	26	48
Dutch Lutherans	—	28	56
Calvinists	—	40	31
Baptists	—	11	28
Quakers	—	104	167

## The History of America.

the reader may form some judgment of the variety of sects with which *Pensylvania* is stored; and it is to the great honour of the governing party in this province, that no persecutions prevail there on account of religion. The persecution of the *Moravians*, and the mildness with which they had been treated in *England*, with the encouragement given to their industry, has been of vast service to *Philadelphia*, where above 1500 of them are now settled. The wildness and extravagance of this sect is well-known to all *Europe*: they have there a chapel with a small organ; but their grand settlement is about fifty or sixty miles from *Philadelphia*. The similarity of practice between them and the *Quakers*, in some points, makes them fond of residing in *Pensylvania*; but, though they decline carrying arms in their own persons, yet they contribute cheerfully to the military establishment for the defence of their settlements and country. Their zeal toward the conversion of the *Indians* is incredible. If possible, it exceeds that of the *Jesuits*, and they have already persuaded some of those savages to come to live with and conform to them. They even sent about the year 1748, to *Greenland*, or *Davis's-Straits*, at their own expence, a ship with a wooden church, ready framed, for the use of the inhabitants of that country, which produces no timber; and when the ship returned to *Philadelphia*, it brought two young men, and a young woman, natives of *Greenland*, who had been converted there by the *Moravian* missionaries. The same *Moravians* have likewise a mission at *Berbice* and *Surinam*, from whence two converts likewise came to *Pensylvania*, and those proselytes from different parts of the globe, together with some *Delaware Indian* converts, met all together at a place called *Bethlem* in that province. The *Pensylvanian Moravians* have almost the same indulgence shewn them by the legislature of *Great Britain*, excepting in criminal cases, as the *Quakers* have; and their abstemious manner of living enables them to carry on the handicrafts they profess at a cheap rate; nor are they without some men of learning and academical education among them.

*Curious history of the Dunkards.* BUT the *Moravians* and other sects are in common to other parts of the world, while *Pensylvania* engrosses a sect of its

Newbuilding	—	19	30	30
Roman Catholics	—	15	21	16
Total	294	579	283	

\* Burials in the strangers burying-ground.

Dutch and other white people.	{	250	319	286
-------------------------------	---	-----	-----	-----

own product, one perhaps, of the most harmless and extraordinary of any that has appeared since the institution of christianity. They are called by some *Dumplers*, but their true name seems to be *Dunkards*. The town they inhabit is called *Ephrata*, lying on the frontier part of *Lancaster* county, fourteen miles from *Lancaster*, and about fifty from *Philadelphia*, between two small hills, in the most delightful situation that can well be imagined, as if nature had created it for the indulgence of contemplation. All the land possessed by the *Dunkards* does not exceed two hundred and fifty acres, and it is, in a manner, insulated by a river on one side, with a ditch, and a bank planted with trees on the other. The country between *Ephrata* and *Lancaster*, though very thinly inhabited, presents the eye with the like beautiful scenes of retirement. A German hermit, who settled on the spot where *Ephrata* is now built, and who supplied all his necessities by his own labour, was the founder of this extraordinary sect. The fame of his solitude inspired some of his countrymen with curiosity; as the simplicity of his life, with the piety of his conversation, excited them to join, and to imitate him. A people who leave their native country to enjoy liberty of conscience, can bear all subsequent mortifications. The Germans, of both sexes, who joined this hermit, soon assimilated themselves to his way of thinking; and consequently, to his manner of living. Industry became part of their duty, and divided their time with devotion. Their gains are thrown into one common stock, which supplies all their exigencies, private as well as publick. Their females are cloistered up by themselves in a separate part of the town, the situation of which is delightful, and screens them from the north-wind. It is triangular, and fenced round with thick rows of apple, beech, and cherry-trees, besides, having an orchard in the middle. The houses, which are of wood, are most of them three stories high, and every person has a separate apartment, that he may not be disturbed in his devotions.

THE women never see the men but at public worship, or when it is necessary to consult upon matters of public economy, and the number of both may be about 300. Their garb is the most simple that can be well imagined, being a long white woollen gown in winter, and linnen in the summer, with a cape, which serves them for a hat, like that of a capuchin, behind, and fastened round the waist with a belt. Under the gown they wear a waistcoat of the same materials, a coarse shirt, trowsers, and shoes. The dress of the women

## The History of America.

is the same, only instead of trowsers they wear petticoats, and when they leave their nunnery, (for such it is) they muffle up their faces in their capuchins. The diet of the *Dunkards* consists of vegetables; but it is no principle with them to abstain from animal food; only they think that such abstinence is most agreeable to a christian life. This temperance emaciates their bodies, and as the men indulge their beards to its full length, gives them a hollow ghastral appearance. Their beds are no other than benches; a little wooden block serves them for a pillow, and they celebrate public worship twice every day, and as often every night. But though such modes of life appear absurd and impracticable, the *Dunkards* are far from being extravagant. Their chapel is very decent, and they have, upon a fine stream, a grist-mill, a paper-mill, an oil mill, and a mill for pearl barley, all of them most ingeniously constructed by themselves: they have even a printing-pres, and they are, especially the nuns, extremly ingenious in writing, and in embellishments, which they perform with a variety of beautiful colours, with gilding, in imitation of the initials in ancient manuscripts, and they stick them up by way of ornament in their churches and cells. By those different manufactures, the publick stock of this ascetic people is well supplied, as no denomination of christians can be their enemies, their religious tenets being mingled with the absurdities of all.

NOTWITHSTANDING the two sexes living separately from one another in their town, yet the *Dunkards* are far from being enemies to marriage. In that case, the parties must indeed leave the town, but they are supplied out of the public fund with whatever is necessary for their settling elsewhere. This they generally do as near as they can to *Ephrata*, to which they send their children for education. They have in their society a president, one *Philip Mil'r*, who was regularly educated at the university of *Hari* in Germany. He is said to be a man not only of learning, but of good f<sup>c</sup>on. He went over on some scruples of conscience from the *Calvinists*, among whom he had taken orders, to the *Dunkards*. Though rigidly adhering to their doctrine and manners, yet he is open, affable, and communicative, and makes no secret of the religious principles of the *Dunkards* to strangers. Baptism they administer by dipping, or plunging, but to adult persons only. They hold free-will, and think that the doctrine of original sin, as to its effect upon *Adam's* posterity, is absurd and impious. They disclaim violence, even in cases of self-defence, and suffer themselves to be defrauded, or wronged,

wronged, rather than go to law. They are superstitious to the last degree in observing the sabbath ; and, all their prayers and preachings, during their worship, are extempore. Humility, chastity, temperance, and other christian virtues, are commonly the subjects of their discourses ; and they imagine, that the souls of dead christians are employed in converting those of the dead, who had no opportunity of knowing the gospel. They deny the eternity of hell-torments, but believe in certain temporary ones that will be inflicted on infidels, and obstinate persons, who deny Christ to be their only Saviour ; but they think, that at a certain period, all will be admitted to an endless fruition of the deity. A people, whose principles are so harmless, and whose practice is so simple and virtuous, cannot be otherwise than happy upon earth. Among themselves, they know nothing but harmony and mutual affection ; every one cheerfully performs the task of industry assigned to him, and their hospitality and courtesy to strangers is unbounded ; but their principles lead them to take nothing in recompence.

H U D S O N' S - B A Y .

THE trade of the country is become so considerable to *Original Great Britain*, that, though it affords but few settlements, and no cities, the history of it is as interesting as that of any other *American colony*. It is of very little importance to the English right to this trade, that about the year 1605, the *Danes* discovered countries to the northward of *Hudson's-Bay*; from whence they brought some of the natives, who were of a diminutive size, and sailed in little canoes, or rather boats, made of skins, containing but one person, but so secure, as to be proof, even upon the open ocean, against the most violent storms and tempests. Late discoveries have proved the truth of the last mentioned fact, and that those inhospitable countries are inhabited by people of a small size, resembling the *Laplanders*, and the *Saxnoids*, or the wandering *Tartars* (N). The first discovery of those northern lands, were made by the adventurers from different parts of *Europe*, who endeavoured to find out the north-west passage to *China*.

(N) See an account of that part of *America*, which is the nearest to the land of *Kamtschatka*, extracted from the description of *Kamtschatka*, by professor Krasznicoff, printed at Peterburg, in two volumes 4to. in 1759, and translated by Dr. Dumaresque, chaplain to the English factory at Peterburg.

## The History of America;

and the *East-Indies*; and there is no great dependence to be laid upon the grant given by *Henry the VII<sup>th</sup> of England*, in 1496, to the *Cabots* of all the lands they could discover and settle to the westward of *Europe*; for it is certain, that though they might take a general possession, yet they made no settlement. In the years 1576, 1577, and 1578, *Martin Frobisher* made three different voyages to discover the said passage; but all we know that he discovered, was the strait which still retains his name: nor could he bring the natives of *Terra de Labrador* to trade, or enter into the least communication with them; on the contrary, they took every opportunity of cutting them off.

In 1585, *John Davis*, who sailed from *Dartmouth*, came to the latitude of 64 degrees, 15 minutes, and proceeded to 66 degrees, 40 minutes. Next year, he ran to 66 degrees, 20 minutes, and from thence he coasted southward to 56 degrees; but though at last in 54 degrees he found an open sea, which he flattered himself might be the so much wished

*Discovery of the bay* for passage, yet the weather there was so tempestuous, that he was obliged to return to *England*; nor did he in the three voyages he made to those parts, gain any farther discovery or settlement. About 1583, *Sir Humphrey Gilbert* took possession of *Newfoundland* for the crown of *England*; but no farther attempts were made, till *Henry Hudson*, in 1607, is said to have discovered as far as 80 degrees, 23 minutes; and prosecuted his discoveries, though very unsuccessfully, and with little appearance of profit. In the year 1610, he proceeded many leagues farther than any man had done before him, and was stopt only by the ice and the shoal water; and finding himself imbayed, he was there obliged to winter; and the following spring, endeavouring to proceed farther, he perished. In the year of his death, prince *Henry*, who, for his public spirit, was so justly beloved by the people of *England*, encouraged *Thomas Button* to *Hudson's streights*, which he did, and sailing westward, discovered a continent, and gave it the name of *New Wales*. Being unable to pass farther than the 56th degree of north latitude, called by him the *Ne Ultra*, he wintered at port *Nelson*, in the 57th degree, and from him the bay was called *Button's bay*. In 1616, one *Baffin* attempted to prosecute *Button's* discoveries, and proceeded as far as the 78th degree; but perceiving his attempt to be impracticable, he returned, though he sailed to the 80th degree. In 1632, captain *Fox* sailed into *Hudson's Bay*, where he saw many whales towards the end of July; but he proceeded no farther than port *Nelson*, in 56 degrees, and there he wintered. The

civil wars of *England* soon after coming on, prevented our countrymen from pushing their discoveries farther; but prince *Rupert*, and some public-spirited gentlemen, in 1667, fitted out *Guliam*, wh<sup>t</sup> landed at *Rupert* river, on the east continent of *Hudson's Bay*, where he built *Charles* fort, and laid the foundation of a fur-trade with the natives.

THIS trade ~~had~~ so good an aspect, that in 1669, a royal charter was granted to the adventurers, in the following *its establishment*, terms: "To prince *Rupert*, count palatine of the *Rhin*, to *George* duke of *Abemarle*, to *William* earl of *Craven*, and to fifteen others, and <sup>as many</sup> others whom they shall admit into the said body corporal, power to make a common seal, and to alter it; to chuse annually, some time in *November*, a governor, a deputy-governor, and a committee of seven, any three of the committee, with the govefhor and deputy-governor, to be a court of directors: freemen to be admitted (their factors and servants may be admitted freemen) as a general court, a power to dismiss the governor, deputy-governor, or any of the committee, before the year expires; and upon their dismission or death, to elect others in their room for the remainder of the year: to have the sole property of land, trade, royal fishery, and mines, within *Hudson's straits*, not actually possessed by any christian prince, to be reputed as one of our colonies in *America*, to be called *Rupert's land*, to hold the same in free and common soccage, to pay the skins of two elks, and two black beavers, as often as the king and queen shall come into those lands: power to assemble the company, and to make laws for their government and other affairs, not repugnant to the laws of *England*; an exclusive trade, without leave obtained of the company, penalty, forfeiture of goods and shipping, one half to the king, one half to the company. In their general meetings, for every 100 l. original stock, to have one vote, may appoint governors, factors, and other officers, in any of their ports; the governor and his council to judge in all matters, civil and criminal, and execute justice accordingly: where there is no governor and council, may send them to any place where there is a governor and council, or to *England* for justice: liberty to send ships of war, men, and ammunition, for their protection, and erect forts: to make peace or war with any people who are not christians, may appeal to the king in council."

NOTWITHSTANDING this charter, the *French* pretended <sup>disputed by</sup> to the right of pre-occupancy, founded upon the discoveries of <sup>the</sup> *French*. their countrymen, long before the date of this charter. They alledged, that the sieur *Bourdon*, and another *Frenchman*, repeatedly took possession of *Hudson's Bay* and its neighbour-

hood, between the date of this charter and the year 1656. It is certain, that in 1663, three Frenchmen *Medard, Chouard des Groseilliers*, and *Pierre-Esprit de Radisson*, out of some pique they had conceived against their own country, conducted *Gulam* to the river *Nemiscou*, which discharges itself into the bottom of the bay, and there first built fort *Rupert*, and afterwards fort *Monjouis*. The French considered the possession as an usurpation, and their intendant endeavoured to prevent a prescriptive right in favour of the English, but *Collet's* pacific measures prevent'd any rupture between the French and *Charles the II* on that account. The French, however, endeavoured to gain by ~~the~~ <sup>the</sup> savages, what they did not attempt by force. *Groseillier* and *Radisson*, before they were employ'd by the English, had presented memorials, both at Quebec and at Paris, upon the practicability of carrying ships from Canada to *Hudson's-Bay*, and this they did upon the information of certain savages, whom they met with near the lake of the *Affimponals*, who conducted them by land to the bottom of the bay, where, according to the French accounts, the English had not yet made a settlement. Their memorials were treated by the French ministry as mere fictions, but the English ambassador at Paris recommended them both to the service of the English nation, from whom they soon found both patronage and protection. The French at Quebec, when it was too late, discovered their oversight. A deputation of savages, who had repaired to Quebec, to solicit for missionaries, offered to conduct the French by an easy way from the river *Saguenay* to *Hudson's-Bay*; and *Taln*, the intendant general of Canada, sent along with them, upon the discovery, father *Abelan*, and two other Frenchmen. They left Quebec on the 22d of August, 1671, but by this time, one Mr. *Baily*, Mr. *Baily*, an Englishman, had been sent <sup>over</sup> by the company as governor, and he was attended by the above-mentioned *Radisson*; so that when the three Frenchmen, conducted by the savages, arrived at the bay, which they did on the 17th of September of that same year, they found the English there in full trade with the savages. This obliged the Frenchmen to send to Quebec for passports (we suppose, to prove that they were no pirates;) but before these could arrive, they lost the season for navigating the bay, and they were obliged to winter on the banks of lake *St. John*. On the 1st of June, 1672, they set out on their return for Quebec; but on the 13th, they were intercepted by eighteen canoes, filled with *Mislaissin* savages. Father *Abelan* immediately accosted them, informing

them, that the *French* were their friends ; and that they had lately defeated their enemies the *Iroquois*, who were in no condition to molest them farther. The chief of the *Mistassins*, whose nation in general, it seems, had a hankering towards popery, or, what *Charlevoix* calls, christianity, returned the father thanks for his information, and he prevailed upon them to promise to trade upon the lake of St. John, where they were always sure to meet with merchandizes to barter, and a missionary to instruct them. The savages pressed *Albanel* to remain with them ; but he excused himself, and promised to return to lake St. John. After this, the *French* adventurers entered on the lake of the *Mistassins*, and then reached the banks of the lake *Nemiscou*, and on the 1st. of July, a place called *Miscouenagechit*, where they were received by the natives with vast demonstrations of joy. Notwithstanding this, *Albanel* perceived that the natives carried on a beneficial trade with the *English*, which they were so determined not to forego, that *Albanel* was obliged again to assure them, that he and his companions had no farther view in the visit they paid them than the safety of their souls, and to inform them, that they had nothing to fear from their enemies the *Iroquois*. Some days after, the *French* adventurers left that village, visited the neighbourhood of lake *Nemiscou*, and embarking upon the river of the same name, they fell into the bay, where they took a sham possession ; but it had not the least influence upon the *English* commerce there.

- WHILE the *French* were thus employed, the *English* adventurers had formed themselves into a regular company, at the direction of the head of which was prince *Rupert* : the other members were, Sir *James Hayes*, Mr. *William Young*, Mr. *Gerard Weytans*, Mr. *Richard Cradock*, Mr. *John Letton*, Christopher *Wrenn*, Esq; Mr. *Nicholas Mayward*. Mr. *Baily*, who was then governor, resided chiefly at the small fort, which had been built upon *Rupert's* river, but all the *English* inhabitants there did not exceed twenty. His neighbours were the *Indians*, whose princes and headmen, with their families, often came begging for mere subsistence, to the *English*; for, as their means of living depended entirely on the success of their hunting, they were reduced to starve as often as that resource failed them. It may, however, be proper here to observe, that perhaps the neighbourhood of the *English*, and their hospitality, encouraged those barbarians, who are naturally the most indolent beings in the universe, to this practice of begging. The *English* themselves had but a precarious dependence for their subsistence, and waited for returns from *England* for all their food and necessaries, so barren and inhospitable was the neighbour-

neighbouring country. Mr. *Baily* having relieved the prince, his cocamish or wife, and his great officers of state, by giving them victuals, attended them in a fishing expedition, in which they had but very indifferent success. In 1673, *Grosbilliers* arrived at port *Nelson*, where a kind of factory had been established, but under very discouraging circumstances, because the neighbouring *Indians* had been prevail'd upon by the French to abandon the country. The governor himself, tho' he and the few *English* with him, carried on a gainful traffic with the distant *Indians*, was in a most miserable situation, being in danger of perishing in the crazy cabins they had erected, and they subsisted chiefly on fishing, and killing such wild fowl as came in their way. Towards the beginning of the year some *Indians* visited them, and brought along with them a little fresh meat. This afforded them a temporary relief from the scurvy, which the eating their salt provisions had introduced amongst them.

*which is opposed by the French.* THE French knew the hardships, but, at the same time, the benefits of th<sup>t</sup> trade. *Radisson* had married a daughter of Sir *David Kirk*, the same who had conquered *Quebec*, and not thinking himself sufficiently rewarded by the *English*, he had made his peace with the court of *France*, from which he had received several distinguishing favours, and settled in *Canada*. Here he formed what he called a company of the north, which was founded on a plan for dispossessing the *English* of *Hudson's-Bay*. At the head of this company *Radisson* and his companions were placed, as being best acquainted with the country and its trade. Nothing but the most insatiate desire of gain could have induced them to any attempt to disturb the miserable settlement of the *English* in *Hudson's-Bay*. Profit, or the prospect of it, recompenced governor *Baily* and his companions for all their hardships. By this time, some of the *Indians* were so well reconciled to the settlement, that they had built wigwams at the east end of the *English* fort, for the benefit of their trade. Those *Indians* went by the name of *Cuscidabas*, and their king promised to wait upon the *English* governor, who, with his company, were now reduced to almost as melancholy a situation, as the savages themselves. The message of the *Indian* prince coming to the ears of the French jesuits, the latter animated the savages against the *English*, and the habitation of the *Cuscidabas*, at the east end of the fort, was threatened with an invasion from the French *Indians*. This was attended with very serious consequences: the French leaving nothing unattempted to ruin the *English* trade, and to make a settlement, about eight days journey from that of the *English*. This introduced a debate amongst the *English*, whether

whether they ought not to remove to Moose river from fort Rupert, in order to prevent their trade with the natives being intercepted by the French. This happened in the year 1674, and it seems the result of the debate was, that the English should continue where they were, but to take all opportunities to cut the French out of the trade. By this time, the king Cuscidah had enlarged his wigwam to the very walls of fort Rupert, to which they proved so troublesome and so dangerous neighbours, that Mr. Baily was obliged to order, that no Indian should enter the fort, except the king and his chief courtiers. On the 20th of May, twelve of the king Cuscidah's subjects came to the fort, and informed him, that few of the upland Indians would trade that year with the English in Hudson's Bay; they having been persuaded by the French to traffic with their Canadians: upon this, Mr. Baily ordered his sloop to proceed up the river, that he might re-establish his interest among the upland Indians. Upon his landing, a feast of beaver and moose flesh, and other eatables, dressed in the Indian fashion, was served up in vast plenty; but we know of very little advantage which this visit produced to the English. They had better fortune in a voyage they afterward's made to the Moose river, where they discovered several villages, and were in danger of being attacked by the Nodaway Indians; but this expedition proved profitable; for Mr. Baily returned with 1500 skins, and established a trade with the She-histavams, from whose country he coasted along to port Nelson.

ALL the profits of the trade, however, could not ward off Misery of the danger of starving, which every day stared the English in the face. They had almost spent all their provisions, lish in as well as their powder and shot, upon which their very being depended, having no means of subsistence but by killing game. This danger being over, the governor of Quebec, on account of the great friendship then subsisting between the courts of France and England, as he pretended, sent a jesuit to Rupert fort, but in reality, to be a spy upon the strength and situation of the English. This jesuit brought letters for Groseilliers, which, with some preceding circumstances of suspicion, confirmed the English in their opinion of his privately keeping a correspondence with his countrymen the French. Notwithstanding this, Mr. Baily the governor, behaved himself towards this jesuit with the greatest humanity, by giving him cloaths, he having been stript by some of the savage nations. It appears, as if Baily had been so artful as to prevail with the jesuit to discover his real business; for he learned from him that the Tabite Indians, whose country lay

lay within the bounds of the patent granted to the *Hudson's-Bay* company, traded with the *French*, who intended to pay the *English* at *Hudson's-Bay* a very disagreeable visit. They had practised upon the *Nodways*, and *Moose-River Indians* to keep up their commodities at an extravagant rate; and this, together with the difficulty of subsisting in that miserable climate, at last determined the ~~governor~~ to march for *Point Comfort*, and from thence to sail for *England*. All their flour and bread at this time did not exceed two hundred pound weight; and they had only two barrels of peas, and thirty geese in pickle, to support them during their voyage. Their sloop accordingly fell down to *Point Comfort*; but some firing being heard, they concluded it was from *English* ships, and delayed sailing. This delay served only to consume their provisions, and no *English* for some days appearing, they were overwhelmed with horror; but at last they understood that the ship *private Rupert*, commanded by captain *Gillum*, with *William Lyddal*, Esq; a new governor, was arrived upon the coast. At the same time, captain *Shepherd*, in the *Shafesbury*, arrived from *England*; where the profits of the trade became to be better understood. It was now the 18th of September, (in that country a late season) when Mr. *Bailey* delivered up all his authority to governor *Lyddal*, who finding the year too far advanced for the ships to return to *England*, employed their crews in felling timber for building houses and conveniences for dwelling. It soon appeared, that the newly arrived ships had not brought with them a sufficiency of provisions for the subsistence of the settlers, so that they were reduced to vast straits. Mr. *Bailey* was happy enough to return to *England*, where he gave the company very great lights, as to their interest; and they increased the settlement by an additional number of factories upon the rivers, which discharge themselves into the bay.

*They are invaded by the French.* IN the year 1682, the *French*, at *Quebec*, fitted out two miserably equipped ships for two purposes. The first was to drive the *English* from *Hudson's-Bay*, and the other to establish a peltry trade there among the natives. Proceeding to fort *Rupert*, they found it so well guarded, that they did not venture to attack it. They then cruised along the west coast of the bay, in search of a commodious situation for the fur-trade; and at last they arrived at port *Nelson*, where the two rivers of *Bourbon* and *St. Therese* join. *Radisson* was one of the adventurers in the expedition; and, when the *French* were wintering in the river of *St. Therese*, the *English* were encamped upon that of *Bourbon*; and that the *French* discovered the *English* near them, though they were no more than,

than twelve men, attacked the *English*, who were eighty in number, but all of them drunk, and made them prisoners, as they did six other sailors who were in a separate body. Father *Charlevoix*, however, gives a very different account of this adventure. According to his information, upon the arrival of *Radisson* in the river *St. Thereſe*, a *Boston* vessel appeared at the mouth of the same river, not far from the place where the *French* were encamped. A few days after, a large ship from *London*, cast anchor at the same place, to the great dread of the *Boston* men, who, it seems, were little better than pirates, and of the *French* who were unprovided with the means of defence. The *English* large ship, however, was, by currents, driven from her anchors, and wrecked among the shoals of ice, without any possibility of being saved. Some of the crew got upon those shoals, which were driven towards the mouth of *St. Thereſe* river, where *Rediſſon* and *Groſſeilliers* then commanded. The *French* seem to have made the utmost advantage of their misfortunes; for though they relieved the *English* with victuals, and suffered them to erect some booths on the banks of the river, to shelter them from the inclemency of the weather, yet they obliged the *English* commander to promise them in writing, to erect no fortifications there, and to do nothing prejudicial to the rights of his most christian majesty. The *English* are accused of having violated their promise, and of endeavouring to surprise the *French*, who secured them to prevent other consequences. Such is the lame and improbable narrative given by *Charlevoix* of this affair; but, like other *French* narratives of the same kind, it is full of absurdities, and rests upon no evidence. The truth is, one *John Bridger*, Esq; was appointed governor of the *Hudson's Bay* company of the west main, from cape *Henrietta Maria*, which had been in Mr. *Lyddal's*, or the *Étienne Main's* patent. Mr. *Bridger* went to port *Nelson*, where captain *Gillam* had been settled, but was not strong enough to prevent the *French* from landing. Upon *Bridger's* ship appearing, the *French* commanded him to be gone; but, he landed his goods, and began a settlement, without any interruption from the *French*, with whom he lived in very good correspondence till *February* following; when the *French* treacherously surprised the *English*, and all their effects, and kept them in confinement till *August*, when they put the common men on board a rotten bark, which was taken up at sea by an *English* ship; but they carried *Bridger* and *Gillam* prisoners to *Quebec*, with all the *English* The English recover their settlement.

## The History of America.

plunder. Here *Radisson* and *Grosilliers* quarrelled with the French northern company, who wanted to seize their cargoes, in right of their charter; upon which they went to *France*, where they found the ministry so much prepossessed against them, that they applied to lord *Preston*, the English ambassador at *Paris*. By his intervention they again compromised matters with the English *Hudson's-Bay* company, and *Radisson* received a pension from the court of *England*, which he held the remaining part of his life. In 1685, he sailed with two ships to secure the fort which he himself had built at the mouth of *St. Therese* river, and which was held by his nephew *Chouart*, son of *Grosilliers*, with a garrison of no more than eight men; and upon *Radisson*'s appearing before it, it was immediately surrendered with all the effects in it, which, according to the French accounts, amounted to a very considerable sum.

*The French settle on St. Therese river.*

Vol. XL. p. 33, 34.

NORWITHSTANDING this blow, the French still continued to have a settlement on the river *St. Therese*; and it was agreed between the two courts, that the trade should be common to both nations. We have, in the history of *Canada*, given an account of the subsequent operations of the French from *Canada*, against the English *Hudson's-Bay* company; to such we refer our reader. Captain *John Abraham* was then the English governor of port *Nelson*, and *Henry Serjeant*, Esq; succeeded Mr. *Nixon*, as governor of *Rupert* river. By this time, the chief factory was removed from fort *Rupert* to *Chickewan*, now called *Albany* river, which the governor made the place of his residence. His instructions from the company were, that he should repair every spring to *Charleton* island, with all the goods he possibly could collect together, to be put on board the company's ships, who were to rendezvous there; and that he should be particularly watchful against any surprize from the French. The company, at the same time, ordered *Serjeant* to settle a factory at a place called *Hayes* island, at the bottom of the bay, and another on *Charleton* island, where he built a fort, and kept some men in it, with warehouses and other conveniences for trade. The great gains which the company made, had, about this time, tempted many of its servants to be unfaithful to them; and they were removed. The expence of supplying their settlements with provisions, made them recommend it strongly to the factory, to endeavour to raise corn and vegetables; but, though repeated attempts were made for that purpose, yet they came to nothing. In 1686, we find, the *Hudson's-Bay* company in possession of five settlements; namely, *Albany* river, *Hayes* island, *Rupert's* river, fort *Nelson*, (or *York*) and *New*

*New Severn.* Their trade at all those settlements was very gainful, and from *Albany* river alone, they generally brought home 3500 beavers a year. The manner in which this Ibid. trade was destroyed by the *French* has been already related. It happened fortunately for the *English* settlements, that very little regard was paid to their court by the *American* chiefs, and both nations were equally disgusted with the arrangement that had been made of port *Nelson*, being in common to both. *Lionville*, the governor of *Canada*, gave it as his opinion to the court of *France*, that all the three forts which they had taken from the *English* should be restored to them, rather than suffer them to have any communication with fort *Nelson*. In 1687, the *English* attacked fort *Quitchouchouen*, then called fort *St. Anne*; but they were repulsed by *Iberville*, who burnt one of their vessels, and a storehouse they had erected on the banks of the river. Those hostilities gave great uneasiness to the two courts, and several conferences were held upon them; but nothing effectual was done, when the revolution, which happened in *England* in 1688, embroiled affairs more than ever. The *French* were the first who profited by the breach; for, apprehending that the agents of the *Hudson's-Bay* company would not be upon their guard, *Frontenac*, who was now governor of *Canada*, had orders to drive the *English* from all their posts there. The Ibid. p. 48 reader has been already informed as to the success of this plan, and 49. to which we shall confine ourselves, and which extended much farther than the conquest of *Hudson's-Bay*.

DURING the campaign of the year 1689, the *French* were unfortunate in all their enterprizes in *North America*, excepting at *Hudson's-Bay* alone, where *Iberville* commanded at fort *St. Lewis*, which lay at the bottom of the bay, and his lieutenant *la Ferte*, having taken prisoner one of the company's agents, found among his papers an order from the directors of his company, for proclaiming king *William* and queen *Mary*, and to maintain the company's right to the whole of the bay. According to the *French* account, this claim was supported by the appearance of two *English* ships, one of them of 18 guns, the other of 10, besides swivels, both of them loaded with a great number of small arms, and provisions of all kinds; the crews in the whole amounting to 83 men. Though the *French* had most infamously broken Successes of the capitulation which had been settled between the chevalier *de Troyes* and governor *Sergeant*, when they took fort *Albany*, in *Hudson's-Bay*, and the company's other settlements, yet they exulted against the attempt of the *English* to retake them, as is scandalous breach of good faith. *Iberville's* garrison in fort *St. Anne*, other-

otherwise called fort Albany, was but inconsiderable when the English summoned it to surrender : Iberville gave no determinate answer, and acted with so much cunning, that he deceived the English into an opinion of his compliance. This rendered them so secure, that he found means to carry off twenty-one of their best men, their surgeon, and one of their principal officers, he then summoned them to surrender prisoners of war. The English, who were still forty able-bodied men, rejected the summons, tho' they were at that time in a miserable situation, being encamped on a small island, while their ships were jammed in by shoals of ice. Iberville ordered his brother Maricourt to harass them with a small party, both by land and on board their ships ; and he himself in two days after supported them, and a cannonade ensued on both sides, without much loss to either. At last, Iberville renewed his summons for a surrender, and threatened, if it was not complied with, to give them no quarter. The English, in answer, pretended, that the fort belonged to them, and that the French had begun hostilities. Iberville paid no regard to those allegations, and demanded that not only the English should surrender prisoners of war, but that they should deliver up to him both their ships with their cargoes. After some consultation, this was agreed to, upon Iberville paying the officers their wages, which amounted to about 600 l. and upon his giving them a vessel, properly equipped, in which they might transport themselves elsewhere. Iberville took care that those officers should be attended by very few of their common men, and by none of their pilots, of whom they had eleven on board, carrying them all prisoners to Quebec, to which, with his two prizes, he repaired by an order from the governor of Canada. He arrived at Quebec on the 25th of October, 1689, having left his brother Maricourt, with no more than thirty-six men, to guard the posts at the bottom of the bay.

Ibid. p. 83. As we have little or no account of this expedition on the part of the English, we have been obliged to adopt the French account of it, though it is far from being satisfactory. There is, however, the greatest reason for believing that the company, perhaps, by their own fault and niggardly disposition, was very ill-served by their officers, which might be the true cause of Iberville's success. Fort Nelson was at this time in the hands of the English ; and Iberville designed to attack it with two French ships of war, but it was too late in the year 1692, and the English, by this time, had even recovered fort St. Anne. According to Charlevoix, Iberville had acquired so much credit by his conduct in Hudson's-Bay, that he gave some

ome umbrage to *du Taff*, the French commandant, who had been sent with a strong squadron, fitted out at the expence of the French northern company, to drive the English entirely from all their posts on that bay ; and who, out of jealousy to *Iberville*, declined the service, on pretence that it was too late in the season to attempt it. The court of England highly resented the proceedings of the French, whom they accused of having surprized the company's possessions on *Hudson's-Bay* in ~~any~~ infamous manner ; and they were mentioned as such by king *William* in his declaration of war against the French king. *Thomas Phipps*, Esq; was then governor of port *Nelson*, and upon the breaking out of the war with France, some troops had been granted to the *Hudson's-Bay* company for the defence of their remaining settlements. According to *Charlevaux*<sup>1</sup>, fort *St. Anne*, which was then in the hands of the French, had no more than three men to defend it ; and they made their escape to *Quebec*, leaving a great booty of skins in the fort. This, together with many other advantages gained by the English in the bay, determined *Iberville* to run all risks in dispossessing them of fort *Nelson*. This service had been often projected, and as often miscarried, as the French governors and officers in Canada were by no means fond of so painful an expedition, and which, though successful, was to be attended with no profit, but to the French northern company. *Iberville*, however, had received such encouragement from them, that he and *Serigny*, notwithstanding all their discouragements from the ice, arrived with two ships of war at the mouth of the river *St. Therese*, and landing the same night, they made themselves masters of fort *Nelson*, the name of which they changed to that of *Bourbon* ; but they found there only a very inconsiderable booty ; and they lost so many of their men by the scurvy, and other diseases, that the conquest was not worth the expence. Ibid. p. 96.

IN the year 1696, the government of England granted a new recruit of force to the *Hudson's-Bay* company, and the *Pig-eons* of *Ponaventure* and *Seahorse*, two men of war, were assigned to the war. <sup>1675.</sup> what service : *La Foret*, with a garrison of 68 *Canadians*, commanded in fort *Bourbon*, and on the 2d of September, four ship ships and a bomb ketch appeared in view of the fort. They were followed by *Serigny* and *de la Motte Egron*, the former in a French man of war, and the latter in one of the French northern company's ships ; but, perceiving the strength of the English, they made the best of their way back, *Serigny* for France, and *de la Motte Egron* for *Quebec* ; but he was

<sup>1</sup> CHARLEVaux, Vol. III. p. 156.

*The History of America.*

wrecked in his voyage thither and drowned. The fort was summoned, but refusing to surrender, a brisk cannonade began, which lasted for a whole day, and the English, in attempting to land, were at first repulsed by *Jeremy*, the ensign of the fort, and the same who has written a description of *Hudson's-Bay*, where he afterwards commanded himself for six years. The fort was then plied with bombs from the ketch, of which twenty-two fell into it, and *la Fregate* was at last obliged to capitulate. If we are to believe *Charles XII.*, the English granted the capitulation required by the French, but afterwards violated it.

*Ibid. page 110 and 111:* The sequel of *Iberville's* expedition against *Hudson's-Bay*, with the bad success attending them, is to be found in a former part of this work. We are to inform the reader, that capt. in *Allen* was the commodore of the English squadron, and that upon his return, he fought a French privateer of 50 guns, but was killed in the engagement. The loss of fort *Bourbon*, and the other French settlements, raised their government, and *Iberville* was at last furnished with a sufficient force, with which he recovered them in his turn from the English. The French were far from making all the advantages that this conquest might have been attended with. The English, though dispossessed of their forts, still preserved a considerable footing in the bay, where they carried on almost the whole trade, but not for the benefit of the company, the most of it going through private hands. This is the chief reason why the accounts we have of this valuable trade are so barren; for the French private merchants in like manner never suffered their northern company and their government, at whose expences all their conquests there had been made, to enjoy its profits. The English found means still to keep possession of fort *Albany*, which indeed remained unmolested through the weak condition of the French in *Hudson's-Bay*, where they had no more than sixteen men, under the sicur *Jeremy*, to garrison all their posts. Matters remained in this situation during all the war with France, under queen *Anne*. *Jeremy* lived there in a kind of exile, without receiving the smallest assistance from the French northern company. Finding himself unable to garrison fort *Bourbon*, he built a smaller fort towards the north, to which he transported all his powder, stores, and ammunition, with a view of retreating to it, if he should be attacked; the English notwithstanding the war, carrying on the most profitable branches of the trade. At last, *Jeremy* and his small garrison came to be in want of every thing, and he was forced to send his lieutenant and seven other of his men to hunt during the months of *July* and *August*. They pitched their camp near

a company of savages, who were reduced to the greatest misery for want of powder, by which they were deprived of all means of subsistence. They had, ever since the *Europeans* came among them, hunted a kind of a wild ass, called by the *French*, caribore. This creature is as swift as a deer, and is said to differ only in colour, from the famous rein deer of *Lapland*; but it is of the amphibious kind, and, according to *Jeremy's* account, between *Danisb* river and fort *Nelson*, they are to be found for forty or fifty leagues, in herds of 10,000 at least. The savages of those parts depend upon this creature for their subsistence during a great part of the year; but having long lost the practice of bows and arrows, when they were destitute of powder, they could kill no game. They saw the *French*, on the other hand, hunting with great success, and destroying abundance, but without being so hospitable as to invite them to partake; and therefore, it was no wonder, if those wretches, over-loaded as they were with misery, laid a scheme for robbing them, and acquiring the spoils of those successful hunters. They invited two of them to a feast in *French*-their cabins, where they immediately murdered them: they then butchered five others, who were asleep in their tent; but, dreading a sixth, who was only wounded, escaped, though with the utmost difficulty, towards fort *Bourbon*, where he related to *Jeremy* the massacre of his companions. He found it in vain to think of guarding his two posts with no more than nine men; and therefore he shut himself up in fort *Bourbon*, while the savages, with great ease, made themselves masters of the other fort, and all the ammunition that was in it. In this uncomfortable situation, he maintained himself till the treaty of *Utrecht* took place, which provided for the restitution of *Hudson's Bay*, in the following terms.

"ARTICLE X. The said Most Christian king shall restore to the kingdom and queen of *Great Britain*, to be possessed in full right for ever, the bay, and streights of *Hudson*, red together with all lands, seas, sea-coasts, rivers, and places, England situate in the said bay and streights, and which belong thereto, no tracts of land or sea being excepted, which are at present possessed by the subjects of *France*. All which, as well as any buildings there made, in the condition they now are, and likewise all fortresses there erected, either before or since the *French* seized the same, shall, within six months, from the ratification of the present treaty, or sooner, if possible, be well and truly delivered to the British subjects, having commission from the queen of *Great Britain*, to demand and receive the same, entire and undemolished, together with all the cannon, and cannon-ball, and with the other provisions

## The History of America.

sion of war usually belonging to cannon. It is, however, provided, that it may be entirely free for the company of Quebec, and all the other subjects of the Most Christian king whatsoever, to go by land or by sea, whithersoever they please, out of the lands of the said bay; together with all their goods, merchandize, arms, and effects, of what nature or condition soever, except such things as above reserved in this article.

"ARTICLE XI. The abovementioned Most Christian king shall take care that satisfaction be given, according to the rule of justice and equity, to the English company, traders to the bay of Hudson, for all damage and spoil done to their colonies, ships, persons, and goods, by the hostile incursions and depredations of the French in time of peace, an estimate to be made thereof by commissioners to be named at the reduction of each party."

SINCE that time the company has remained in full possession of this important trade, which has prospered in their hands more, perhaps, than any in the British dominions. Before the time of the peace of Utrecht, the value of it was but little known, on account of the losses and interruptions it met with; but it has since improved so greatly, that several attempts have been made to abridge their privileges, though hitherto without effect, and the trade increased every day, as well as the profits of the company, till the last peace of Aix la Chapelle. This bay is famous for the attempts it has given rise to towards finding out the northwest passage to the East-Indies and China; and as we have observed, its discovery was owing to such attempts. It is therefore proper, in this place, to lay before our readers an historical account of that made by the English; but in doing this, we shall avoid, as much as possible, all philosophical and geographical disquisitions.

*History of  
attempts  
for a north  
east pas-  
sage,*

THE irregularity of tides in Hudson's-Bay is one great argument, that it receives more water than comes from the straits, or any inlet into it hitherto discovered; and it is likewise probable, that those tides come by the west, but whether by an open practicable passage, or by a frozen impracticable one is the great doubt. We shall not trouble our readers with many conjectures, though some of them bear a great face of probability, that have been published in almost all languages concerning the reality of this passage, in the early times of improved European navigation. Sir Martin Frobisher is the first Englishman upon whose attempts to find out this passage we can rely, with any solidity. In the year 1576, he arrived at the height of sixty-two degrees of north

north latitude, where he discovered the straits which since bear his name; and he sailed up them for fifty leagues with land on each side. This land was inhabited, and the natives sailed in those seal-skin canoes that are safe in the most tempestuous seas. They traded with the English crew, whom they furnished with fish in exchange for toys, and the English brought off from them some ore, which, upon trial, was found to contain only black-lead. Upon Forbisher's return, by For-  
he reported, that he had discovered a silver mine, but that bishier,  
it lay too deep to be wrought. In 1577, he undertook a sec-  
ond voyage, and gave English names to the places he touch-  
ed at, or saw; and next year a third, in five vessels. On the  
10th of May, he discovered what he called *Western Eggland*,  
being the same with *West Frieseland*, which had been before  
discovered by the Venetians; and he took possession of it in  
queen Elizabeth's name. In 1579, Sir Francis Drake assured Sir Fran-  
queen Elizabeth, that he had sailed some leagues up the cis Drake,  
straights of Anign, and discovered *New Albion*, to the north  
of California; but of this country we have very inadequate  
ideas; nor were Drake's discoveries afterwards improved. In  
1580, Arthur Pratt and Charles Facknian, by queen Eliza-  
beth's orders, pursued a discovery, which was said to have  
been made before one Stephen Burroughs an Englishman, to-  
wards finding out the northwest passage; but their voyage  
proved unsuccessful by the vast shoals of ice, and other dif-  
ficulties they encountered.

WE have already more than once mentioned the voyage Gilbert, that Sir Humphrey Gilbert, by the direction of Sir Francis ~~and others~~ Walsingham, made to Newfoundland; which he took posse-  
ssion of in queen Elizabeth's name. He undertook it upon  
the information of a Greek mariner, who had affirmed, that  
he had passed through a great strait into the north of Vir-  
ginia. But he died before he came to England; and we hear no-  
thing farther of the attempt; Gilbert, in settling the New-  
foundland trade, having performed a great and a beneficial  
service to his country. In 1585, Mr. John Davis, in two  
barks, discovered cape Desolation, which is supposed to be a  
part of Greenland; and after trading with the natives for pe-  
tty-ware and fish, he proceeded as far as the latitude of 64.  
deg. 40' min. where he discovered mount Raleigh, Totnes  
sound, and other places to which he gave names. Next year,  
he sailed towards the west; and the year after, he advanced  
as far as latitude 72 deg. 12 min. the compass varying 82 deg.  
to the westward. He here discovered a coast, to which he  
gave the name of London, and the strait which is still cal-  
led after himself. Hudson, the discoverer of the straits we  
are

are now to describe, did not apply to find out a north-west passage, till he had failed in discovering a south-east one. He is said to have proceeded an hundred leagues farther than any had done before. He gave the names of the then royal family to several capes he discovered, and fanciful names to others; such as, *Desire-Prowakes*, *God's-Mercy*, and the like: but he could do nothing effectual, being prevented by the ice, and the discontents of his crew. In 1611, Sir Thomas Button, at the desire, and command, of Henry Prince of Wales, sailed through *Hudson's-Straights*, and wintered at port *Nelson*, in search of the northwest passage; but all he could do was to discover the bay which goes by his own name, and a tract of land which he called *Cary's-Swan's-neck*.

Those discoveries seemed but to excite a farther spirit in the English for finding out the so much desired passage. In this the merchants had a secondary view; for the expence of the attempt was amply repaid by the vast profits attending the voyage, from their commerce with the savages. In 1612, 1615, and 1616, James Hall and William Baffin proceeded farther towards the north-west than any navigator had ever done before, and gave English names to the places they discovered. At this time, the English had thirteen or fourteen ships employed in those seas; but it does not appear that they made any settlements, or, indeed, that they could have made any in those inhospitable and almost uninhabitable tracts. *Baffin's-Bay* was discovered by Sir William Baffin, in 1622, though some say sooner; and lies to the north of *Davis's-Straights*. In 1630, king Charles I. sent captain Luke Fox out in one of his pinnaces, named the *Charles*, victualled for eighteen months: he followed the traces of former navigators, and had their difficulties to struggle with. In port *Nelson*, he found some remains of former English navigators, and he there built a pinnace. Next year, captain James was fitted out by the merchants of *Bristol* for the same purpose; and, James, and running over a large bay to the westward of port *Nelson*, his opinion named the land about it *New South-Wales*. Hereabouts he again<sup>t</sup> the met with captain Fox, but they were soon separated by bad passage; weather. James, before his return, discovered cape *Henrietta Maria*, with various other islands, to which he gave the name of English favourites about court; and wintering in Plat. 52, he there built a pinnace out of his ship, in which he returned home in 1632. This James was one of the most able and judicious navigators that ever sailed from England, or any other country; and his voyages to the north were printed in 1633. As they are still held in vast esteem, having been since

since repeated, we shall in the notes (O) give our reader his very weighty reasons for believing that no such passage exists;

(O) What has been long ago fabled by some Portuguese, says he, that should have come this way out of the South Sea, the mere shadows of whose mistaken relations we have come to us, I leave to be confuted by their own vanity. These hopes have stirred up, from time to time, the more active spirits of this kingdom to research this merely imagined passage. For my own part, I give no credit to them at all; and, as little to the vicious and abusive wits of later Portuguese and Spaniards, who never speak of any difficulties, as shoal-water, ice, nor sight of land, but, as if they had been brought home in a dream, or engine. And, indeed, their discourses are found absurd; and the maps, by which some of them have practised to deceive the world, mere falsities; making sea where there is known to be main land, and land where there is nothing but sea.

" Most certain it is, that, by the industry of our own nation, those northern parts of America have been discovered to the latitude of 80 degrees and upwards. And it has been so curiously done, the labours of several men being joined together, that the main land has been both seen and searched, and they have brought this supposed passage to this pass, that it must be to the north of 66 degrees of latitude: a cold climate, pestered with ice, and other inconveniences; and where the Spaniards dispositions, and their weak ships, can hardly endure it: and withal, it is

known, that the entrance of Hudson's Straights is but fifteen leagues broad, in the middle not so much; and between Salisbury island and the main land is but eight leagues. Then proceeding to the northward, towards the forementioned latitude, it is but fifteen leagues, from main to main: this in length is about 140 leagues, and infinitely pestered with ice, until August, and some years not passable then; and I believe the strait is never entirely clear of ice. Now it is most probable there is no passage, for the following reasons:

" First, There is a constant tide, flood and ebb, setting in, to Hudson's Straights, the flood still coming from the eastward; which, as it proceeds correspondent to the distance, it alters its time at full sea. This also, entering into bays, and broken grounds, becomes distract, and reverses with half tides.

" Secondly, here are no small fish, as cod, and very few great ones, which are rarely to be seen: nor are there any bones of whales, sea-horses, or other great fish, to be found on the shore; nor any drift-wood.

" Thirdly, we found the ice, in latitude 65. 30. to be lying all over the sea, in rands; and I am most certain, that the shoals and shoal-bays are the mother of it. Had there been any ocean beyond, it would have been broke all to pieces; for so we found it coming from the strait into the sea to the eastward.

" Fourthly, the ice seeks its way

or, if it does, that the discovery of it would not be attended with those advantages that are commonly believed. Those reasons, however, have been attempted to be answered. There

way to the eastward, and so drives out at Hudson's-straight; which I have often observed upon the island of Desolation, and driving among the ice in the straight.

" Admit there were a passage, yet it is known that it is narrow, for 140 leagues, and infinitely pestered with ice, as every one has found, who has gone that way. Comparing, therefore some observations taken at Bantam, Gilolo, and Fimando in Japan, and the distance between Japan and the western part of California, with the observations taken at Charleston Island, referring all to the meridian of London, and then the distance between the meridian of cape Charles, and the western part of California, will be found to be about 500 leagues, in latitude 66. where yet the meridians incline very much togeher.

" To this may be added, that about cape Charles the variation is 29 deg. to the west; which is a probable argument, that there is much land to the westward; and that this stright must be very long; and you have no time to pass it, but in August and September, when the nights are so long, and the weather so cold, that it will not be durable.

" Add to this, that no great ships, which are fit for carrying of merchandize, can endure the ice, and other inconveniences, without extraordinary danger.

Moreover, 1000 leagues are sooner sailed to the south.

ward, and about the cape de Bona Esperanza (of Good-Hope) where the winds are constant, and that with safety, than 100 leagues in these seas, where you must daily run the hazard of losing ship and lives. Put hereunto, that no comfort for the sick, nor refreshment for your men, is to be had in these quarters. Towards the latter end of August, and in September, the weather grows tempestuous, and the winds incline to be westerly; so that there will be but small hope of performing your voyage this way.

" But let us, by way of imagination only, enlarge this stright in this latitude, and free it of ice; yet what advantage in speedy performance, will be got by this passage, if the winds be withal considered? To Japan, China, and the northern parts of Asia, it may be the nearer cut. But in navigation, the farthest way about is well known in fewer days to be performed, yea, with lesser pains, and more safety of ships and goods.

" Again; to the East-Indies, and other parts, where we have the greatest commerce, and employment of shipping, the other way is as near. What benefit of trade might have been obtained in those northern parts of Asia, I will not presume to speak of; holding, that there is a great difference betwixt those parts, and the northern parts of America; whereas I am faine there is none in any place, where I have been all this voyage."

\* being

being no north-west passage, is still a matter of doubt, and cannot well be cleared up, unless colonies were fixed upon the lands adjoining to *Hudson's Bay*, with a reward for making discoveries both by land and water; and the reasoning built upon the tides, is said not only to be conclusive, but to afford strong arguments for the passage. As to his second argument, that no fish, especially whales, are to be met with in those seas; the reasoning holds good only about *Charleton* island. Latter voyagers have indisputably proved, that many whales are to be seen in those parts, especially at the opening of *Wager* river, which affords a presumption, that such a passage may open on the north-west part of *Hudson's Bay*. As to his reasoning against the passage; because the ice in latitude  $65^{\circ}. 30'$ . lying along the shore as sands, and drives eastward, as he calls them, the same thing is said to happen in *Messellan* streights, which open a passage to the *South Seas*; and their existence was formerly as much doubted of, by the famous *Americus Fessucius*, as that of the north was by captain *James*. Granting all the captain says to be true, about the commodiousness of the passage by the way of the Cape of *Good Hope*, yet, according to his own confession, it would be nearer to the *South Seas* and the northern part of *China*. Add to this, that the hardships of the voyage towards the north-west are now but inconsiderable in comparison of what captain *James* represents them.

WITH regard to other circumstances in this much disputed point, it is certain, that a factory has subsisted for some years at fort *Churchill*, which is in a higher latitude than *Charleton* island, beyond which captain *James* thought no settlement could be made. It appears now, that the continent, west and north-west from *Charleton* island, is inhabited, and that in many places the *Indians* there are better cloathed, and more civilized than they were in any part of *North America*, before the arrival of the *French* and *English*. One of those nations, called *Mosemelcks*, deserve particular notice, as they lie upon the remote parts of *Hudson's Bay*. They are, in consequence of their being civilized, rational and conversable; and they have always stuck to their assertion, that to the north-west of them lie a people, who live in towns, who trade with one another upon a large lake, in vessels, each of them twenty times as big as their canoes. Beyond those people, they pretend to give no account of any inhabitants. Could those accounts be relied on, they would go far towards justifying even farther attempts towards a north-west passage; but as there is some likelihood that the *French Canadian jesuits* have

*which is  
answered.*

have had an intercourse with those *Mosquiecks*, we have the less dependence upon their reports.

*History of Mr. Dobbs's and captain Midleton's attempt.*

FROM the time of captain *Jones* to about the year 1730, the probability of a north-west passage was always mentioned as a speculation, with few attempts to carry it into practice. At the above time, Mr. *Dobbs*, an Irish gentleman, collected together all the voyages that had been made for this discovery, and laid an abstract of them, by way of letter, before colonel *Bladen*, then one of the commissioners of trade and plantations, with an intention to prevail with the *South-Sea* company to try the whale-fishery at the *Welcome*, that they might there have an opportunity of discovering a north-west passage. The extent of the privileges granted to the *Hudson's-Bay* company proved an invincible obstacle to this proposal; and soon after, the *South-Sea* company quitted all thoughts of the whale-fishing, which till then they had carried on in *Davis's* straits, and by which they lost money. In 1733, Mr. *Dobbs* laid before Sir *Charles Wager*, who was then first lord-commissioner of the admiralty, his reasons for a probability of finding out the passage, which Sir *Charles*, who was himself a very able navigator, thought so feasible, that he mentioned them to Mr. *Jones*, then deputy-governor of the *Hudson's-Bay* company. The latter endeavoured all he could to dissuade him from prosecuting the project, and, among other reasons, informed Sir *Charles*, that in 1719, the company had fitted out two ships, under one *Parlow*, for the discovery of the passage, but that they had never after been heard of; that their wrecks were afterwards seen in latitude 62, by the crew of a sloop they sent to enquire after them.

Mr. *Dobbs* receiving this intelligence from *Wager*, was, by his recommendation, introduced to Mr. *Jones*; but easily found from him, that either no such attempt had been made, or that the gentlemen of the *Hudson's-Bay* company were very glad it had miscarried; as such a discovery would have been, by no means, for their interest. Upon Mr. *Dobbs's* perusing the *Hudson's-Bay* company's charter in 1735, (an extract of which we have already given) he was surprised to find it so extensive; but at the same time considering that the benefit of all discoveries was to result to the company, he applied to Sir *Bibye Lake*, who was perpetual governor of the same, and laid before him the same manuscript, which he had communicated to colonel *Bladen*. Sir *Bibye*, without entering much into the merits of the question, informed *Dobbs*, that the company having already lost 7 or 8000*l.* upon the discovery, were resolved to be at no farther expence about it. At last, upon *Dobbs's* remonstrances, he agreed, that one or two small

small ships, as the voyage would cost nothing, should go from Churchill to *N Ultra*, or the *Welcome*, and there try the height and directions of the tides; and if they there found a passage free from the ice, with a westerly direction, they might proceed fifty or sixty leagues farther; and if they there met with a tide of flood, they might return, and by sending both duplicates of their journal, the matter might be determined. As the company was then about erecting a stone fort at Churchill, being apprehensive of a French war, they delayed the execution of the project at that time, but promised to take the first opportunity of putting it in practice.

MR. DOBBS made use of this interval to get acquainted with one captain Middleton, who had been very conversant in those seas, and in all the measures that had been taken towards discovering a north-west passage. From him he learned, that one Scroggs had commanded the sloop that was sent to enquire after Barlow's ships: and Mr. Dobbs, in the year 1739, obtained a sight of the journal kept by Scroggs, who, according to Middleton, was a man very unfit for such an undertaking; and the reader will in the notes meet with an extract of the journal (P), which is very curious, and published

(P) "June 2d, 1722, he sailed from Churchill, in 59° north, and longitude from the meridian of London 95° west. In the latitude 62°, he traded with the Indians for whalebone and sea-horse teeth. Monday, July the 9th, in the evening, he anchored in twelve fathoms. The weather for several days before had been hazy and thick, and he drove into this depth. When it cleared up, he found himself about nine or ten miles from the north side of the *Welcome*, in latitude, by account, 64° 33' north. He saw several islands bearing from the south-west by west, to the south-west by south, and a head-land at the same time, which bore east-north-east about three leagues distant: This he named *Whalebone Point*, after the name of his sloop. July the 10th, at seven in the morning, he sent

his six oared boat on shore, with seven hands, and two northern Indians. Mr. Norton, who is now governor at Churchill, was then patroon of the boat, and spoke the northern Indian tongue: the two Indians had been entertained at the factory all the foregoing winter, upon the account of this discovery. They gave us intimation of a rich copper mine, that lay near the surface of the earth, and said, they could direct the sloop or ship to lie by it, where she might load very soon. We had several pieces of copper brought down to Churchill, which made it evident there is a mine somewhere in that country. These Indians sketched out the land with charcoal, upon a skin of parchment, before they left the factory; and as far as the sloop went, they found it agree very well.

"Scroggs

Hudson's here, because companies in general are far from being communicative of papers of that kind which may affect their company adverse to it.

" Scroggs says, he saw both sides of the *Welcome*, from the south back to the west, being up in the very cod of the *Welcome*, as he terms it. The land is as high as in Hudson's straits, as he and his men all agreed, and that land we can see very well, after weather, fifteen or twenty leagues off. Where he continued at anchor, he mentions it was very good ground. He always continued the variation the same as at *Churchill*, for he knew not how to observe it. It was then 26 deg. west, and is now but 20 deg. west at *Churchill*; though we find in the same latitude, 50 or 60 leagues to the eastward, almost 50 degrees variation westerly, which makes the *Welcome* above two points nearer the meridian.

" *Tuesday, July the 10th*, he continued at anchor in the same place; and the boat returned on board at six o'clock in the afternoon. He says, they saw several black and white whales here. At four the next morning, they went on shore again, with the aforesaid Indians, and came back about five in the evening. They found none of the natives, but plenty of deer, wild geese, and ducks: some of the deer they killed. He says, it ebbs five fathoms where he lay at anchor; for they anchored in twelve fathoms of high water, as Mr. Norton this year also confirmed to me; and they found but seven fathoms at low-water. At noon, he and his mate observed the latitude to be 64. 56.

north. Here he named the southermost island, that bore south-west by south, cape *Falsteron*, after one of our directors.

" *Wednesday, July the 10th*, continued in the same place at anchor. He observed the latitude again, and found it as before, 64. 56. north, by a good observation. His mate, he tells us, agreed with him. He sent the boat up to the cod of the bay, as he terms it, to sound, and the two northern Indians went in her. One of them, he says, had a desire to go home, which he told them was but three or four days journey from them, but they detained him by fair words and promises.

" *Tuesday, the 10th of July*, at four in the afternoon, the boat returned from the shore. He gives us no account of the soundings, though they were sent for that purpose; but he asserts, there was a bar cross the *Welcome*, and that they could go no farther. All the men agreed; when they returned, that they were at least ten leagues from what he would have to be a bar. At five in the afternoon, he weighed from that place, where he laid at anchor ever since the 9th instant, and steered out south-east by compass for two miles, and then south-west by ditto, about four or five miles more. Here he sounded in 45 fathoms, and continued sailing to the south-west quarter.

" *July the 13th*, observed the latitude at noon to be 64.

selves. From the perusal of this journal, Mr. Dobbs was confirmed in his opinion, that a north-west passage might be found out about the *Welcome*, on the north-west part of *Hudson's-Bay*, about the latitude of 64 degrees, and for the following reasons : first, because the coast in those parts consisted of broken lands and islands, with large openings between them ; secondly, because the tides set strongly from the west and north-west ; and, thirdly, because the black whales, which were often seen there, must come from the western ocean, as none such had ever been discovered in any part of the Bay. In January, 1735-6, the *Hudson's-Bay* company seeming inclined to encourage the prosecution of the ditch Bay, Mr. Dobbs, in the April following, laid before Sir *Brooks Lake* his sentiments of the manner in which it ought to be prosecuted. He was of opinion, that two small sloops, neither of them drawing above four feet water, were necessary, and that they ought to keep particular journals of their course till they came to the latitude of 64. They were there to be extremely curious and exact in their observations upon the nature of the tides, the appearances of the land, the quantities of ice they discovered, and the fish and whales they met with. " And if, said he, they find an open sea to the westward, after they pass 63 degrees, and the land should fall away to the westward, and the tide of flood meets them, and an earlier moon makes full sea, then the passage is gained ; and they may not

39. and had forty to fifty fathoms water. The next day, the 14th, returning home, he found the latitude, by observation, to be 64. 20. and the soundings sixty to seventy fathoms. These soundings he called the mid-channel. In latitude 64. 13. by observation at noon, on the south, or rather east-side of the *Welcome*, the flood came on so strong, and hove them so near the said south, or east, shore, that he was obliged to come to an anchor in ten fathoms. He does not say from whence the flood came, nor does he ever give his opinion of it, during his whole voyage in his journal ; but being set on to the east-side, it must come from the northward,

according to the course of the *Welcome*.

" July the 15th, he crossed the *Welcome* in seventy fathoms, and observed the latitude to be 64. 15. He makes the *Welcome* to be fifteen or twenty leagues broad in this latitude, from side to side, by computing the distance from his log-book. He saw many whales in latitude 64. 8.

" Governor *Kelsey*, in his journal 1720, takes notice, that in latitude 63. on the west-side of the *Welcome*, the tide comes strong from the north-east, which is near the course of the *Welcome*. He calls it a foaming tide, and says it flows neap and spring-tides, from twelve to seventeen feet. "

only

only sail 50 or 100 leagues farther westward, and look out, for a harbour for ships, which may go next season, and then, return to Churchill, for fear of any disaster; and send over a journal to the company of their observations. By proceeding after this manner, a discovery may be made for a trifling expence; as one summer may ascertain, whether there is a passage or not."

THIS discovery became a matter of so much importance, that in 1737, the company sent out two sloops upon it: but besides their being very improperly manned, they only proceeded to the 52d, one 4th degree north; and though they returned without making any great discoveries, yet the abundance of black whales they saw, and the tides they met with, flowing from the northward, raised the expectation of all concerned, that the discovery might be completed. The truth is, the expedition undertaken by those two sloops, seems to have been no other than a sham contrived by the company, in compliance with the impatience of the public, which became now very inquisitive about the discovery. Mr. Dobbs more than suspected this, and thought he had a right to demand, which he did, a sight of the journal of the two sloops, from Sir Bibye Lake. All the satisfaction he could obtain was, that the two sloops, well manned, and well victualled, had set sail early in the spring from Churchill; but, though they remained out till the 22d of August, they could find no inlets on the western coast to the north of that fort. He, at the same time, excused himself to Mr. Dobbs, from interfering any farther in an affair, for which he had already incurred some blame from the company, as it had cost them so much money. This convinced Mr. Dobbs and his friends, that the company were averse to any such discovery, though it is certain, that the intention of granting them their charter, with such ample powers and privileges as it contained, was chiefly with a view of making that discovery. Mr. Dobbs very justly remarked, that the commanders of the sloops either had received no serious orders for the purposes they pretended to set about, or that they trifled away their time; as it appeared, that from the beginning of the spring to the 22d of August, they had not sailed 200 leagues, which is no more than the distance between Churchill and *Ne Ultra*, and that it was ridiculous for them to pretend to be afraid of entering latitude 66, as the whale-fishers at Spitzbergen and Baffin's Bay, sail every year to 78 and 80 degrees.

*Mr. Dobbs applies to the government.* MR. Dobbs now resolved to apply elsewhere for encouragement to his favourite scheme. He received a letter from Mr. Middleton, informing him confidentially, that he did not ap-

prehend,

prehend that the company were friends to the discovery, and that therefore it must be undertaken under the protection and encouragement of the government, by an able man; but that, for his own part, having an allowance from the company, he could not engage in such an undertaking, but upon a certainty. Upon the whole, however, Mr. Middleton was of opinion, that the discovery was practicable, if properly attended to. Mr. Dobbs now applied to the fountain-head. He informed Sir Charles Wager, the first lord of the admiralty, Mr. Horace Walpole, who was auditor-general of America, and colonel Bladde, of the usage he had received from the company; and acquainted Sir Charles, that he did not expect of success, unless the admiralty sent out two sloops. The reader will find in the notes a very sensible answer (Q.),

(Q.) "Sir,

I received the favour of your letter of the 20th past. I believe you judge very right, that all the *Hudson's Bay* company do not desire to have any body interested with them in the fur-trade in those parts; they seem to be content with what they have, ~~and make (I believe)~~ a more considerable profit by it than if it should be farther extended, which might be the case, if a farther discovery was made: for though they should not find a navigable passage through into the *South-Sea*, they might, probably, find *Indian* nations, from whom furs might be bought cheaper than they are bought in *Hudson's Bay*; and that would be a disadvantage to their trade.

"The probabilities of finding a passage as you propose, seem to be very strong; the flood coming that way is almost a demonstration: what difficulties may be in the execution cannot be foreseen. If a passage could be found into the *South-Sea*, it would open a very large field; and, very probably, of a very profitable commerce: but the first projectors, let the affair suc-

ceed never so well, have seldom, if ever, found their account in it. However, that should not hinder others from exerting themselves in the discovering any thing that may be advantageous to the publick; but a spirit of that kind seems to have been asleep for many years. War may have, perhaps, pre-vened, in some measure, and diverted men's thoughts from any enterprize of that nature. I confess, I have myself had thoughts of that kind, and especially, since I read your manuscript of a probability of a north-west passage to the *South-Sea*; but I have found but very few that were willing to bestow any thoughts about it. I remember lord Granard and I have talked about it sometimes, but it was but talk; other things, and business nearer home, have employed our time and thoughts too. I think the best way to undertake such a discovery, is to have, as you propose, two proper vessels, to go at a proper time of the year, and to winter there, if it was found necessary; and to carry with them a cargo, not a great one, of goods

Middle-  
ton's  
struc-  
tions,

which Sir *Charles*, according to his usual affability and public spirit, returned to Mr. *Dobbs*'s application; but as *Great Britain* was then in the eve of a war with *Spain*, the government had neither men, money, nor ships, to spare for the discovery. In the mean while, Mr. *Dobbs* received another letter from Mr. *Middleton*, acquainting him, that he had that year been at *Churchill* factory, where the governor, Mr. *Norton*, who had sailed with *Scroggs*, was of opinion, that the discovery was practicable, and that very year some of the natives, who had come down to trade at *Churchill*, and had never before been at any *English* settlement, informed him, that they frequently traded with *Europeans* on the west parts of *America*, in the latitude of *Churchill*, which Mr. *Middleton* thought confirmed the opinion that the two seas must unite. Mr. *Dobbs*, upon this, procured a commission for captain *Middleton* to command the *Furnace* sloop, which was fitted out by the government for the discovery of the North-west passage, and which was to be provided by the *Hiscrover* pink, *William Moor*, master. *Middleton*'s instructions were to proceed from the *Orkney* islands directly to *Hudson's-Straights*, from thence to *Cary's Swan's-Nest*, and then to the *Welcome*. Being come up with the *Whalebone-Point*, in

goods proper to trade with the *Indians* they meet with: and capable and honest people to be employed, if such are to be found in the world, which I doubt; and ten or a dozen persons, or more, if thought proper, engaged in it, who would advance money sufficient to carry it on; who may, in time, if it should succeed, be better intitled to the name of the North-west or *South-sea* company, than the present *South-sea* company is to that name, who are not permitted to trade in any one place within the limits of their charter, which made such an eclat at the first establishing it. If this should be once agreed on, and proper persons be found to join in it, it may then be considered what authority may be proper to ob-

tain from the crown. ~~that~~ ~~the~~ ~~first~~ ~~will~~ go and succeed, may not only beat the bush, and others come afterwards to catch the hare: for though I do not much like exclusive companies, where it is not absolutely necessary; yet I could not have the advantages that may be found by some, be given away to others. As to vessels being sent at the publick expence, though it would not be great, yet the parliament may think, especially this time, that we ought not to lay with the moneys given for other and particular services. However, if Sir Robert Walpole, or some other proper persons, should think that the government should attempt it at the publick expence, I shall not be against it. I am, &c."

65, he was to try the best passage in doubling that land, whether to the eastward or westward, in case it were an island; and on which side soever he should meet the tide of flood, to direct his course north, so as to meet the tide, whether westerly or southerly. If after doubling that cape, he found either a strait, or an open sea, he was to keep on his course, still meeting the tide of flood; and if it were so wide as to lose sight of land, then to keep the larboard, or *American shore*, steering south westerly, so as to take the bearings of the land, and soundings; and observe whether there were any inlets, bays, or rivers, to shelter the ship, in case bad weather, or contrary winds, obliged him to take harbour: and then he was to make the best plans he could of such harbours and charts of the coast<sup>k</sup>. When he came to the southward of 60 degrees north, if he continued to find an open sea, he was to proceed to the southward of the same kind, till he made the latitude of 50 degrees, or any more southerly, in case he found it convenient to winter on the western side of America; but if he should find it more convenient to return into the bay to winter, or could secure a passage home in time, after making a discovery of a passage to the western parts of America, in order to prosecute the discovery to advantage next summer, then he was to proceed no farther southerly than 50 or 60 degrees north latitude, and to make all proper observations. If he found any inhabitants, he was to cultivate a friendship with them, but cautiously. If he wintered on the other side of the passage, it was not to be more northerly than latitude 50. He was to take with him seeds of fruit-trees, plants, grain, and pulse, for sowing. If he met with inhabitants, he was to make purchases for the crown of Great Britain in place where no inhabitants were found, he was to give possession by setting up proper inscriptions. If, in his passage, he met with any ships from which he apprehended danger, he was to proceed no farther, but wait till sufficient force could be sent out to begin a blockade, or a settlement; and in all cases not provided for, or for want of means, he was to consult with his officers.

Very little is to be seen in Mr. Middleton's account till his voyage, he left the C. on the 1st of July, from whence he sailed the 1st of July, 1742. He proceeded to the north side of the Welcome, where he saw a great deal of ice on shore, and continued to make his observations according to his instructions. Soon after he found himself and his companion pink jammed

<sup>k</sup> System of Geography, Vol. II. p. 795.

in with the ice, which reached for ten leagues to the windward. In this condition they lay two or three days in great danger of being forced ashore ; but at last the ice separated, and left him room for a kind of traverse-sailing, till they discovered a head-land to the northward of *Whalebone-Point*, in the latitude of 65 degrees, 10 minutes north, which he named *Cape Dobbs*. Seeing there a fair opening, bearing northwest, he stood in for it, in the terms of his instructions, being surrounded all the time with what he calls sailing-ice, or ice parted into shoals, with openings between them. Proceeding a little way, he was in great danger of those shoals; and finding it impossible to keep afloat among them, he sent off his lieutenant in the boat to look out for a securer place for the ship. In the mean while, some *Esquimaux Indians* came on board of him, as he was then very near the shore; and they having nothing to trade in, were civilly dismissed, with some presents, by the captain. His ship was at last secured, but with great difficulty; but whilst he lay there, he found, for three weeks successively, the flood constantly to come from the eastward, and that he had got into a large river, so full of ice as to render the navigation ~~very difficult~~ as well as dangerous. From thence he sent his lieutenant and men to look out for a harbour towards the mouth of the river; but they found none: and it was next to a miracle ~~that they~~ ever again got on board.

*MIDDLETON* having some *Indians* on board, sent Indian, on them on shore to try if they knew any thing of the land; but appearing totally ignorant of it, he was obliged to continue there for three weeks, and employed that time in taking draughts of the river, to which he gave the name of *Wager*. The river being a little cleared of ice, he got into the latitude of 66 degrees, 14 minutes, where he saw a head-land, which he named *Cape Hope*, thinking it to be the northernmost part of all *America*. They then proceeded with great spirits till they got into the latitude of 66 degrees and 40 minutes; and here the captain, according to his own account, found himself imbayed, and neither ebb nor flood, but deep water. From this he concluded, that he had overshot the straits on the north-east shore, from whence the flood came, and where he resolved to search for a strait or opening. After this, the captain, according to his own account, went on shore, and making the most accurate searches both by sea and land that he could, he found the whole extent of the strait, which was 16 or 18 leagues, and 6 or 7 broad, with very high lands on both sides, and small islands both in the middle and towards the shores. But all was froze

from side to side; with no appearance of its being cleared of the ice that year; and the water close to the shore being so deep as to afford no anchoring to the ships, and at the same time vast shoals of ice driving with the ebb and flood, while they were every minute expecting thick weather. From all those considerations it was resolved in council, to make the best of their way out of that dangerous narrow strait, and to take observations between the 64<sup>th</sup> and 62<sup>d</sup> degree of latitude. He accordingly bore away, and tried the tides on the ~~sails in his~~ other side of the *Welcome*, but met with little encouragement, *discovery*; though he saw some small islands and deep bays, and some black whales, of the right whalebone kind. While he was thus working off and on *Brook Cockham*, an island ~~is~~ called, finding the floods still came from the eastward, he sent the northern Indians on shore upon it; and they reported, that it did not lie far from their own country, to which they had a great desire to return, they being tired of a sea-life. The captain ~~would~~ fitted them with a small boat, well fitted with sails and oars, which they knew how to handle, it being laden with fire-arms, powder, shot, hatchets, and whatever could be useful to them. That same evening, ~~on the~~ the 15<sup>th</sup> of August, he bore away for *England*, where he arrived with his company, greatly afflicted with the *scurvy* and other disorders.

Such was the end of this celebrated voyage; and Mr. Middleton's report seemed at first satisfactory to the public, and to Mr. Dobbs himself; till, upon farther enquiry, some doubt arose, that Middleton was too much in the interest of the *Hudson's-Bay* company for him to be ~~be~~ <sup>as</sup> hearty in the discovery. When Dobbs examined his journal, and compared it with other informations, he concluded, that Middleton really had been in the passage, and that what he called *Wager's river*, was not a fresh-water river, but a strait, and the mouth of the passage itself. His opinion received great countenance from lieutenant *Rankin*, and the petty officers of the *Furnace*, whose papers proved that many material circumstances, particularly with regard to the ice and the fresh water, had been altered or mis-represented. Rankin's report was as follows;

" July the 29th, 1742, I was ordered with the master to take the six-oared boat, and go up *Savage-Sound*, as high as *Deer-Sound*, and try the tides. I find that the flood there comes from the river *Wager*; it flowed there ten feet water. We then sailed from *Deer-Sound* for the high bluff land, on the north-west side of the river *Wager*. The course from the islands off the north side of *Deer-Sound*, is north-west, and north-west by north, by compass. We sounded all the way over,

176.

## The History of America.

reasons  
why.

over, and had no ground with a line of 68 fathoms, to the high bluff land. We then run up a branch of the main river, and sounded, and found 50 fathoms one third over the branch. There were several islands in it. Sounded about a league off the north side, and found 30 fathoms water. In running between the islands and the supposed main, which was on the west side of that branch, the tide or freshes suddenly turned against us, the boat altering the land very much before. Sounded near some of the islands, and had no sound at 68 fathoms. As we run up, we sounded near a small island, and had 29 fathoms. We steered west-north-west between the islands ~~and~~ west land by compass, there being several islands in the way, and no ground in the middle of the channel at 68 fathoms. We went about 15 leagues above *Deer-Sound*, and saw a fresh or run of water coming against us; and the wind being fair, I was afraid to stay any longer for fear of hindering the ships from going to sea. There is a great probability of an opening to the west ~~full~~, ~~by the way~~ of the whales; but I could not go higher up, for the above-mentioned reason. We went to the top of a high mountainous land, from whence we saw a ~~great~~ fall of water between the west land and the islands. It was very dangerous, seemingly not a mile broad; and at the same time saw a fair channel or straight to the northward of the islands, with land on both sides, as high as *the Cays of Good Hope*, running away to the westward, with many bluff points and broken land. In coming down we saw several very large black whales playing about the boat and in shore."

THIS information was greatly strengthened by the declaration which *Robert Wilson*, master of the *Furnace*, made to Mr. *Debbs* himself, in which he owned, "That he was drove out in the boat with the lieutenant by the tide of ebb, quite round *Cape Dobbs*, to the southward: that, upon his return, when he went up to *Deer-Sound*, and from thence to the bluff on the west side, he had an open sea, free from ice, and no soundings all the way over at sixty eight fathoms; but near an island they had thirty fathoms: that he saw a great many large true black whales, as great as any he had seen in *Greenland*; and that they never came in at the east entrance of *Wager* river, otherwise they must have been seen by them somewhere below; but he never saw any in other parts of the bay or straights, but near *Brook Cobham*; where he apprehends, from the great tides there, that there is an opening or straight from the westward: that when he came to the west bluff, thirty leagues up *Wager* river, the mid-channel lay then west-south-west, the true course; that he

tafel

tasted the water there, which was as salt as any he had tasted in those seas : that the fall about a league from them, or rapid current, he would fain have gone to, but does not know whether it was fresh-water or not ; but it was not in the main channel : that he and another man went much higher up the mountains than the lieutenant, and killed two deer : that from thence he overlooked the islands which were betwixt them and the main channel, and saw a large freight four or five leagues wide, free from ice, which ran directly south-west, with high mountainous land on both sides, which he had a great inclination to have gone to, and moved his ~~the~~ lieutenant ; but their provisions being spent, and having already gone fifteen leagues beyond their warrant, which limited them, the lieutenant was unwilling to disobey his orders, by going further. Upon which the master said, To what purpose did they go there, if it was not to make the discovery ? Upon their return, Brod. Colham, the captain sent the master ashore to get water, and said he would send him again : that he then observed that there had been very high tides, of which he acquainted the captain upon his return, and desired to go ashore again, to make observations ; but the captain, upon pretence that he had staid too long on shore before, told him, he should not go on shore again, whilst he was in the bay ; and would ~~wishes~~ to go : so he could make no farther observations there. From thence they bore away for England the 15th of August."

THE reader will in the notes find fresh reasons from authentic informations for suspecting Mr. Middleton's sincerity in the ~~alleged~~ pursuit of this discovery (R). One particular circumstance

(R) Here follows a copy of some other papers published by Mr. Dobbs, as they were delivered to lieutenant Rankin, by Alex. Morrison, John Armount, and Abraham Humble, petty officers on board the *Fur-nace*, signed and attested by themselves and others, which relate to part of the voyage.  
" When I, Alexander Morrison, (whose name is undermentioned) was up the *Wager's-freights* with the lieutenant, I could not see any ice nigh the opening opposite to *Deer-Sound*. We saw a great many black whales,

of the whalebone-kind, come into *Deer-Sound* every tide. I cannot believe that those whales come in at the mouth of *Wager's-freights*, as the captain and some other creatures would willingly make people believe, in order to answer his own end ; for the strong rapid tide we saw near *Brook Colham*, (and a great many whales of the right whalebone kind) where I very well remember, that in bringing up the ice-boat to try the tide, (Mr. Wiffart the mate was in the boat) the tide broke the deep sea lead-line, and lost a lead

ought not to be omitted, which is, that when three bottles of water, filled in three different places, were tasted by cap-

lead of fifty pound weight. The captain went into the boat himself, in a very great passion, to try the tide, when he saw every body staring so very eagerly at the rapidness of it; and, at his return on board, said, it ran but two miles six fathoms. I was at the cond<sup>the</sup> the ~~the~~ time, and I am very certain the tide ran above six miles an hour; and have heard the officers say so many times. The number of whales we saw there, and off Deer-Sound, all of the right whalebone kind, gives me reason to believe that there is a passage thereabouts from some western ocean, and one that comes into Wager's Straights, opposite to Deer-Sound; for the ice was gone at that opening opposite to Deer-Sound, long before it was in the middle of the Straights. The 27th of May, when I was up the Straights with the lieutenant, there was no ice to be seen in that opening opposite to Deer-Sound, nor so much as one piece of ice to be seen above the high bluff point, to the highest we went up. The Straight is eleven or twelve leagues broad, the water was very salt all the way up, and actually so within three miles of the fall or rippling we saw. As to the captain's affidavit of men's drinking fresh water three leagues above Deer Sound, it will scarce prove it a fresh-water river; for ham and wal, with strong beer, flip and punch, they eat and drank, might hurt and enfeeble their memories; though, indeed, several of them

were never up the Straights at all, and swear by hear-say. I have many times drank the water where our ships lay in winter ~~within~~ two miles of the sea, and many of our men I have seen do the same; which plainly shews that their affidavits are no reason to prove *Wager's Straights* a fresh water river, as captain Middleton would make the world believe.

" August the 6th, I steer'd the boat with the lieutenant to the ~~the~~ point, and the tide. I very well remember, was falling, and had ebbed about two feet by ~~the~~ beach point, and set so very strong about the point to the south-west, ~~so~~ we were like to be drove round the point, which the lieutenant was ~~very~~ much vexed with, and struck me, because I could not keep right against the tide, it run so very strong. He, as he said, had no victuals for himself nor us, if we had been forced round the point, as we had like to have been. When we got on board, I heard him tell the captain, that the tide had ebbed two feet on the point at three of the clock, when they made signal for the boat; but the captain, to answer his own end, set it in the log-book, *be found it to be the flood-tide, and it came from the eastward*; which is very false. I very well remember, that we passed by what he called the *Frozen Straights*, within two or three miles of the islands in the mouth of it. Neither the lieutenant, nor any of the boat's crew, could see any appearance of

tain Middleton himself, he pronounced that to be the saltest which had been filled the highest up the river or strait.

of any opening; yet the captain has named that a *Frozen Straight*; and *Wager's Straight*, that is above three times broader, must pass with him for a river; which shews his design to impose upon the publick, and aufer his own ends. I never saw any whales in the strait or bay, nor ever heard of any, but since we came home, but near *Brock Cokham*, and *Dur-Sound*; and all of these of the right whalebone kind, and were well eastward then, having been a whale fishing in *Greenland* before in the merchants' service. All ~~the~~ <sup>the</sup> ~~we~~ <sup>we</sup> make *Liaavit*, to, to be real fact, as well as several more can do, beside us undermentioned: signed *Alexander Morrison, John ... Abraham Humble, Witness, Robert Fiske, John Seward, midshipmen on board the Prince of Wales.*"

Another paper, signed by the lieutenant, and attested by others. "The soundings up the east channel, between the island and the east-side or island, is 45, 42, 39, and 25 fathoms, soft ground in the middle of the channel, and from sixteen to six fathoms within a quarter of a cable's length to some of the islands, and good soundings through in many channels between those islands. The depth of water is eighteen fathoms where I sounded, and seven or eight fathoms within half a cable's length of the islands. The channel between the islands and the east side is three or four miles broad. We went into a

bay or cove on the east-side, good clear ground. Soundings from thirty to five fathoms. The tide came from the south-westward of the islands, and flowed thirteen feet; the northernmost island bearing north by west, distance four or five miles. The soundings from the ~~the~~ <sup>the</sup> cove, to the northward point on this side the bluff, is 15, 40, 30, 20 fathoms, according to the distance we were off the shore. Above the islands, from the east-side to the south-west side, is six or seven leagues broad. The land runs north-west by west, the tide flowed nearest north-west by west, along the shore. We ran into a bay or cove at the north end of the point, on this side the high bluff; the soundings from 20 to 15, 12, 10, 8, fathoms, good clear ground, and clear of ice. The tide of flood came from the southward, and flowed thirteen feet and a half. The strait above the islands is six or seven leagues broad. I went up the highest land on the east-side, and set the land by compass. There is a bluff point on the south-side, with three low islands off it; and a low point at the back of it, that bore south by west, with that opening to us. The land ran from the south by west to the north-west, a high mountainous land, and round again to the high bluff point, this appearing to me from the high land I was upon. It being about one quarter flood, or more, by the tide that came through the straits, I saw the ice

*The History of America.*

This experiment seems to silence all that can be said on the probability of the place where *Middleton* was being a fresh-water river. The examinations which passed on this head before the lords of the admiralty, afforded farther reasons for believing, that what is called *Wager* river is in reality a streight, that in the opening it is six or seven miles wide, and the water from fourteen to sixteen fathoms deep; that in sailing up the same, the width, the depth, and the saltness of the water increased; that the streight, most probably, leads into the western or north-western ocean, from the number of whales seen there, which could not come in at the mouth of the streight, as no whales were ever seen in the bay, but on the broken coast of the south-westward of the *Welcome*, which, very probably, led to a passage still more easy. The height and rapidity of the tides is another argument for proving *Wager* river a streight to lead to the ocean, as they could not come from Hudson's streights; and Lieutenant *Rankin* declared, that the tide of Agg came from the southward. There is, likewise, the highest probability, from the nature of the tides, that the streight cannot be above one hundred leagues long, and that if it was navigated through, the adventurers would find themselves in a more moderate climate than that of *Deer-Sound*; for the streight was seen from eminences to bend away to the southward of the west. From all this it follows, that there is a possibility of a passage to the southward from *Brook Cobham*, on account of the number of

ice break up, and set round the point I stood upon with some force; so that all the ice was presently in motion in the middle of the channel against the flood, and was almost clear in the middle this morning. It is nine or ten leagues broad.  
*July the 16th, 1742. John Rankin.*"

The following paper, which is a confirmation of this, is signed by the same persons who signed *Morrison's* account, and runs thus: " All this is matter of fact; for I was with the lieutenant upon the high land, and with a perspective-glass set that opening opposite to *Peer-Point* by compass, and

and found it bear as is here set down. The next time I was upon the said high land with the lieutenant, we saw the ice clear of the opening, although there was much ice driving in the middle of the channel, but none to interrupt the boat in her passage up the streights; and I am very sure the water was as salt as it could be among so much ice as was in the streight at that time, and such quantities of snow as were melting upon the high land. All this is true, as we are ready to make affidavit of, if required; as witness my hand, as well as those underwritten, this 22d day of November, 1743."

*Whales*

whales seen there, and no where else, except about Deer-Sound, and from the rapidity of the tide at that place, which appears to flow into Wager river, and to come from a sea different from that which fills Hudson's-Bay. The broken appearance of the coast, from latitude 62 to latitude 65, is an additional argument of a passage thereabouts into the western ocean, or the South-Sea. It was likewise urged against Mr. Middleton, that his own great log-book disproved his searching exactly all the western shore from cape Figid to Brook Cobham; and it came out, upon examination of the officers, that after standing in with the headland of Brook Cobham, being informed of a fair opening there, and a strong tide of flood from the westward, he would not set it be tried.

UPON the whole, the arguments for a north-west passage were so convincing, that the legislature, in 1744, passed an parliament act of ~~pk. tation~~ to encourage the discovery of the same, encouraging the ~~disco-~~<sup>discovery</sup> ~~north-~~<sup>north-</sup> ~~west pas-~~<sup>age.</sup> The preamble of the act takes notice, that, "As the discovering the north-west passage through Hudson's-Streight to the western American ~~cont.~~ would be of great benefit and advantage to this kingdom; and that it would be a great encouragement to adventurers to attempt the same, if a publick reward was given to such persons as should make a perfect discovery of the said passage. It is therefore enacted, That if any ships or vessels, belonging to his majesty's subjects, shall find out and sail through any passage by sea between Hudson's-Bay and the western ocean of Americh, the owners of such ships or vessels shall be intitled to receive, as a reward for such discovery, the sum of twenty thousand pounds." Commissioners are appointed by the same act for examining the claim that may be made under it; and a proviso is added, "That nothing in this act shall extend to prejudice the estate, rights, or privileges, of the governor and company of the adventurers of England trading into Hudson's-Bay." In consequence of this act, two ships, the California and the Dobbs, were fitted out, and sailed in quest of the so much desired passage, in the beginning of May, 1746; but we do not hear that it is yet discovered.

According to Mr. Dobbs, who has given us the best account of Hudson's-Bay, it may be esteemed from 51 deg. to 65 deg. north lat. and from 78 deg. to 95 deg. west long. from London. The whole of its extent in length may be about six hundred miles, and its northern boundary may be reckoned at Davis's streights; the country lying to the north of that being claimed by the Danes. The entrance of the streights is variously represented. At Resolution Island, it is said

*Account of Hudson's Bay.*

said to be twelve or thirteen leagues wide, but others make it not half so much. As to the streights themselves, they are said to be an hundred and twenty leagues in length; the shores, on both sides, being inhabited by a most savage race. At the mouth of the streights lies *Resolution-Island*; and in the streights themselves lie the islands *Charles*, *Salisbury*, and *Nottingham*; and *Mansfield-Island* is situated in the mouth of the bay. The truth is, the whole of this vast country is so inhospitable, and great part of it so uninhabitable, that the geography of it is very uncertain. We shall, however, present our reader with the general description of it from the best authorities. •

The south coast of *Hudson's-streights* is known by the name of *Terra de Labrador*, and is by some called *New Britain*. It extends from the 50th to the 63d degree of latitude, and from the 51st to the 79th degree of longitude, west from *London*; its form being triangular. The inland parts of this country are but little known, and are inhabited by the *Eskimaux Indian*, the most untamed and intractable people in *America*. They were first discovered by the *Danes*, but no settlement has ever yet been made in their country.

See Vol. XXXIX. p. 395. They have no settled habitation, nor do we know of any village or towns among them. To what we have already said of those savages, we add that they are thought to be so numerous, that they can bring 30,000 fighting men to the field; but though mischievous, untameable, and treacherous, they are excessively cowardly; and sometimes, in the night-time, they掠 the sides of ships that they may enjoy their wrecks in the morning. The *French* have several times built forts and little towns upon their frontiers, in hopes of enticing them to traffic with them, but all hitherto has been to no purpose; for even the zeal of the missionaries could make no impression upon their barbarous manners. The only commodities they trade in are furs, which they exchange for knives, scissars, pots, kettles, and the like hardware; but if an *European* ship should suffer them to come near it in too great numbers, they will, if they can, master the crew and plunder the vessel. As to the other savages in the neighbourhood, we have already mentioned them. Mr. *Moll*, however, has given a very different account of this country. He tells us, that the inhabitants of the inland parts of it are industrious, and that the country itself produces gold. Something of that kind is not at all improbable, as we cannot account how so great a number of people can be maintained in a country so rude and savage, and so unproductive of every necessary of life as this is represented to be, with-

without some kind of industry in the inhabitants. Add to this, that we are informed that the *Hudson's-Bay* company intend to settle a factory on the *Labrador* coast for trading with the *Indians* and the *Esquimaux*, near the opening from their bay and the *Atlantic* ocean, which we can scarcely suppose the company would attempt without some probability of success.

On the other side of *Hudson's-Streights*, to the north of *The North Labrador*, lies what is called the *North Main*, which is bounded Main. on the east by *Davis's-Streights*, and on the north by *Baffin's-Bay*, and on the west by a nameless strait. Some geographers have imagined the whole of this country to be an island, stretching from the 62d to the 75th degree of latitude. Some call it *James Island*; others suppose it to consist of three small islands, that on the north-west being cut through by *Cumberland Bay*, the mouth of which lies under the arctic circle, and runs to the no. in west. *White-Bear-Bay* separates the isle on the south-east from that on the south west. *Cape Mary*, by some called *Charles Cape*, lies on the south-west shore of the last mentioned island, and *Smith's Bay* and *Cape Baffin* on the western coast; but all writers seem to agree in acknowledging their ignorance of the inland parts. *Mary-*  
~~Bay~~ lies to the south of the isle lying to the east of *White-*  
~~Bay~~. On the south-east point of it are the isles of *Re-*  
~~solution~~, and *Lumley's-Inlet* lies on the eastern coast. The isle that lies to the north-east of *Cumberland Bay* has *Cape Wal-*  
~~singham~~ on the south, to the east of which stands *Maurit-*  
~~Raleigh~~, and *Cape Bedford* higher. The *Cumberland*  
~~Islands~~ lie in the bay of that name.

We have already mentioned the discovery of the *Streights* of *Davis*, who, in 1585, came to the south west cape of *Greenland*, in the latitude of 62 degrees, which he called *Cape Desolation*. Here he traded with the natives for poultry ware, small cod and muscles. He afterwards sailed to the latitude of 64 degrees, 15 minutes, and from thence to that of 66 degrees, 40 minutes. In 1586, in a second voyage which he made to the same coast, he discovered many places to the west; and the following year he proceeded as far as 72 degrees, 12 minutes. But what goes by the name of his streights, extends to the 75th degree of longitude; and there it communicates with *Baffin's-Bay*, or rather what is called *Christian-Sea*. To the north of this *Christian Sea* lies *Sir Thomas Smith's Bay*, in the 78th degree of north latitude. But though it appears to run northward, we have no particular description of it. On the western coast of *Baffin's-*  
~~Bay~~ are two sounds or inlets; the northernmost in latitude 76,

is called *Alderman Jones's Sound*; and the other, which is in latitude 74 degrees and 20 minutes, is termed *Sir James Lancaster's Sound*; the country lying round *Baffin's-Bay* goes by the name of *Prince William's Land*; but we know nothing more of it.

**New  
North  
Wales.**

To the south of *Prince William's Land* lies *New North Wales*, which has on its south *New Denmark*, and on its west another land, but both of these are unknown. *Wager's-Streights* being already described, and since *Welcome*, or *Ne Ultra*, is a narrow streight between the 62d and 63d degree of north latitude. Captain Middleton, meeting with land there, which trenched away from east by north to north by west, was in hopes that it was the extreme part of *America*, and he therefore called it *Cape Hope*; but, to his disappointment, he met with a deep bay, which he called *Repulse Bay*, and which, though in the month of *August*, was full of broken ice. In that bay, about latitude 66 degrees, 45 minutes, lies *Cape Frigid*, so called from lying as a frozen streight; but it is not clear whether this was an island, or the main land. As to the streight itself, it seems to be no more than an arm of the sea, three leagues wide, and full of islands. From the tides observed here, it is probable there is a north-west passage into the western ocean. We know very little or nothing of the land between the *Whale* and part of *Baffin's-Bay*, only that it is barren and inhospitable; and by some it is laid down as an island. From *Cape Hope* to the mouth of *Wager's-Streights*, or *River*, the country is unknown. The mouth of *Wager's-Streights*, lying in latitude 65 degrees, 23 minutes, is not above two or three miles wide; but five or six miles within its entrance, it extends to six or eight miles. It is full of islands and rocks, but the lands on both sides are high, as has been already observed. In latitude 65 degrees, 50 minutes, is the entrance of a small river; but how far it runs inland, is not known. The great plenty of deer that appeared on its banks, gave it the name of *Deer-Sound*, and in the vallies there are said to be large fresh lakes, with plenty of geese, deer, and water-fowl; but the highlands contain only a kind of a rocky marble. In this sound some whales were likewise seen. The southermost cape at the entrance of *Wager's-Streights*, is called *Cape Dobbs*. South-westward, in latitude 65, lie *Whalebone-Point* and *Cape Fullerton*. *Brook-Cobham*, or *Marble-Island*, which lies in latitude 63, has to the west of it an opening within land, called *Rantin's-Inlet*. To the south are two other openings, called *Whale-Cove*, and *Love-Grove*. It is thought by many, that those openings, though yet but very imperfectly known,

lead to the South-sea, which, if true, would be a discovery of the highest importance. The country, from Wager's-Straights to Seal-River, the mouth of which lies in latitude 60 degrees, 30 minutes, is called *New Denmark*, so termed, from its being taken possession of by the *Danes* by captain *Monck*.

THIS captain *Monck* was employed by *Christiern the IVth, Discovering of Denmark*, to find out a passage between *Greenland* and *America*, so as to facilitate the voyage to the *East-Indies*, soon after Mr. *Hudson* had miscarried in the same attempt. *Monck*; He sailed from the *Soujd* on the 16th of *May*, 1619, with two ships, one carrying 48, and the other 16 men. On the 30th of *June* following, he reached *Cape Farewell*, which he found situated in 62 degrees, 30 minutes latitude, but covered with ice and snow. According to *Monck's* account, he steered from thence towards *Hudson's-Straights*; and on the 18th of *Junij* at night, his sails were rendered useless by the ice gathering round them; but next day, the afternoon proved so hot, that his sailors were obliged to strip themselves to their shirts. On the 17th of *July*, he arrived in *Hudson's-Straights*, to which he attempted to give the name of *Christiern's-Straight*, and landed on an island, (as he supposes) opposite to *Greenland*. Here with some difficulty he met with savages, who seemed shy, and the *Danes* seized their arms, but returned them, upon the savages informing them by signs, that they had no other means of subsistence but the game which they killed with their arrows. They seemed in other respects to be a harmless, simple people; and *Monck* was detained here for some time by the ice. The savages, however, had disappeared; nor could all the sagacities of the *Danes* bring them back. It was with the utmost difficulty, while *Monck* remained at *Reen-Sund*, (for so he called the island where he was) he defended his ship from the vast shoals of ice which every where surrounded him. He found several other islands in *Hudson's-Straights* and wherever he landed, he set up the arms of *Denmark*, and took possession in that king's name. He afterwards visited several coasts and seas, to all which he assigned new names, in honour of his royal master, though they had before received names from *Hudson* and other *Englishmen*. Continuing his course west-north-west, he came to 63 degrees, 20 minutes; where, being surrounded by the ice, he was obliged to winter in a place which he called *Monck's Winter-Harbour*, and the country round it he called *New Denmark*. On the 7th of *October*, having secu-

<sup>1</sup> CHURCHILL'S Voyages, Vol. I. p. 560.

red his ships in a creek, he discovered a river, and attempted to sail up it; but could make no progress, because of the vast shoals of ice which he encountered. He then attempted a passage by land, but meeting with no inhabitants, he returned another way. In his progress, he perceived many druidical kind of altars, with bones near them, and other indications that the country was not destitute of inhabitants, tho' he could bring none of them to traffick with him; and he concluded that they led a wandering life like the *Tartars* and the *Laplanders*.

THE miseries from the cold and frost which those *Danes* suffered during the winter, were inexpressible; and so many of them died, that captain *Monck* was obliged to do the duty of a common man. At last, their provision of bread failed them. Towards the end of *May* they saw abundance of wild fowl of all kinds; but they were too weak to catch them. The captain himself by this time fell ill and of sixty-four men he sailed out with, only two were alive.... These three had the courage to go on board the smaller ship; but on the 8th of September they were overtaken by a tempest, which drove them upon the coast of *Norway*, and from thence, with great difficulty, they reached *Denmark*. *Monck*, after returning to his own country, was so fully convinced that there was a passage between *Greenland* and *America* to the *East Indies*; that he persuaded some persons of great distinction to fit out two other ships, in which he proposed to try another voyage. *Christian IVth*, king of *Denmark*, a prince of a brutish nature, hearing of this, sent for *Monck*, and reproached him with the ill success of his last voyage, and the loss of his two ships; and upon *Monck's* returning a hasty answer, he received a blow of his majesty's cane, which he took so much amiss, that he went home, and starved himself to death.

SEVERAL islands lie on the coast of *Labrador*; and the country from *Baffin's Bay*, southward and eastward, as far as *Labrador* is called *New South Wales*. This vast country from north west to south-east, extends three hundred miles. It is bounded on the east and south by *Canada*, and on the west by vast tracts of countries, whose inhabitants trade with the *English*, who are the only *Europeans* who have plantations or settlements within land. How far those countries extend, or where they terminate, is unknown. The *English* settlements consist of forts or houses lying on the coasts, chiefly calculated to protect them against the inclemencies of the weather. They are directed as to the situation of those forts by the mouths of the rivers which are most proper for trading with the *Indians*: the chief on the western continent are

are *Churchill-River*, *Nelson's-River*, *Severn-River*, *Albany-River*, and *Moose-River*. *Churchill-River*, at the mouth of which is built the *Prince of Wales's* fort, is most northerly, and situated on the west part of *Hudson's-Bay*. The company here keeps about twenty-eight men. The river is navigable for 150 leagues, and about 20,000 beaver-skins every year are returned at this fort. Fort *York*, or Fort *Nelson*, but *Farther* by the French called *Fort Bourbon*, is situated upon *Nelson's-* *River*, in ~~the~~ <sup>of</sup> 57th degree of north latitude. Here about <sup>of Hud-</sup> *twenty-five* of the company's men reside; and the river it- <sup>-son's-Bay.</sup> self is the largest and finest in the bay, by means of its communications with the great lakes and the trading rivers. *New Severn River* lies in the 55th degree of north latitude; but is at present neglected. *Albany-River* lies in the 52d degree, and the company there keep twenty-five in the fort. From the middle of *May* to the middle of *September*, the weather here is mild and warm; and in the year 173-, no fewer than one hundred and eighteen canoes traded with the fort. *Moose-River*, which is larger than that of *Albany*, lies in the 51st degree of north latitude, and the company has at their fort here twenty-five men. *Prince Rupert-River* lies in the same latitude, but on the east-side of the bay; and the fort there is at present gone to <sup>in</sup>. At the fort upon *Prince Rupert-River*, which lies on the east-side of the bay, the company keep no more than eight or nine men.

ABOUT five or six leagues from the *West-mai*, lies the little rocky isle, which, tho' no more than a heap of rocks and stones, shelters great numbers of gulls and water-fowl. The soil of *Charleton-island* is a light white sand, producing juniper and other shrub-trees. In the spring, this island is noted for the beautiful appearance it makes to voyagers, who for months before have been accustomed to the most savage inhospitable scenes in nature; though at the bottom of the bay, the latitude is nearer the sun than *London* itself; yet the climate is excessively cold for nine months in the year; but, excepting, when a north-wind blows, the other three months are very hot. As to the soil in general of the counties bordering on *Hudson's-Bay*, it is very barren, scarce any grain growing upon it; but upon *Prince Rupert-River* there grows some gooseberries, strawberries, and the like dwarf-fruits.

NOTWITHSTANDING all those discouragements, it is certain that the advantages of the trade to *Hudson's-Bay* are immense. The commodities most proper for trade here are guns, powder, shot, cloth, hatchets, kettles, and tobacco. These are exchanged with the natives for furs, beavers, marten, fox, moose, and other peltry ware; and the prodigious profits

profits of the company may be estimated by the following standard of commerce, which formerly was fixed by them for their goods bartered on the southern part of the bay.

GUNS, one with the other, ten good skins, that is, winter-beaver; twelve skins for the biggest sort, ten for the mean, and eight for the smallest. Powder, a beaver for half a pound. Shot, a beaver for four pounds. Hatchets, a beaver for a great and little hatchet. Knives, a beaver for six great knives, or eight jackknives. Beads, a beaver for half a pound of beads. Laced coats, six beavers for one good laced coat. Plain coats, five beaver skins for one red plain coat. Coats for women, laced, two yards, six beavers. Coats for women plain, five beavers. Tobacco, a beaver for one pound. Powder horns, a beaver for a large powder-horn, and two small ones. Kettles, a beaver for one pound of kettle. Looking-glasses and combs, two skins.

THE reader who understands trade, must readily be sensible of the vast gains of such a commerce as the above, especially as it is but in a few hands, and carried on with very little expence. It is true, the trade for several years before the treaty of Utrecht, and for some years after, was but insconsiderable; but it is well known, that during the late war their profits were greater than that of any commerce carried on by British subjects. It is said, that the annual exports were about 3000 l. value, and their half-yearly sales about 25000 l. and that nine-tenths of the stock have been engrossed by eight or nine merchants. They are supposed to be at the charge of one hundred and twenty servants a year, and about an hundred and twenty men on board the two or three small ships which they employ in time of war. Their imports are deer-skins, castorum or beaver-stone, feathers, whalebone and blubber; but beaver-skin is two-thirds of the whole. Some writers, Mr. Dobbs in particular, who is well acquainted with the country, and the state of its trade, have been of opinion, that the privileges of this company are so extensive, that its charter ought to be vacated, and the trade laid open. It has likewise been said, with what justice we cannot determine, that this company has always been averse to the discovery of the north-west passage, though their endeavouring to make such a discovery is one of the conditions on which their charter was granted.

PERHAPS none of the natives of North America are so rude and savage as the Indians inhabiting the neighbourhood of Rupert-River, and other places in the bay. This may

easily be accounted for, as they have no opportunities like the *Canadian savages*, or those in the neighbourhood of the *English plantations*, of seeing any places of great resort. Their intercourse is confined to little forts and booths, where they deal with *Europeans* who have no other conversation, or ideas, but to make the best bargains they can. In general, however, they are peaceable, only the *Nodways* are a tribe more savage than the rest; upon whom they sometimes make incursions, and after killing eight or ten people, retire in triumph. The rive s, which in that country are very plentiful, are commonly the boundaries of those savage tribes. Though it does not appear, that they have any notions of subordination in government, yet each tribe has its *okimah*, or orator, who presides in their public meetings every spring and fall, where they adjust their boundaries for hunting, fowling, and fishing, and mark out the space which each family is to occupy during the season. This *okimah* makes their harangues to the *people*, and nothing but the danger of starving can prevail with the several families to quit the bounds allotted to them. They have some notion of two manitous (as the *Canadians* call them) or spirits, one the author of good, the other of bad; and they express some signs of worship or devotion in their feasts and dances.

## S E C T. XIII.

*Containing the History of the BRITISH and other  
ISLANDS in the American West Indies.*

## C H A P. I.

*The History of BARBADOS.*

*First dis-  
covery of  
Barbados.* **I**T is surprising that the *English* in general are so much in the dark as they are with regard to their original possession of this valuable island; nor can it be otherwise accounted for, than by the first colonists being so much immersed in commercial pursuits, that they gave very little attention to matters of mere curiosity. As to the history of the natives of this island there can be none, because, by the best accounts we have, it was entirely uninhabited when the *Portuguese*, who certainly were its original discoverers, first landed upon it. It is probable, however, that it was visited at certain times by the neighbouring *Caribbees*, or savages, in their canoes. Even the origin of the name is uncertain, some attributing it to a tree, the leaves and fruit of which at a distance somewhat resemble human beard; others with more probability think, that it was called *Barbados* by the *Portuguese*, on account of the barbarous, uncultivated prospect it presented. As the *Portuguese*, long before the *English* took possession of *Barbados*, had used to sail to the *Braſils*, there can be little or no doubt of their being acquainted with this island; and we learn from some good authorities, that they left hogs there to serve them for a stock of fresh provisions, and that when the *English* took possession of the island, those hogs had multiplied extremely. As the *Portuguese* had discovered *Braſil* in 1501, *Barbados* was probably known to them many years before the *English* took possession of it, which undoubtedly must have been before the death of James the First, which happened in the year 1625. The author of the Complete System of Geography <sup>a</sup> informs us, that where the great fire happened at *Bridge-Town*, in 1666, some papers were saved, which were afterwards printed on the island, and by them it appeared, that an *English* ship, called the *Olive*, homeward-bound from *Guiney*, touched here; and, landing some men, they set up a cross in or about *St. James's*

<sup>a</sup> Vol. II. p. 747.

town,

town, now called the *Hole*, and marked on a tree, “James king of *England*, and this island :” that proceeding along shore, they left other marks of such their possession at the *Indian river*. It seems to have been about this time that the earl of *Marlborough*, of whom we shall speak hereafter, obtained his patent of the *Caribbees*: after this Sir *William Courteen*, (S) one of the greatest merchants *England* ever had, about the year 1624, fitted out a ship for the *Braſil* trade. This trade was prohibited to all the nations of *Europe* by the *Spaniards* and *Portuguese*, who made it death for any adventurer to sail westward beyond such a latitude; but about the years 1623 and 1624, the system of power in *Europe* having taken a different turn from what it ever had known before, the *Spanish* court permitted the states-general to trade to the *Braſils*; and it must have been under their sanction that one of Sir *William Courteen*’s ships sailed, as we are told it did, to *Fernambuça*, in *Braſil*. Returning from this, this ship was forced, by stress of weather, upon the coast of *Barbados*. Some of the crew had the curiosity to go ashore, but found this island over-grown with weeds, and no living creatures, but the *Portuguese* hogs already mentioned, upon it.

BUT though this is the story that generally has been told concerning the first discovery of this valuable island, it is more than probable, that it had never been destitute of *English* inhabitants from 1615 to 1624. Had it been entirely uninhabited, uncultivated, and almost unknown, a man like Sir *William Courteen* would not have risked his property as he did in peopling and improving it; for it is agreed upon by all, that the sailors who then went ashore, upon their return to *England*, made so good a report of the state and fertility of the island, that *Courteen* and his friends, (among whom were people of the highest distinction in *England*) resolved to make a settlement there, but under the earl of *Marlborough*’s patent. Every one who has read the History of *England*, knows with what indiscriminate profusion James the 1st and Charles the 1st made grants to their favourites of the islands, as well as the continent, of *America*; and though *Courteen* and his friends had been at a considerable expence in fitting out two ships, with all kind of necessaries, for planting and fortifying *Barbados*, his design was no sooner known, than

(S) We apprehend that this gentleman’s son, or one of his descendants, was the same who was originally concerned with Sir *Hans Sloane* in his amazing collection of natural and other curiosities, now reposed in the *British Museum*; where an original picture of Mr. *Courteen* is still shewn.

*Hay* earl of *Carlisle*, who was a favourite with king *James* and his son, applied for, and obtained, a gift from the crown of all the *Caribbee Islands*, of which *Barbados* was one, upon agreeing to pay 300*l.* a year to the earl of *Marlborough*: By this time, *Courteen's* two ships, one of which was called the *William* and *John*, captain *John Powel* commander, had put thirty men on shore at *Barbados*, near the *Hole Town*, to the leeward part of the island, then called *James Town*, a strong presumption that some *English* were then living here; and began to fortify themselves under one captain *William Dean*, who acted as their governor, and placed the *English* colours on the infant-fortification. The earl of *Carlisle* happened to be absent on an embassy when *Courteen's* ships sailed, and the then earl of *Pembroke*, who was that gentleman's friend, hearing a very promising account of the new undertaking, obtained of *Charles the 1st* a grant of the island, in trust for Sir *William Courteen*. Upon the earl of *Carlisle's* return from his embassy, he was surprised to hear of the settlement that had been made upon an island which was "within his prior grant, and resolved to defeat it; and, indeed, the ignorance and neglect which appeared on the part of the crown on this occasion, strongly indicate the genius of the then government.

granted to THE earl of *Carlisle*, to counteract *Courteen's* settlement, the earl of made an agreement with *Marmaduke Brandon*, *Robert Wheatley*, *Edmund Forster*, *Henry Wheatley*, *John Faringdon*, and others, of *London*, merchants, for 10,000 acres, under a governor of their own chusing. The choice fell upon one *Charles Wolstenholme*. - When this new colonist arrived upon the island, *Courteen's* settlement was in a very promising condition. They had cleared a considerable quantity of lands, which were let at an easy rate; and so great was the fertility of the soil, that *Barbados* bade fair, in a short time, to be the most flourishing of all the *Caribbee Islands*; but two interests so incompatible as that of *Courteen*, or rather the earl of *Pembroke*, and that of the earl of *Carlisle* were, could not long subsist upon the same spot. The *Carlisle*men settled near a place called the *Bridge*, near *Bridge Town*, under the denomination of *Windward-men*, to distinguish themselves from the earl of *Pembroke's* men, who called themselves the *Lee-Ward-men*. Soon after *Wolstenholme's* arrival upon the island, he emitted a kind of proclamation, in which he treated the *Pembroke* settlement as being little better than an usurpation. He therefore summoned them to appear at the *Bridge*, which they did; and governor *Dean*, who, it seems, was a *Bermudian*, not only submitted to the earl of *Carlisle's* authority, but marched

marched with a party of armed men to reduce the settlement at the *Hole*, who still held out for the earl of *Pembroke*, under the command of Mr. *Powel*, son to the shipmaster who had carried them over. This dispute might have terminated in bloodshed; had it not been for the interposition of a clergyman, who reconciled the two parties, and the Leeward-men submitted to the earl of *Carlisle's* authority.

THE planters had now made a great progress in cultivating *Tobacco* the island; an amazing proof of *English* industry, considering the unpromising appearances it bore, when they first landed on it. But though these are represented as very discouraging, yet *Ligon*, who lived upon the place, and near the time, allows, that besides the hogs already mentioned, the planters used to find some vegetable subsistence in the woods, it being common for all nations, Especially the *Portuguese*, when they landed upon a desert island which they expected again to visit, to sow some seeds for vegetables. Be this as it will, notwithstanding the grand disputes in *England* between the earls of *Pembroke* and *Carlisle*, concerning the property of the island, and which occasioned its supplies to be slow and precarious, the potatoes, plantains, *Indian* corn, and other fruits, which the *English* planted, came up surprisingly. We are told, that those planters, in different parts of the island, found several pots and pans of clay finely tempered, and so elegantly turned, that they did not seem to be the work of barbarians. They must, however, have belonged to the *Cabibbeans* in the neighbouring islands, and made use of by them, in their visits to *Barbados*, in dressing the hogs-flesh and vegetables which they found in that island. The planters, after clearing the land so far as that it afforded them a stock for their own subsistence, began to consider how to make it useful in point of commerce, and applied themselves to the cultivation of tobacco, at that time the most profitable commodity of any that was raised in *America*. It is said of *Ligon* and others, that their success in this undertaking was so indifferent, and the tobacco they raised was so poor, that it came to no account in *England*. Their cultivation of sugar, in which the inhabitants of *Barbados* have been since so eminent and successful, is differently accounted for. If we are to believe Mr. *Ligon*, they began to cultivate sugar with the plants which they brought from *Fernambucca*, in *Brasil*, where the making of sugar was perfectly well understood, and that, soon after the *English* began to inhabit *Barbados*. They raised the plants with wonderful facility, and they thrived prodigiously; but they were entirely at a loss as to the manufacturing of the product; so that, for a long time, they

*Original  
of its.  
sugar-  
trade.*

put their sugars to no other use than sweetening the cooking drinks which the heat of the climate required. The intercourse which still continued to be kept up between the *Brasils* and *Barbados*, seems to have given rise to the proper manufacture of sugar in that island. This was not a little assisted by the *Hollanders*, (who had been indulged in trading to *Brasil*), especially after they had quarrelled with the *Portuguese*. They not only furnished the *Barbadians* with the sugar-plants, but some of them settling in the island, put them upon erecting works for manufacturing the commodity. Those works were at first but imperfectly carried on; the *Hollanders* themselves, as well as the *English*, being unskilled in the chief mysteries of the art. Their perseverance, however, in the end, got the better of their difficulties, being convinced that a little insight into the manufacture would make it practicable. They even ventured upon clandestine visits to *Brasil*, and were so successful, that they seldom returned without obtaining new lights as to what they wanted, which consisted in the manner of planting, the time of gathering, the right placing the coppers and furnaces, and the way of covering the rollers with plates or bars of iron; yet, after all, the manufacture in general reached no higher than to produce a moist, ill-cured kind of what is called muscovado sugar, which did not answer for the *English* market.

THOSE imperfections seem not to have been universal; for, according to the best accounts of this infant-settlement, one Mr. *Drax*, and, perhaps, one or two more, had engaged a *Hollander* from the *Brasils*, who carried on, but for his or their private advantage; a more complete manufacture of sugar; but his method remained for seven or eight years a secret to the inhabitants of the island in general, though it enriched the particular planters who had acquired it. It was not till about the year 1650, that the bulk of the planters got into the true secret of making sugars, by suffering the canes to ripen fifteen months instead of twelve, and by boiling and curing them to a white consistence; and after this secret was found out, the value of lands on the island increased to an incredible degree: but we are now to attend the civil history of the island.

AFTER the compromise between *Powel* and *Wolstenholme*, captain *Robert Wheatley*, one of the original and chief settlers, succeeded the latter in the government of the island, or rather in the care of the plantations that were upon it. But a strong party of the Leeward-men still continued to hold out for the earl of *Pembroke* and *Courteen*, and even attempted to drive the Windward-men from their settlements; but they

me:

met with so warm a reception, that they were beaten off, and heere rewarded by the earl of *Carlisle* with a grant of having their goods toll-free for seven years. The dispute still continuing the earl of *Carlisle*'s patent was called for by the king; and a flaw being found in it, which had given occasion for the earl of *Pembroke*'s attempt, the same was rectified by a new patent, which was granted to the earl of *Carlisle* in 1629. The truth is, that though the earl of *Pembroke* was then lord-chamberlain of the king's household, yet his competitor was the better courtier; and the whole of this transaction is of a very dark complexion. The earl of *Carlisle* had obtained his patent upon a suggestion, according to the earl of *Clarendon*, that the island had been first discovered, possessed, and planted, at the charge of the said earl; whereas, from what we have said, it appears, that the first English settlers there were Sir *William Courteen* and his company, which was the true reason why the earl of *Pembroke* was so zealous in their interest. But that the reader may have a more comprehensive view of this affair, it may be proper to inform him, that we learn from the earl of *Clarendon*, that the planters who had settled in *Barbados*, (we suppose, under the original patent granted to the earl of *Marlborough*,) hearing of that granted to the earl of *Carlisle*, desired leave to prosecute a suit in his majesty's name, at their own charge, in the court of exchequer, to repeal the grant to the earl of *Carlisle*, and that the king would take the colony under his protection; or else, if his majesty would not consent to the repeal of the charter, that he would refer those who claimed under the earl of *Carlisle*'s patent, to their remedy at law, and leave the planters to their own defence; who insisted, that they alone had been at the charge of settling the plantation. But, as we shall see in the course of this history, this plea, though sufficient to have set aside the equity of the earl of *Carlisle*'s patent, and though it was founded in material justice, was disregarded.

THE first governor sent over by the earl of *Carlisle*, after Sir *William Tufton*'s patent was amended, was Sir *William Tufton*; but his *William Tufton* government proving disagreeable to his lordship, he was su-tton, go-persaded in it by captain *Henry Hawley*. *Tufton* resented this, and procured the hands of some planters to a petition, com-plaining of *Hawley*, as if he had with-held some stores from the colony, which the earl of *Carlisle* had appointed for them. *Hawley* most arbitrarily construed this petition into an act of mutiny, and sentenced Sir *William Tufton* to be shot to death.

He is shot for the same, which was accordingly executed off the bay in by his successor, 1631. We do not find that Hawley was ever tried for this unexampled barbarity, in which he is said to have had the concurrence of the council; but by those counsellors can only be meant a few planters, or merchants, who were devoted to the interest of the proprietary. Upon Hawley's being recalled by the earl of Carlisle, whose credit with the court of England undoubtedly screened him from punishment for Sir William Tufton's murder, he left his brother-in-law, Richard Peers, Esq; his deputy-governor in 1633. Next year, he returned to his government; and in 1635, he left Peers his deputy-governor, as before, and again went over to England. Next year he returned to Barbados, and acted as governor till 1638, when he again returned to England, and left his brother William Hawley to be his deputy governor.

IT is probable, by this time, the proprietary began to be sensible of the worth of Barbados, and did not think that his returns from it were answerable to its improvements and importance; and very possibly he might attribute this to the practices of the governor among the planters; for we find Hawley, in 1639, returning clandestinely from England to Barbados, and without proper authority, pretending that he was furnished with secret instructions from the king and the proprietary, and endeavouring to resume the government. He was soon followed by Sir Henry Hunkes, who, producing a commission to be governor, was opposed by Hawley, who was not treated with that barbarity he had inflicted upon Tufton for a far less crime; for Hunkes contented himself with sending him prisoner to England, and seizing his estate. By this time, the fate of Barbadoes was entirely changed. Though the woods were thick, and the trees enormous, large, and though the progress of the planters in cultivating tobacco was still inconsiderable, yet great quantities of land were cleared; indigo and cotton-wool came up plentifully, as did fustic; all which went well off at the English market, and brought back, in return, the goods that were wanted at Barbados; such as working-tools, iron, steel, clothes, shirts and drawers, stockings, shoes, and hats. The calamities of England served to people Barbadoes, from whence the returns of profit were much more quick than from any of the other English colonies in America. During the arbitrary exertion of power under Charles the First, and before it was checked by his parliament, many gentlemen and traders in Devonshire, Cornwall, and the other western counties, being under many melancholy apprehensions concerning the fate of their country and the constitution, had retired to Barbadoes; and their

their examples were followed by the inferior orders of people, who flocked thither with incredible ardour ; but, so far *its population*, as we can find, without making any previous agreement with *them*, the proprietary, or the governor. The reason of this might be, that when the civil war broke out in *England*, there was, in fact, no regular government in *Barbados*, as the earl of *Carlisle* scarcely thought it worth his while to take any concern in it. Sir *Henry Hunkes* returning to *England* in 1641, was succeeded by captain *Philip Bell* as lieutenant-governor ; and in 1645, he was appointed governor in chief. The reader may easily conceive that, at that time, when the regal power was so low, the proprietary's authority had very little influence in that island. This was, perhaps, the main reason of the astonishing progress in riches and population which it made, while *England* was desolated by civil war. The names of the chief planters at this time were, Mr. *Hilliard*, *Molduppe*, *Silvester*, *Walrond*, *Raines*, *Kendall*, *Middleton*, *Squadsoft*, and *Drax*. When those gentlemen came over, they found the affairs of the island so much neglected by the proprietary, that his name was scarcely ever mentioned among them. Governor *Bell* being thus almost independent, began to think of making proper regulations for the government of an island, now become so populous and important. The leeward part of it was now very well settled, and some of the planters had acquired considerable estates. The historian of the *British empire in America*, has been so minute, as to descend to the particulars of their names, and the situations of their estates, to which we refer the reader ; who, perhaps, will be surprised to be informed, that under *Bell's* government, the island could muster 10,000 foot, and 1000 horse ; and *Ligon* says, that the number of white inhabitants upon it were 50,000. The value of the lands increased in proportion to the population of the country ; for after the making of sugar came to be understood, the same land which could have been purchased for 200 l. cost 7000 l. and it has continued to rise in value ever since.

HITHERTO *Barbados* being a proprietary government, no great attention had been paid to the police of the island ; but *Bell*, by the advice of a kind of council he had, consisting of ten gentlemen, formed an assembly, which was to represent the inhabitants in nature of a parliament. For this purpose, the island was divided into four circuits, and into eleven parishes, each parish to send two representatives to the assembly. About the same time, churches, though mean,

were built, and ministers appointed to their cure. The vast increase of whites upon the island, occasioned a proportionable increase of blacks; and even these not being sufficient for the labour which the cultivation required, the planters were sometimes wicked enough to force the neighbouring Caribbees, a people ever impatient of subjection, to be their slaves. But this cruel practice was far from answering their intentions: those barbarians, having no ideas of labour, either pined themselves to death, or obstinately resisted the most cruel treatment to force them to work; and at last, they became so shy in their own islands and countries, that they were not to be procured; and as to the white servants, they were too expensive to be maintained and paid.

*Importation of negroes.*

THE colony of *Barbados*, therefore, was obliged, like the French and Spaniards in the West Indies, to import from Africa vast numbers of negroes to be their slaves. This was, at that time, a dangerous, because a new expedient. Those negroes, in a short time, beheld themselves more numerous upon the island, and therefore they thought themselves more powerful than their masters. Not being, as they were afterwards, and are now, habituated to the intercourse of Europeans, they soon entered into conspiracies; and their discontents were increased by the severe, if not cruel, treatment

*Their conspiracies.*

of their masters. Their general spirit of discontent went so far, that they even fixed upon a day for an universal rising, in which they were to massacre all the whites, and then to make themselves masters of the island. This design was carried on with such impenetrable secrecy, that it is hard to say what the consequences might have been, had not, the very day before the massacre was to have taken effect, one of the conspirators discovered the design to his master, who was called *Hathersall*, and by sending timely advertisements to all his friends, and the other planters, prevented the conspiracy from being executed. Numbers of the conspirators were secured; but so resolute did the ringleaders appear, and so determined, had they been suffered to live to execute what they had projected, that their masters were obliged, though otherwise against their own interest, to put many of them to death.

THIS happened about the time when *Charles I.* was murdered, and his friends sequestered or exiled; and for some time the complexion of the colony, in matters of principle, had been altered. Some of the puritans, for so the anti-courtier party, or dissenters, were called, finding, that the king's interest in *England* was ruined, and that they had little to expect under a proprietary interest established by his authority, had most of them returned to *England*, and their places were

were occupied by royalists, or, as they were termed cavaliers, who found more encouragement at *Barbados*, and, at this time, forced the bulk of the planters upon the island; tho' great numbers of the anti-royalists still continued there, and affected the name of parliamentarians. It is probable, that the multiplicity of business of the *English* government after the murder of *Charles I.* did not suffer it to give much attention to the affairs of *Barbados*; and Mr. Bell still continuing to act under the proprietary commission, lord *Willoughby* of *Parham* not only obtained from *Charles II.* in his exile, a commission to be ~~governor~~<sup>Bell, go-</sup> of *Barbados*, but covenanted with the earl of *Carlisle* for twenty-one years, upon a certain consideration, in the nature of a fee-farm rent, to be the proprietary governor likewise. Those two commissions can hardly be reconciled, without supposing lord *Willoughby* to act in a military capacity under that of *Charles*, and in a civil one under that of the proprietary. Lord *Willoughby* was a brave active officer; in his principles he had been a presbyterian, but detesting the king's murder, he had declared himself for the royal family, and followed *Charles* into *Holland*, where he received his commission, which extended not only to *Barbados*, but to all the *Leward-Islands*. To so low a pass were the affairs of *Charles* now reduced, that it was thought, if by the lord *Willoughby*'s means those islands could be secured to the royal interest, and if *Virginia*, *Maryland*, and the other colonies on the continent of *America*, who had not yet owned the power of the parliament, should hold out, his majesty would have gone thither in person.

UPON lord *Willoughby*'s arrival on the island, he found it ~~Lord Willoughby~~<sup>rich, flourishing, and populous, and most of the principal</sup> loughby, planters extremely well-affected to the royal cause; so that ~~governor~~ they embraced it with incredible ardor. One of the first steps of his administration was to summon an assembly, which passed an act, entitled, "An acknowledgement and declaration of the inhabitants of the island of *Barbados*, of his majesty's right to the dominion of this island; and the right of the right honourable the earl of *Carlisle*, derived from his said majesty; and by the earl of *Carlisle*, to the right honourable the lord *Willoughby* of *Parham*; and also for the unanimous profession of the true religion in this island; and imposing condign punishment upon the opposers thereof." Before this time, the inhabitants of the island had entered into a compromise, that however divided they might be in their civil principles, they would live in good correspondence with each other, and little or nothing of party-heat had been known among them. The arrival of lord *Willoughby* necessarily put

put an end to this tranquillity; for he ordered king *Charles* to be proclaimed all over the island. This obliged one colonel *Allen*, a considerable planter, and some others, who were apprehensive of the parliament's resentment, and knew how insignificant such an opposition must be against the power of the commonwealth of *England*, to remove from the island to *England*, where they instructed the government as to the state of affairs in *Barbados*. In the mean while, lord *Willoughby*, at the head of the loyal *Barbadians*, acted with great spirit and success in raising men, fitting out ships, and reducing all the islands under his government to acknowledge the royal authority.

THOSE proceedings sounded very high in *Europe*, where prince *Rupert* commanded a very considerable squadron of the English fleet, and intended actually to sail for *Barbados*, and to secure all the English American possessions for the king. Had this design been put into execution, it might have shaken the foundations of the English commonwealth; but the great men who composed it knew well how to crush it. They had, in less than three years, raised a marine which was the terror of *Europe*; and it was not among the least of the causes which made them declare war against the *Dutch*, that the latter openly carried on an illicit trade with *Barbados*, and that they encouraged and supported those islanders in their rebellion against the republic. Colonel *Allen*, and the other *Barbadians* who were then in *England*, having laid before the government the state of their affairs in the *West-Indies*, Sir

Sir  
Georg-  
Ayscue  
sent w.t.l a  
fleet a-  
gainst  
*Barbados*. Sir *George Ayscue* was immediately commissioned to the command of a strong squadron, and a considerable body of land-forces, for the reduction of that island, and all the other English Caribbees, which, by this time, the lord *Willoughby* had forced to acknowledge the royal cause. As the isles of *Sully*, at that time under *Godolphin*, *Carteret*, and others, held out for the king; Sir *George*, before he sailed from *Barbados*, had orders to attack two of those islands, which he did with great courage; and one captain *Merris*, who was to serve under him in the expedition to *Barbados*, at the head of two hundred of the land-forces, reduced them both. Upon this, Sir *George*, who had orders to keep his expedition to *Barbados* a secret, returned to *Falmouth*, where he found a large number of *Barbados* merchants *Dutch*, as well as *English*, waiting to embark on board his fleet (*I*).

(T) See *Mercurius Politicus* for 1651. page 799, where the reader will find a letter from

Sir *George Ayscue* giving an ac-  
count of this expedition.

In the mean while<sup>2</sup>, the commonwealth of *England* had issued very rigorous prohibitions against the *Dutch* trading to *Barbados*, or any of the *Leeward Islands*, which were highly resented by the merchants of *Holland*, who appear to have traded there in the same manner as if the island had belonged to themselves. They, therefore, made most grievous complaints to the states-general at the *Hague*, of their being ruined by this prohibition, and prayed them to interpose their authority with the *English* ambassadors, then in *Holland*, that the trade might be free as formerly. But the ambassadors being then upon their departure, nothing was done in the matter; though we learn from one of Sir *George Ayscue's* letters, that some *Dutch* merchants had a particular indulgence for that purpose granted them. Some demur happening about Sir *George's* sailing, he wrote from on board the *Rainbow*, pressing for dispatch, and he sailed about the middle of May; but had a secret instruction to look-out for *Prince Rupert* and his squadron, and, if possible, to fight him. It was the 16th of October, 1651, when he appeared in *Carlisle-Bay*, and he sent in the *Amity* frigate, captain *Peck*, commander, to seize fourteen sail of *Dutch* ships; which he accordingly did, and made their captains and crews prisoners, as he did those of three other ships trading to other islands. But the service proved of more difficulty than had been imagined. Lord *Willoughby* and his friends were staunch to the royal cause. They manned the forts which defended *Carlisle-Bay*, and made such an appearance by land on the shore, that though Sir *George* had on board his squadron above 2000 land-troops, he could not effect his landing. According to some accounts that have come to our hand<sup>s</sup>, he was defeated in several attempts to make it good, and even obliged to conclude a treaty with the *Barbadians*, who, though they could not be prevailed upon to acknowledge the authority of the commonwealth, offered, that colonel *Allen*, and the rest of the planters who had taken part with the parliament, should re-enter into peaceable possession of their estates and plantations. This proposal was embraced by several of those merchants, but not by *Allen*, who continued on board the fleet, and had been pitched upon by Sir *George* as being the most proper person to conduct the landing, as soon as a favourable opportunity presented. All this while, *Ayscue's* squadron was beating about the land, and in December anchored in *Speight's-Bay*. Though Sir *George* was so much of a man of honour that he would not neglect, far less betray, the service he was employed on,

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 760.

yet it is certain, that he was no enthusiast in the cause of his master, but an accident happened, by which he acquitted himself of this expedition with credit. Perceiving that his force was too small actually to reduce this island, he waited till the arrival of the *Virginia* merchant-fleet, on board of which was a regiment of 700 men, and about 150 *Scotch* transports, who had been made prisoners at the battle of *Wessex*; and resolving to avail himself of this force, he immediately made dispositions for landing all his men, who now amounted to about 3000. The landing was effected under the command of colonel *Allen*, who was killed before he got on shore, with above sixty of his men; while the *Barbadians* were driven to a fort, which was taken with four pieces of cannon; but this was far from completing the reduction of the island.

*Barbados submits to the commonwealth of England.*

LORD *Willoughby* and the common people of *Barbadoes* were at the field, and though there was no probability of their being of effectual service to the cause they espoused, yet *Ayfue* could make no impression upon them. On the other hand, the principal royalists, who were men of large estates, coincided with *Ayfue's* moderate plan; and colonel *Modiford*, who was one of their chiefs, entered into a correspondence with *Ayfue*, whose men made frequent sallies from the fort they had taken, to the ruin of the neighbouring plantations. The negotiation was so well managed, that *Modiford* engaged himself and his friends to join with *Ayfue*, in case lord *Willoughby* should prove so intractable as to reject all terms of accommodation, to bring him to reason. By this time, *Ayfue* had put on shore 2000 foot and 100 horse; and lord *Willoughby* being apprized of the sentiments of his friends, was obliged to agree to a cessation of arms, and to name commissioners for treating of a capitulation for the whole island. Those for this lordship were Sir *Richard Peers*, *Charles Pym*, Esq., colonel *Ellice*, and major *Byham*; and those for Sir *George*, captain *Peck*, Mr. *Searl*, colonel *Thomas Modiford*, and *James Colliton*, Esq. On the 17th of January was the first meeting, and every thing passed in the most amicable manner. Both parties were secured in their freedom and estates, as was even lord *Willoughby* himself, though obnoxious in the last degree to the governing party in *England*; and had he been made prisoner, could have expected no mercy. This moderate conduct was of infinite service to the island; nor was the pacification followed by any acrimonious measures against the loyalists. So far from that, it has been made matter of doubt, though we think without the least degree of probability,

bility, whether the inhabitants were obliged to take the oaths to the commonwealth.

IT is uncertain, nor, indeed, is it very important to know, what became of lord Willoughby after this pacification. Some say that he visited the rest of the islands of his government, and confirmed them in their attachment to the king; but it appears, that he was in *England* about the time of the restoration. Some have said<sup>1</sup>, that one of the articles of the late pacification was, that the chief royalists, as well as lord Willoughby, should quit the island for a year, till its government could be put upon a proper footing. This may be true, but probably none were obliged to comply with the terms, but those whose consciences did not allow them to act under the authority of the commonwealth. Upon lord Willoughby's leaving the island, Mr. Sul was appointed its governor, and he called an assembly, in which the following acts passed. "an act for weights, numbers and measures, according to the weights, numbers and measures, used in the commonwealth of *England*, an act to prevent frequenting of taverns and alehouses by seamen; an act for keeping clear the wharfs, or landing places, at the *Indian Barge*, and on *Speight's-Bay*, alias *Little Bristol*, an act, that the bringing writs of errors, and other equitable matters, before the governor and council, to be by them determined, be, and do continue in force; according to the ancient customs of this island; an act for prohibiting all persons to encroach upon their neighbours' land; an act for the certain and constant appointment of all officers sees within this island."

UPON Cromwell's death, and the subsequent change of af. Mod' rd. affairs in *England*, when the committee of safety (as it was generally called) took upon themselves the direction of national affairs,

Mr. Modestus was appointed g. vorn of *Barbados*. Though he was a perfect royalist, yet his moderation, and the credit he obtained in the island, recommended him to the ruling powers. About this time, the navigation-act took place in *England*, and it required that the product of all the colonies should be shipped for the mother-country. Though this was a very noble and a beneficial provision for *England*, yet it altered the whole system of the *Barbadian* commerce. That island had been governed under the authority of a proprietor, whose circumstances were so indiferent, that he could not make the necessary dispositions for its improvement, so as to render it of any emolument either to himself or to *England*. The planters, therefore, had no rule to steer by but private

<sup>1</sup> Complete System of Geography, Vol. II. p. 748.

## The History of America.

*Wise regulations.*

interest ; so that all the nations in Europe, but the Dutch especially, reaped the benefit of the *Barbados* trade. As that people were then, as they have been since, the great carriers of Europe, they supplied the *Barbadians* at an easy rate with all the European luxuries for their sugar and other products, which were always sure of finding a ready market all over the world. The soil being new, after it was cleared, was indefinitely fertile ; and the facility of obtaining lands and plantations upon the island, had increased its population to the amazing numbers we have mentioned, in little more than the space of twenty years : but those first improvements had been of very little service to the mother-country ; and it must be acknowledged, if was during her republican state that England first received the true principles of commerce, for making her colonies beneficial to herself. The Dutch had been indeed greatly instrumental in raising *Barbados*. What it was, ~~which~~ had not only furnished it with the means of making sugar, but with utensils of all kinds, and with negroes from Africa ; a trade which was at that time little known to the English : but they found their own interest in all this ; and upon the restoration of peace between the two commonwealths, measures were taken for putting an end to their gainful trade with *Barbados*. The *Barbadians*, notwithstanding the prohibition of the English government, had, during the war, still carried on a trade with the Dutch, which was connived at by the governor, Mr. Starl, who durst not venture to use any rigorous measures for suppressing it ; and when the act of navigation passed, the *Barbadians* complained of it, as the greatest hardship that could be imposed upon them ; and if we are to believe their writers, both their trade and population has ever since been upon the decline.

THE wise regulations introduced into commerce by the navigation-act, were so self-evident, that they were retained by the government of England after the restoration : but it was impossible that they could be carried on to any purpose under a languishing proprietary government. At this time, however, the population of *Barbados* began to decrease by the conquest of *Jamaica*, and the settlements of other islands. The numbers of whites in *Barbados* had been so great, that in the expedition under Penn and Venables against *Hispaniola*, in Cromwell's time, the *Barbadians* alone furnished 3500 soldiers towards it, and that without any sensible inconvenience. They were encouraged in this by the vast prospect they had of plunder, little foreseeing that the casual conquest of *Jamaica* would prove so prejudicial to them as it afterwards did. But a very favourable juncture now presented itself. The family

Family of *Carlisle* was extinct, and *Hay* earl of *Kinnoul*, a Scotch nobleman, was its heir, and the king proposed to give him 1800*l.* a year upon his surrendering to the crown the earl of *Carlisle*'s patent, which the earl of *Kinnoul* agreed to. This, however, was not done without great opposition on the part of the planters. The value of *Bahados* came now to be well understood; and therefore the right of the planters possessions being more narrowly examined into; it was found or pretended, that very few of them had any right to the estates they held. If we suppose, that their rights were to arise from proprietary grants, this very possibly was true; for the king disclaimed all, that had been done under *Cromwell* and the republic. In the mean while, lord *Willoughby* had seven or eight years of his covenant with the earl of *Carlisle* still unexpired, and he had before behaved so well in the government of *Bahados*, that it was confirmed to him by the king, with a new commission of captain general and governor in chief of this and the rest of the *Caribbee Islands*, for seven years, to commence from the time of his majesty's purchase, and a salary of 1200*l.* a year.

THE proprietary government being thus dissolved, and the *Proprietary* island reverting to the *crown*, a new clause, that had never been in any former commission, was added to this of lord *Willoughby*, renewing to the king power to approve or disallow of all laws that should be made in the island. It must be acknowledged, that in all this proceeding, the king had upon his side the letter of the law; but as the planters had improved the island upon the good faith of the government, under which they had lived; and had received neither profit nor protection from *Carlisle*'s patent, it would have been barbarous and unjust to have treated them with rigour; not to mention the ingratitude of oppressing men, who had suffered so many of the *Caribbeians* had done, so much for the royal cause. My lord *Clarendon* was then lord high chancellor of *England*, and fell in with the moderate and equitable cause, which was that of the planters, by making them secure and easy in their possessions. This was a work of some difficulty. It was pretended, that the earl of *Carlisle* had died 50,000*l.* in debt, which must be satisfied out of his patent; and besides the 1000*l.* a year granted to *Kinnoul*, the heirs of the earl of *Marlborough* had a perpetual annuity of 300*l.* a year upon the same patent. The planters, not to be wanting to themselves, had sent over agents, to take care of their interests. They were given to understand, that the king was resolved to take the government of the island into his own hands; but that he expected the assembly would give him a proper con-

## The History of America.

federation for the benefits they were to enjoy under a royal government. Upon some hesitation on the part of the agents, who said, they could do nothing without knowing the terms proposed, and without the authority of the assembly, they were given to understand, that it was expected the latter would grant to the crown four and a half pounds for every fivescore pounds of the dead commodities of the produce of the island. The agents urged, that this would amount to a tax of ten per cent. on the clear profits of the planters estates, and would produce, upon the whole, at least 10,000 £. a year. Mr. Kendall, one of the agents, was for accepting this proposition; but the other remonstrated against it, as being a tax which the island could not bear. But the measure had been resolved upon, and his majesty, as well as the hungry dependents upon his court, were to greatly interested in its success, that the lord Willoughby, in 1663, agreed to carry it into execution, by going over in person to Barbados, which he afterwards did. Though he had for some time received his patent, yet he left the administration of affairs to the president and his council, who happened to be Humphry Walrond, an old royalist, and himself a considerable planter. This gentleman seems to have discharged his duty with great integrity and prudence, and many excellent acts took place during his administration. Provisions were made for regulating the courts of justice, for settling commercial disputes, for ordering the rates between masters and servants, for the keeping highways in good repair, and other matters of great benefit to the island. But nothing was more commendable under this gentleman's administration, than the great care that was taken in regulating the militia, and in setting a regiment of horse.

**Opposition to lord Willoughby;** LORD Willoughby, upon his arrival, found the planters in general extremely out of humour with the tax that had been proposed. The royalists thought it was an ungrateful return for their sufferings, and the others opposed it through principle. At the head of this opposition was one colonel Farmer, a man of a resolute disposition, who gave his lordship great disquiet. The assembly was called in the December after his lordship's arrival, which was in August. He found every thing in very flourishing circumstances; for though the population of Barbados had been somewhat diminished, as we have already observed, by the removal of Moidford, and some other families, to Jamaica, yet the remaining planters were the richer, and though the spirit run very high against the proposed tax, yet the consideration of the precariousness of their tenures prevailed with the members of the assembly to pass it, which they

they did in an act, with the following specious preamble ; " As nothing conduceth more to the peace and prosperity of any place, and the protection of every single person therein, than that the publick revenue thereof may be in some measure proportioned to the publick charges and expences ; and also well weighing the great charges that there must be of necessity in the maintaining the honour and dignity of his majesty's authority here; the publick meeting of the sessions, the often attendance of the council, the reparation of the forts, the building a sessions-house, and a prison, and all other publick charges incumbent on the government : we do, in consideration thereof, give and grant unto his majesty, his heirs and successors, for ever ; that is to say, upon all dead commodities, of the growth of this island, that shall be shipped off the same, four and a half in specie for every five-score."

THIS act did not pass without so little opposition, who sends that the lord *Willoughby*, being apprehensive of a general ~~re-~~ <sup>royal</sup> revolt, ordered colonel *Farmer* to be arrested, and sent over pri- ~~soner~~ to *England*, with a charge against him of mutiny, sedi- ~~prisoner to~~ tion, and treason ; and that his behaviour and practices had England.

prevailed upon a disaffected party in the island so far, that it would be highly improper to suffer him to return to the island before the inhabitants were brought to a better temper. This was an infamous proceeding on the part of the governor, but agreeable to, what was called then, the spirit of loyalty, which suspended all regard for the constitution, nor could the wisdom and honest intentions of the great earl of *Clarendon* himself guard him from the infection. When *Farmer* arrived in *England*, he was carried before the king and council, where he pleaded with a freedom, which the temper of that court could not bear, ~~and~~ which the lord *Clarendon* himself pronounced to be insolent and presumptuous, and to deserve imprisonment. *Farmer*, on the other hand, urged his rights of an *Englishman* under *Magna Charta*, and that he had done nothing but in a loyal constitutional manner, and agreeable to the birthrights of a free subject. His plea became his demerit, and he was sent to prison chiefly through the influence of lord *Carlton*, against whom his conduct in this ~~affair~~ afterwards constituted an article of his impeachment. His lordship, at the same time, thought that *Farmer* ought to be sent back to *Barbados*, there to be proceeded against for the crimes laid to his charge ; because, said his lordship, if he was discharged in pursuance of *Magna Charta*, the governor could not preserve his majesty's right. This must be acknowledged to be a very extraordinary argument, and could be called

no other than a reason of state, or rather, of tyranny. *Farmer* was the sacrifice; nor did he recover his liberty till after a long tedious imprisonment.

IN 1664, during the war between *Holland* and *England*, *de Ruyter*, the famous Dutch admiral, appeared off *Barbados*, seemingly with an intention to make a descent upon it; but the *Barbadians* drawing out their militia, made so good an appearance, that *de Ruyter*, after firing a few shot, sheered off. After this, till the death of the governor, *Francis lord Willoughby*, which happened in 1666, nothing memorable occurs in the history of *Barbados*, where the royal interest, after the imprisonment of *Farmer*, gained an entire ascendency. In justice to his lordship, it must be acknowledged, that this proceeding was the only one in his administration, that could be called unwarrantable, and that all the rest of his conduct was equitable and wise, both in *Barbados* and in the other islands of his government. He had carried over thither with him some part of his family, and intending, under the pretext of visiting the other islands of his government, to undertake an expedition against the Dutch, he nominated *Henry Willoughby*, *Henry Hawley*, and *Samuel Berwick*, Esqrs. to be governors in his absence. His lordship then departed from *Barbados*, but perished at sea by shipwreck, upon his expedition.

*The Barbados laws collected.*

THE new governors, during their administration, undertook a very useful design; and that was to ascertain the laws of the island, which having passed under various constitutions, and repugnant governments, stood greatly in need of a proper arrangement and publication; not to mention that, through the calamities of fires, hurricanes, and other accidents, great part of the original records of the island had been destroyed. An act accordingly passed which appointed *Philip Bell*, *Constant Silvester*, *Robert Harper*, *Simon Lethbridge*, and *Richard Evans*, Esqrs. and Mr. *Edward Bowden*, secretary of the island, commissioners to collect what laws should be in force there, which they accordingly did to the best of their information and knowledge. Among other things, they wisely confirmed all the acts that had passed under *Searl's* and *Walrond's* governments, and made their return, in a fair transcript, of the whole, consisting of fifty-eight laws; which were not only confirmed by the assembly, but duly published through all the parishes of the island, and honoured with the royal confirmation and approbation of their being the standing laws of *Barbados*, which they continue to be at this day. But still the duty of four and a half per cent. continued to be of so hard a digestion, that those commissioners expressed

pressed themselves not a little doubtful as to the legality of the assembly which imposed it, and whether the former taxations under the proprietary government were not all that this island ought to pay.

THE certainty of Francis lord Willoughby's death being known in England, the king appointed his brother William ~~ceeded by~~ his brother lord Willoughby, to succeed him in the government of Barbados. This William lord Willoughby came to Barbados soon after his brother's death; but another William Willoughby being upon the island, and sometimes acting as deputy-governor, has occasioned some confusion in this part of the history, though of no great consequence. The government of England seems even at this time, to have been not a little distrustful of the safety, and perhaps, the allegiance of the Barbadians; for, ~~the time of the~~ lord Willoughby's arrival upon the island, a regiment of soldiers, ~~lived~~, landed there under the command of Sir Tobias Bridge. The assembly was very assiduous in providing accommodations for those soldiers, and passed several acts for that purpose; besides making other regulations in regard to the law-courts of the island, and its internal police. Some of these acts are remarkable, and serve to point out the disorders that then chiefly prevailed in the island. One was for preventing forcible and clandestine entries into lands; another, for reducing the yearly interest of money to ten pound for an hundred; and another, declaring the negroe slaves of the island to be real estate. About the same time, the assembly applied themselves towards the repairing the damage that had been done by a conflagration at Bridge-Town, by ordering a stop to be put to the running up wooden houses, and that the chief materials for building should be of stone, ~~any~~ so contrived, as to make a better resistance against future fires.

By this time, the date of lord Willoughby's commission, under the earl of Carlisle's patent and the king's authority, was on the point of expiring; and, after spending some months in visiting the other islands of his government, he embarked for England, leaving as his deputy colonel Christopher Codrington, in November 1668. Upon the expiration of his lordship's patent, no new powers arriving, we are told, that the council and assembly then in being met, and voted themselves to be governor, council, and assembly, until his majesty's pleasure should be known; and we are to suppose, that Codrington, in this interval, acted under their authority. Lord Willoughby, after an absence of six months, returned, but with a commission to be governor of Barbados only; his majesty thinking proper to divide the former government, by

Atkins,  
governor.

giving another governor to the other islands. Soon after, his lordship again took leave of *Barbados*, and left colonel *Condington* once more his deputy-governor, who acted as such in 1672 ; but was succeeded next year by Sir *Peter Colleton*. Lord *Willoughby* afterwards returned to *Barbados*, but died in 1674 ; and his place, as governor of *Barbados*, was filled up by Sir *Jonathan Atkins*: here ended the government of the two lords *Willoughby*. Notwithstanding the outrages against the tax of the four and a half in the hundred weight, and the unjustifiable proceedings against *Farmer*, it must be acknowledged, that the administration of those two lords was prudent, mild, and equitable, and well calculated for the prosperity of the island. After the Restoration, the humour of preferring *Jamaica* to our other islands, which, during the usurpation, had been very strong, subsisted, and *Barbados* received its reputation to greatly under its two noble governors, that, upon the arrival of Sir *Jonathan Atkins*, the whites were computed to be 50,000, of whom 12,000 were able-bodied men, 80,000 negroes, and 20,000 mulattoes and mestize slaves : a number of inhabitants scarcely credible upon so small an island ; especially when we consider the prodigious losses the planters had sustained by fire and hurricanes, which besides killing great numbers of people, and blowing down three hundred houses, had so effectually destroyed their plantations and works, that they could make no sugar for two years. The corn was destroyed, and eight ships cast away in the harbour. In short, the face of the whole island presented but one continued wreck. To heighten the misfortunes of the *Barbadians*, New-England about the same time was in no condition to supply the want of supplies or provisions.

Hurricane  
at Barba-  
dos.

ONE of the first acts of Sir *Jonathan Atkins*'s government was to take some effectual measures against the consequences of this public calamity. *Barbados* was now thought to be in danger of depopulation, not so much from the hurricanes, as from the rapaciousness of creditors, should they press their debtors so, as to oblige them to leave the island. Sir *Jon-*  
*athan immeadiately called together the assembly, and laid be-*  
*fore them the danger they were in from their negroes, should*  
*any of the whites abandon the island ; but we know of*  
*no act that passed to obviate this danger, which perhaps was*  
*only imaginary. The distress of the island, nevertheless,*  
*called for some relief ; for the officers of the custom-house*  
*refused to allow the four and a half duty that had been paid*  
*for goods lost in the late storm, to be deducted from a second*  
*entry of the like goods. The assembly, therefore, passed*  
*an*

an act for allowance of a second free entry for the dead production of this island, lost or taken, relating to the four and a half per cent. At the same time, the assembly agreed upon an address, to be transmitted to the government of *England*, praying, that the duty of four and a half per cent. should be taken off, as the only means of saving the planters from ruin; but this was an indulgence that could not be granted them, and the petition came to nothing. It was in vain for the *Barbadians* to remonstrate upon their hardships, and that none of the public-spirited purposes for which that great tax had been granted, ever had been answered. The necessities of the king's government, and of raising money to support his pleasures, were replies to all their complaints.

But the court of *England*, at that time, began to adopt *which is* a new system, with regard to the island of *Barbados*, and the oppressed other *Cribbes*. The duke of *York*, brother to king *Charles*, by the royal understood trade, and had been at some pains to put himself at the head of one branch of it, by projecting the Royal African Company. Till that was established, the *Barbadians* had imported their own negroes without any exorbitant expences attending them; but the company obtaining an exclusive charter of the trade to Africa, laid the *Barbadians* under what contributions they pleased to raise, and the merchants of *London* trading to *Barbadoes*, or any of the English islands in the *West-Indies*, were share in the same hardships. Other causes gave uneasiness to the substantial planters at the same time. The petty traders upon this island used by various arts to engross provisions before they came to market, and this occasioned an act to prevent the inconveniences upon the inhabitants of this island, by forestallers, ingrossers, and regrators. Another infamous practice prevailed at this time, not only in the English, but in the French and Spanish *West-Indian* islands, which was that of kidnapping the Indian natives from the continent, and, as often as they could find occasion, from the islands likewise. Though this practice was not perhaps, in itself, more barbarous than that of buying negroes, yet it was attended with worse consequences, because it deprived the English of all trade with the natives, who not only became shy in their communications, but lost no opportunities of being severely revenged. It was then doubtful under what species of felony this practice came; and one colonel *Werner*, who was charged with it, was seized in *England*, and sent over in the *Phoenix* man of war to be tried at *Barbados*: but he was acquitted, either for want of a law to punish him, or because he had a powerful interest in the *West-Indies*.

*by seizing the ships of the island.* THE island began now to recover from the vast losses it had sustained by the late hurricanes. The planters had been thrown into such consternation, that they had lived for many months in huts upon the open fields, without daring to venture their persons in houses, or to be at the expence of them. But falling now into a more substantial manner of building, they began not only to build houses, but to repair their fortifications and breast-works, and to raise new ones for the security of the island. But all their precautions could not ward off the blows they received from the duke of York's interest. The governor had orders to seize all interlopers, for so the Barbados ships importing negroes from Africa were called : those orders were put very severely into execution, and ruined a vast number of families ; so that every day produced fresh bankruptcies upon the island. As to the political and religious principles of the Barbadians, they were pretty much according to the complexion of those which reigned in England ; and it was, perhaps, of no service to their commercial interests, that "when the popish plot broke out there, their assembly passed an act for enforcing an English act against popish recusants." Prior to this, it appears, that the quakers had not been a little active in converting the negroes. Their principle of non-resistance was far from being agreeable to a colony which, like that of Barbados, was every hour exposed to invasion ; and therefore an act passed to prohibit negroes from frequenting quakers-meetings ; and the same act contained a clause against dissenters teaching schools upon the island. This last was a precaution perhaps not quite impolitical among planters, where labour was of more utility than learning.

IN 1678, the Constant Warwick man of war, Captain De-laval commander, which was stationed at Barbados, took the Barbadian merchant-fleet as far under convoy as in 20 deg. of latitude ; and that captain, upon his return to Barbados, was extremely active in seizing interlopers, which he did to a very considerable amount, and to the great oppression of the Barbadians. The hardships suffered, as represented by them, were inconceivable. If they met with one of those ships ~~in the coast of Africa~~, they were treated as being little better than open enemies ; and at home, they never missed being condemned in the courts of admiralty, without having the benefit of being tried by a jury. Those proceedings were the more shameful, as the forfeitures always extended to ships and goods, and were given to the king ; the governor being, at the same time, the judge and the informer. At last, those oppressive practices became so crying, that Sir Jonathan Atkins

kins desired to be recalled from his government, which he was in 1680; and Sir Richard Dutton was appointed to succeed him. This new governor is represented as having been ard ~~Sir~~ Dutton a thorough tool of the court, and sent over to reconcile the ton, ~~go-~~ Barbadians and the other inhabitants of the *Lever and Islands* to ~~the~~ <sup>the</sup> governor. After touching at the *Audieas*, he arrived in April at *Barbades*, where he was received by the assembly and people with great expressions of loyalty. He was the first who procured a clause to be inserted in the militia act for the men to wear red coats, which was complained of as an unnecessary expence to the inhabitants, who appear, nevertheless, to have been very tame under his government. The doctrine of abhorring addresses for redress of grievances, prevailing, at that time, greatly at the court of England, Sir Richard ~~to~~ gave a proof to the government of his services, brought the ~~assembly~~ of *Barbades* to agree to one of those abhorring addresses, which he transmitted to *England*, where it was received by his majesty with particular marks of satisfaction. We have little historical matter to relate farther of this governor, excepting that the severity of his proceedings is said to have driven a great number of people from *Barbades*, ~~who~~ left the island burdened with their ~~wives and~~ children. This made it necessary for the assembly to pass an act for the better regulating the manner of giving tickets out of the secretary's office, in order to prevent such emigrations. In 1683, the grand jury of *Barbades* overflowed so much in zeal for his majesty, that they voted a most loyal address to be presented to him by their governor, who was then about to take his departure from *Barbades*. In this address his majesty is complimented upon their governor's having stigmatized discontents & faction and fanaticism in their ~~serv~~ embrio. They then inform the king, that "their minds had been infinitely ruffled and disturbed at the notices they had of the many attempts and offers that had been lately made in their native country of *England*, and by the rebellious heat of some spirits, hatched in hell, to shake his majesty's throne." They conclude with declaring themselves to be ~~heavy~~ <sup>lovers</sup> and admirers of his dearest brother.

IT is not certain whether Sir Richard had, at this time, ~~He goes to~~ any other business in *England* but that of presenting the notable address to his majesty; who, possibly, wanted to be informed by himself concerning the condition of his government; but Sir Richard returned, after a few months absence, to *Barbados*. It is well known that the popish, or as some call it, the popish faction, gave law in *England* during the last four years of *Charles's* reign, and that the common people were ab-

forbed in a kind of whirl of loyalty. Upon Sir Richard's return to *Barbados*, he held an assembly, in which he passed several new provincial acts; and colonel Richard Salter was by law appointed treasurer for the island. Soon after this, *Monmouth's* rebellion broke out in the west of *England*; and great numbers of unfortunate wretches, who were engaged in it, were transported to *Barbados*, where their condition is said to have been rendered almost as miserable as that of the negroes, by a bill which that zealous assembly passed, entitled, *An act for the governing and retaining within this island all such rebel convicts as, by his majesty's most sacred order, or permit, have been, or shall be, transported from his European dominions to this place.*

*New taxes on the Barbadians.* Colonel *Walrond*, who had been left deputy-governor by Sir Richard about this time, fell under his displeasure, and was sent to *England*. After a petty charge against him, on account of a trial before a court of *Oyer and Terminer*, in which *Walrond* presided; and he was there prosecuted to the ruin of himself and his family, though he was so much in favour with the assembly, that they not only gave him an ample testimony of his behaviour in that court, but made him a present of 500*l.* for the service he had done the island. The ceremonies which the governor, to demonstrate his loyalty, ordered to be observed when king *James the Second* was proclaimed, were so magnificent, as to exceed any exhibition of the same kind that has since appeared in *Barbados*. All those demonstrations of loyalty were ineffectual for delivering them from the storm that was now hovering over them. They were given to understand, that they must submit to a new tax of two shillings and fourpence upon every hundred weight of muscovado sugar, and seven shillings upon sugars fit for use. The *Barbadians* represented, that if the whole tax must be laid upon trade, it might be laid upon all commodities alike: they said, that a small advance upon all the customs might serve every purpose, as well as a great one upon some; and that this might be borne with some ease, there being so many shoulders to bear it. All their remonstrances availed nothing; the king ~~would~~ earnestly desired that the tax should take place: but some of his privy-councillors assured the parliament, in his name, that if it should prove too burdensome to the plantations, it should be taken off. After the act imposing this heavy tax passed, the planters ~~splashed~~ the king's promise by petitioning against it, and endeavouring to shew that it was more heavy than the plantations could bear. The answer returned to them was well suited to the despotic spirit of this reign. "That it was very indecent,

not to say undutiful, to tax the king with his promise." This tax was laid on in time of peace, without any apparent necessity, and continued from the firm persuasion which the government entertained as to the ability of the island to discharge it. *Dutton* encouraged every motion towards loading the planters, and was so zealous a friend to the Royal *African Company*, that he left Mr. *Edwyn*, (afterwards Sir *Edwyn*) *Stede*, his deputy-governor when he went to *England*; tho' *Stede* was known to be an agent of the *African company*, and had been in no higher station than deputy-secretary to *Dutton*. Soon after, king *James* sent him a commission to be lieutenant-governor of the island; and in the year 1687, he had the honour to receive the duke of *Albemarle* with great pomp and magnificence, when he put into *Barbados* in his voyage to *Jamaica*, of which he was appointed governor.

It was at this time that a frein' plot was formed among the negroes for murdering all the white men upon the island, ~~mong the~~ or rendering them slaves, and to possess themselves of the negroes' women. This conspiracy was discovered when it was upon covered the point of breaking out; and about twenty of the ring- and pu-leaders were put to death. Soon after, some gentlemen of *nibed*. the island formed a project of a factory for monopolizing in reality all the sugars and other commodities of the island; but it was of so arbitrary and oppressive a nature, that it was discouraged even by the lord-chancellor *Jeffries*. By this time, the government of *Barbados* began to make a great figure in the state of *England*; for the planters found their account so much in having the governor for their friend, that from time to time they presented him with a thousand pounds; and it is said that the place brought in about 4000*l.* a year. When the revolution in *England* took place, king *William* renewed *Stede's* commission as lieutenant-governor, and soon after appointed *James Kendall*, Esq; who was himself a native of *Barbados*, to be captain-general and chief governor of that island and the other *Caribbees*. Before his arrival, the people of *St. Christopher's* and the other *Leeward Islands*, as will be seen in their history, applied to the government of *Barbados* for assistance against the *Furri*; and Sir *Timothy Thornbill*, a gentleman of *Barbados*, received a commission for raising a regiment on the island for their relief, which he did to the amount of 700 men, who were all of them crowded, armed, and embarked, at the expence of the *Barbadians*. This expedition took place the 1st of *August*, 1689, and Sir *Timothy Thornbill* remained at *St. Christopher's*, and the other *Leeward Islands*, with his regiment, some time after the arrival of Mr. *Kendall* at *Barbado*.

*War with the French* This gentleman was a zealous enemy to the French encroachments upon the *Leeward Islands*, and passed many popular acts for the encouragement of trade in those parts. The war with *France* raging with great violence, the masters of the ships trading to *Barbados* took that opportunity of raising their freights to so exorbitant a rate, as to demand the interposition of the legislature of the island. An act accordingly passed, "for regulating the exorbitant rates demanded and received by masters of ships and others, for freights of sugars for *Europe*," by which the freight was settled at 6*s.* and 6*d.* the hundred weight; for muscovado sugar, 7*s.* and 6*d.* for whites; 5*s.* a hundred for scalded, and 6*s.* a hundred for scraped ginger; and 2*d.* a pound for cotton. This regulation, however promising, was ineffectual; for the ship-masters, though they were bound by it, could not be obliged to send vessels to *Barbados* upon the terms prescribed by the act, and therefore it was repealed. It was observable, that great fortunes were made now upon the island, by the improved sale of the sugars it produced; and the operations against the *French* still continuing in the *Leeward Islands*, no fewer than six stout ships were taken up at *Barbados*, and sent from thence to reinforce commodore *Wright's* squadron at *St. Christopher's*. On the 17th of March, 1690, an act passed to repeal all laws governing and retaining within this island all such rebels convicts, as, by his majesty's most sacred order or permit, have been, or shall be, transported from his *European* dominions to this place. This act was in consequence of an order, said to be sent by king *William*, for the enlargement of the rebels who had been transported to *Barbados* for being concerned in the duke of *Monmouth's* rebellion, who, as is already hinted, remained there under particular hardships.

AFTER the Revolution, one Mr. Gardener, who was solicitor at London for the affairs of Barbados, remonstrated so effectually against the hardships which that island suffered from the exclusive patent of the royal African company, that the planters were eased of their oppressions, by the company's right to seize their ships as interlopers being repealed, and the African trade thrown open. This was thought to be the consequence of the great partiality which King James had always expressed for that company. That same year, the assembly of Barbados appointed two agents, with a salary of 250*l.* each, to manage their affairs at London. The prosperity of Barbados may be now said to have been at its vertical point. The trade to Africa being thrown open, the enterprising Barbadians engaged deeper than ever in the Leeward expeditions; but their affairs were under very bad management. Wright,

the English commodore, appears to have been a man neither of courage nor capacity ; and notwithstanding the great reinforcement sent to him by the Barbadians, he trifled away his time so egregiously, that the French made prizes of a great number of *Barbados* ships, so that the island itself was threatened with scarcity. This drove the planters to the necessity of fitting out two ships for their own defence ; and an act of the Assembly passed, "to secure and reimburse the honourable colonel *Richard Salter*, treasurer of this island, all such sums of money, together with the interest of the same, after the rate of ten per cent. per annum, he shall lend and accommodate towards the hiring, equipping, and fitting-out, two ships, sloops, or other vessels of war, for the defence of this island." Another act, about the same time, passed, "for entrenching and fortifying this island, in such places as his excellency shall direct." It must be acknowledged, that the maritime affairs of *England*, during most part of the reigns of king *William* and queen *Anne*, were under a miserable direction. The *Barbadians* being left to defend themselves, suffered vastly, not only by their most useful hands being employed in war, but by a pestilential disease, which broke out ~~fairs mis~~ among their soldiers, and communicated itself to the islanders, managed such numbers of whom were swept off, that it is believed ~~Barbados~~ has not to this day recovered the depopulation it then sustained. *Their af-*

THE cowardice and mismanagement of commodore *Wright* being too notorious to be longer palliated, he was sent home prisoner, and was succeeded in his command by captain *Wren*, a brave active officer. He arrived at *Barbados* with eight men of war on the 16th of January, 1690-91, while the French, with ~~the~~ ~~sixteen~~ ~~of~~ ~~war~~ ~~and~~ ~~two~~ fire-ships, remained masters of the sea ~~where~~, and distressed the British trade. *Kendall*, the governor of *Barbados*, hearing that nine of those men of war were plying to the north-east of that island, fitted out two stout merchant-men as ships of war ; and they were joined by his majesty's ships the *Norwich*, *Mary*, *Antelope*, *Mordaunt*, and *Diamond*, with two sloops. This squadron, after cruising for some time in the latitude of *Martinico*, returned on the 5th of February to *Barbados* without effect. Captain *Wren* then took under his convoy the merchant-ships bound to the *Leeward-Islands* and to *Jamaica* ; where being joined with the *Assistance*, the *Hampshire*, and the *Paul* fire-ship, he took in ~~count~~ ~~the~~ ~~count~~ ~~de~~ ~~Bennet~~ of the French fleet. On the 21st of February, being off the *Delcadas*, he discovered it to the number of sixteen men of war and two fire-ships, commanded by the count *de Bennet* ; and, after several manoeuvres, an engagement

ment ensued, in which captain *Wren*, though he had but seven men of war, acquitted himself so well, that he carried all his ships and convoy safe to *Barbados*, excepting the *England* frigate, which bore away to *Jamaica*. About the same time, the *Affiance* man of war met a French ship of sixty guns, laden with masts, with all kinds of ship and sea stores, and carried her into *Barbados*. This was one of the most seasonable prizes that was made during the whole ~~year~~ in the *West-Indies*.

*Great distress of the island*. THAT island continued, during all the year 1692, to be in a most miserable situation. The mortality raged on board the shipping to such a degree, that hands were wanting to man their vessels, and the brave comnodore *Wren* was among the number of the dead. To add to the affliction of the survivors, the weather was so rigorous, that their crop of sugars failed, and a fresh demand was made upon them for raising 1000 men, to be employed in a new expedition against the French. It was about this time that the board of trade and plantations began to make a figure in *England*, and the island of *Barbados* became one of its chief subjects. Some of the principal planters were displaced from their seats in the council, on account of misrepresentations for disaffection; but they were cleared by the governor, and replaced. The French still continuing to harass the *Barbados* trade, the assembly there ordered their agents in *England* to petition the commissioners of trade and plantations for a regiment of soldiers, to whom they promised free quarters, to remain in their island; but this proposal came to nothing. The *Barbadians*, all this while, expressed the greatest loyalty to the government of *England*, as settled upon king *William* and queen *Mary*; and colonel *Stede* received the honour of knighthood, for presenting the address of the assembly to their majesties.

*Another conspiracy of the negroes.* BUT the face of affairs was now greatly altered in this island, which, from being rich, powerful, and populous, but a few years before, was now distressed by sickness, and want of hands to carry on their necessary works. Those were chiefly supplied by a vast importation of negroes from *Guinea*; who not being born upon the island, conceived an implacable hatred to their masters, and entered into a more dangerous conspiracy than any ~~ever~~ formed, to exterminate the white inhabitants. Though the *English* were ignorant of the particulars of the plot, yet they knew in general that some such design was in agitation. They had passed two acts "for encouragement of all negroes and slaves that shall discover any conspiracy;" and another "for prohibiting the selling of rum, or any strong liquors, to any negro or other slave."

slave." Those precautions had but little effect; for the negroes proceeded upon a plan much better concerted than could have been expected from such barbarians. They agreed to begin with killing the governor; and the slaves of each plantation were to murder their masters and overseers, while the storekeeper's own negro was to cut his master's throat, and to throw open the magazine of arms and ammunition to the conspirators. They had appointed their own officers, and projected a design for surprising the fort, and thereby to become masters of the shipping. In all this they were encouraged by the scarcity of white inhabitants upon the island; and though the conspiracy, even if prosperous, must have terminated in their destruction, yet it primarily must have occasioned that of the island likewise.

THE general persuasion the *English* had that such a conspiracy was on foot, caused them more than commonly vigilant; and at last, two of the head conspirators being overheard to talk of their design, they were apprehended almost upon the eve of its being put into execution. The wretches thought themselves so sure of being rescued, that they suffered themselves to be hung in chains for four days, without any sustenance. Their punishment daunted the other conspirators. They made efforts to save the criminals, who, ~~at~~ their own request, were taken from their gibbets, and discovered all they knew. Their accomplices were immediately seized, put to the torture, and many of them executed, to the great detriment of their masters and the trade of the island. It is now more than probable, that this conspiracy was privately fomented by *French* agents; and the *Barbadians* resolved to use their utmost endeavours in an expedition against *Martinique*. While, they very prudently passed acts for providing for the future like dangers which they had so lately escaped. Notwithstanding the thinness of their island, the *Barbadians* raised two regiments, of 500 men each, one commanded by colonel *Salter*, and the other by colonel *Boteler*, two of their own countrymen. The government of *England* had this expedition so much at heart, that Sir *Francis Wheeler* was appointed to the command of a stout squadron, with two regiments of foot on board, which sailed for *Barbados* under the command of colonel *Foult*.

THIS armament arriving at *Barbados* about the beginning of the year 1693, were immediately joined by the regiments *invaded*, raised at that island, and such a number of volunteers as made the whole to amount to near 1400 men. On the first of April, this squadron with the troops on board arrived off *Martinico*, and anchored in the *Cui de Sac Marine*, while the admiral,

miral and the commanders of the land troops were searching for a proper place to land their men. According to the best accounts, this expedition was miserably mismanaged. The English regulars amounted to above 4000 men, a force that was thought sufficient to have dispossessed the French of the island. The French had strong posts all along the shore, and the wind blew high; but at last colonel Foulk effected a landing with 1500 men. All he could do was to destroy defenceless houses and works in the neighbourhood; and, after being but one day on shore, they reembarked on the 4th of April. Next day, Sir Francis Wheeler landed with 500 men in Diamond-Bay, where he burnt several houses and plantations, while the inhabitants fled to the woods. Next day, colonel Lillister landed with another party, and ravaged part of the open country. On the 9th, colonel Codrington joined the squadron with Lloyd's regiment, and the Leeward forces, and the armymen was then thought strong enough to attack St. Pierre, the chief fort of the island; before which they accordingly arrived on the 15th of April, and anchored within musket-shot of the shore.

It is said, to the honour of the Barbadians, that had all the English troops behaved as well as they did, not only Martinique, but all the French Leeward-Islands, might at this time have fallen into their hands; but the government of England had not been sufficiently careful in their choice of officers to command the expedition. Many of them were dedicated to the service, and for that very reason were employed in the West-Indies; and some of them were known to be stiff Roman catholics. The colonels Foulk and Goodwin, with major Abrahall and others of their chief officers, remained on board the ships, where they died gloriously of malignant distempers. Notwithstanding this, the Barbadian and the Leeward troops behaved with the greatest spirit and resolution. They possessed themselves of an eminence which commanded the town of St. Pierre, landed their heavy artillery, destroyed the country, drove the enemy from all their advanced posts, and obliged them to keep behind their entrenchments.

*Miscarriage of the expedition.* On the 19th, the French made a sally, but were repulsed; and so apprehensive were the people of Martinique of the danger, that the most wealthy of them shipped off themselves and their effects for France; but some of them were intercepted by the English. Nothing but the most scandalous mismanagement could have prevented St. Pierre from being reduced; but a council of war being held, it was most unaccountably resolved to reembark the troops and the artillery, under pretext that they had not foreseen the difficulties they had

had to encounter, and that both the soldiers and sailors were sickly. Thus ended this promising expedition, in which, according to the French accounts, the English lost some of their heavy artillery, besides having about 600 men killed, and 300 taken prisoners; but those numbers probably include those who died of sickness.

Soon after, his majesty king *William* recalled colonel *Kennett Russell*, who had made one of the lords of his admiralty; and *Werner*, nominated colonel *Francis Russell*, brother to the earl of *Orford*, to the government of *Barbados*; and likewise to the command of a regiment, which was to reside and do duty upon that island. This regiment arrived there in 1694, and the assembly took care to accommodate the men with quarters. All this while, the epidemical sickness continued to rage both at sea and on land, and carried off such numbers of seamen, that the assembly was forced to pass an act for manning the *Tiger* and the *Mermaid*, two men of war that lay in *Carriacou Bay* for the protection of the island. Some of the *Barbados* regiment having been left in the *Leeward Islands* after the *Martinico* expedition, the new governor fitted out the *Marygold* to bring them home. The assembly, at the same time, virtualled the *Bristol* man of war, and the *Plymouth* for their security; and the *Frobisher*; remitted a sum of £1000 to the sum of £1000 to the agents at *London* for the use of the island; and a present of 2000 £ to the governor, who was in a numerous and expensive family. Upon the death of queen *Anne*, the governor, council, and assembly, presented a most dutiful address of condolance to his majesty, which he received with great satisfaction; but the want of economy in *England*, and the party-hate which prevailed at court, laid the *Barbadians* under infinite hardships. They were obliged to virtual man to the very ships appointed for the convoy of their colony, though they made a fresh present to their governor; little attention was paid to the security of the colony. It is said, that when *de Pointis*, the French admiral, sought of *Barbados*, in his expedition to *Carthagena*, it was not in all the forts upon the island seven rounds of powder. It was thought that the agents of the pirates, who now became to be very troublesome, had shipped off quantities of that commodity for their new port at *Azofar*. Mean while, governor *Russell* died, and the administration in the interim devolved, as usual, on the president of the council, who was *Francis Bond*, Esq.

*Loyalty of  
the Barbado-  
dians to  
king Wil-  
liam.* UPON the breaking out of the assassination-plot, the pres-  
sident, council, and general assembly of *Barbados*, voted an  
address "to congratulate his majesty's wonderful and happy  
deliverance from the most barbarous and bloody assassination  
lately designed against his royal person by execrable villains;  
and monsters of mankind, who are the dishonour of the pre-  
sent, and will be the horror and detestation of future ages." The grand-jury of the island presented a like address upon  
the same occasion. Mr. *Bond*'s administration was productive  
of several excellent measures for the benefit of the island. The right of elections of members to serve in the assembly  
was secured, and a great point was gained by their passing an  
act, "That the solemn affirmation and declaration of the  
people called Quakers, shall be accepted instead of an oath  
in the usual form." By another act of the same assembly,  
judges were restrained from pleading and practising in any  
courts of the island; and by another act, the militia of *Bar-  
bados* was put under a better regulation than it had ever been  
under before. By that act, cannons were ordered to be  
mounted upon the principal posts of the island, the inhab-  
itants being every day apprehensive of an invasion; but they  
were soon somewhat relieved in 1697, by the arrival of an *English*  
fleet under admiral *Nevill*, who was ordered to go in search  
of *Pintis*.

*Grey, go-  
vernor.* UPON the conclusion of the peace of *Utrecht*, which was  
of great service to *Barbados*, his majesty appointed the ho-  
nourable *Ralph Grey*, Esq; brother of the earl of *Tankerville*,  
to be governor of that island. He sailed from *St. Helens*  
the 1st of June, 1693; and on the 26th of July, after touch-  
ing at *Madeira*, he arrived at *Barbados* in the *Soldados* prize,  
together with the *Speedwell* man of war, the captain of which  
narrowly escaped being murdered by some of his crew, who  
intended to have run away with the ship, and to have turned  
pirates; but being discovered, they were sent in chains to  
*England*. The new governor was received with high marks  
of respect by the administration of the island; and Mr. *Max-  
well*, the speaker of the assembly, complimented him on his  
safe arrival. It may be here proper to observe, that his ex-  
cellency's commission nominated him to be "captain-ge-  
neral and chief governor of the island of *Barbados*, *Santa*  
*Lucia*, *St. Vincent*, *Dominico*, and the rest of his majesty's  
islands, colonies, and plantations in *America*, known by the  
name of the *Caribbee-Islands*, lying and being to windward  
of *Guadalupe*." Before the arrival of Mr. *Grey*, the gover-  
nors of *Barbados* had generally resided upon an estate called  
*Fultalit*, which was hired for them by the assembly; but  
that

that habitation was now not only out of repair, but inconveniently situated; being exposed to descents of pirates and enemies. The assembly, therefore, passed an act "to settle 500*l.* per annum on his excellency for his habitation." Another act passed for declaring and ascertaining the rights and powers of the general assembly of the island; and on the 7th of September that same year, the assembly made their new governor a present of 2000*l.*

MR. GHEY's administration happened to be very popular; though he had from the crown an order to receive 1200*l.* a year out of the four and a half per cent. to be paid on the spot by the collectors of the tax; but, being generous and magnificent, his person was very acceptable to the planters; though their island at the time of his arrival was in a miserable condition. The infectious distemper was not quite abated. The expedition to Martinico had cost the Barbadians above 30,000*l.* above forty sugar-works were deserted; many acres of ground lay waste; the late expensive taxes had disabled some of the principal planters from carrying on their works. Not only corn and provisions of all kinds, but even sugars, were become scarce; and a fresh hurricane destroyed great numbers of plantations that had been repaired. As some alleviation to so many misfortunes, the sickness soon after Mr. Grey's arrival ceased; and though it broke out about two years after, it did not last long. The northern colonies, New-England especially, supplied Barbados with provisions; and though not above 90,000 acres in the whole island were in a condition to pay taxes, the inhabitants supported themselves and their government with invincible spirit and constancy. The laws of the island were collected and printed at the public expense; and, by the return of health to the island, all its former calamities seemed to vanish. In the year 1701, the governor, Mr. Grey, went to England for the recovery of his health, where he soon after became lord Grey of Werk, by the death of his brother.

MR. GREY left the administration of affairs in the hands of John Farmer, Esq; president of the council; and in his time happened the death of king William, and the accession of queen Anne to the crown; events which were notified in form to the president and assembly of Barbados. Her majesty was proclaimed with all the pomp which the government of the island could furnish out; and a most loyal address of congratulation and complance was sent over, which was presented to her majesty by the lord Grey the late governor. As soon as the war broke out between France and England, the island of Barbados, which now had recovered an entire state of

Sir Bevill  
Green-  
ville, go-  
vernol.

health, fitted out a vast number of privateers to act against the French *Leeward-Islands*. A fleet of no fewer than fifteen of them rendezvousing off the island of *Guadalupe*, their crews landed; and after destroying part of the island, they brought off from it a considerable number of negroes. *Barbados* was, at the same time, threatened with a new conspiracy of the negroes, who had plotted to seize the forts of the island; but being discovered, the ringleaders were apprehended and executed. In 1703, Sir *Bevill Greenville* supplanted Mr. *Mitford Crow*, a *London* merchant, in the government of *Barbados*. Mr. *Crow* had kissed king *William's* hand upon the same, and was very acceptable to the planters; but upon that prince's death, Sir *Bevill* was appointed, to the great disappointment of a number of the islanders. The presents of 2000*l.* which had been made, being found inconvenient for the crown as well as the people, the custom was abolished in Sir *Bevill's* person; but he was impowered to receive as his salary 800*l.* a year of additional revenue, which raised his ordinary income to 2000*l.* Upon his arrival at *Barbados*, the assembly paid him the compliment of appointing his brother-in-law, Sir *John Stanley*, to be one of their agents at *London*; and a new house was built for Sir *Bevill* himself, on a spot called *Pilgrim Plantation*, which continues to this day to be the residence of the governors.

SIR *Bevill* having been brought in by the tory ministry, which had the ascendancy in the first years of queen *Anne's* reign, met with many enemies upon the island, who represented him in a very unfavourable light at home. There is some reason for believing that Sir *Bevill's* behaviour was not so cautious as it ought to have been; but the *Barbadians* under him having had great success in privateering, his conduct was the less questioned; especially as he had denied all the charge that had been sent over against him; and none of them seem to have been legally proved. On the other hand, Sir *Bevill* complained of a design that had been formed against his life; and parties went so high in the island, that a member of the council was fined 2000*l.* on that account. In 1705, the want of specie in the island was sensibly felt, on account of the silver being sent off to evade the compliance with a proclamation for reducing it to a certain standard all over the *English West-Indies*. To supply this scarcity, the assembly passed an act for striking paper-money to the amount of 65,000*l.* which their treasurer was to give out in bills to the planters, upon the security of land and negroes; and Mr. *Hudder*, the speaker of the assembly, being appointed treasurer, had an allowance of five per cent. for managing the bills. This

This act was exclaimed against by the gentlemen of the greatest property in the island, who complained of it as a fraud, on account of the difficulty they found in negotiating the bills; and no sooner did the assembly rise, than they sent over remonstrances to *England* against the act.

SIR Bevill Greenville found himself now uneasy, and obtained his recall, but died on his voyage to *England*. Upon his death, Mr. Crow, who had distinguished himself by his services in *Spain* to the whig administration, was appointed governor of *Barbados*, where he arrived in 1707. He found parties there running very high on account of the paper-credit; and the whig interest now prevailing in *England*, one of the first acts of his government was, to remove from their places at the council-board, and from the administration of all affairs, all who were at the governor's disposal, all who had been concerned in the paper-credit act; and Mr. Holden was obliged to refund the money he had received for the management of the bills. This served only to increase the spirit of party in the island; which running higher than ever, Mr. Crow was recalled from his government, upon the change of the ministry, at the latter end of queen Anne's reign, in 1711, and was succeeded by Robert Lowther, Esq. Lowther, This gentleman was removed from his government in 1713, governor; upon some complaints against him.

UPON his departure, the administration fell into the hands of William Sharp, Esq; president of the council; but Lowther, notwithstanding his recall, was so loth to part with his power, that he threatened to prosecute two members of the council, Cox and Salter, for treasonable practices, because they disowned his authority. Lowther being at last obliged to leave the island, Mr. Sharp's administration was so unexceptionable, that he received the thanks of the ministry; but in 1715, Lowther was restored by king George the Ist to the government. Being a proud vindictive man, he made an unmerciful use of his restoration to power. Having a particular quarrel with the reverend Mr. Gordon, rector of St. Michael's, and the bishop of London's commissary upon the island, he represented him to his diocesan in the most odious colours, and obtained, by means of the *Barbados* agents, some harsh proceedings to pass at the board of trade against Gordon. The latter, upon this, appealed to the crown; and on the 15th of March, 1718, his majesty referred his petition to a committee of the council, complaining as well against a petition of the agents of the island of *Barbados*, and a report of the board of trade thereupon, as against a letter wrote by the governor of the said island to the lord bishop of

bis mij-  
manag-  
ment,

*London*, highly reflecting on the said *Gordon's* conduct as commissary, and on his principles and character. Mr. *Gordon* obtained from the lords-justices (the king being then at *Hanover*) an order for taking depositions at *Barbados*, and the governor had the same liberty; but upon Mr. *Gordon's* returning to *Barbados*, and serving this order upon the governor, the latter paid so little regard to it, that he committed *Gordon* prisoner to the common gaol. In short, the whole of the prosecution against *Gordon* was so arbitrary and malicious, that the lords-justices voted them to be groundless, and that they ought to be dismissed.

*Tyranny of Löwther.* THIS was not the only act of tyranny which *Löwther* was guilty of in his government. One *Larsa*, a merchant in *Bridge-Town*, petitioned the king and council in *England* against an unlawful seizure, which *Löwther* made of his ship, and returned to *Barbados* with an order for making an enquiry into the matter of the complaint. *Löwther* disputed the authenticity of this order; and pretending that it was forged, he not only forced the original from Mr. *Blenman*, who was counsel for *Larsa*, but sent him to prison, and bound him over in 1000*l.* bail. *Blenman* being unable to obtain any justice upon the island, went over to *England*; where, upon hearing the case, the lords justices ordered, That all proceedings on the recognizance be vacated; and if any levy had been made upon the forfeiture, that the same be forthwith returned to Mr. *Blenman*, or his agent. About this time, Sir Charles *Cox* petitioned the king and council against *Löwther*, for removing his brother from the council-board in an arbitrary and illegal manner. While this petition was in dependence, *Löwther* went over to *England*, and left the government of *Barbados* in the hands of his nephew, one Mr. *Frere*. The truth of *Cox's* complaint being fully proved, the lords-justices restored his brother to the presidency of the council, and ordered *Frere*, of course, to resign to him the administration of the island; and he not complying with this order, was summoned forthwith to appear before the council-board of *England*.

*Misgovernment of the island.* EVERY day now produced fresh charges against *Löwther*. Two others of the council, Alexander *Walker*, and Timo<sup>thy</sup> *Salter*, Esqrs. having likewise been arbitrarily removed from the council-board, were restored to their seats there. A petition was presented against the governor for peculation and illegal practices, and signed by Sir Robert *Davies* and John *Walters*, Esq; both of them members of the British parliament, Mr. *Allen*, and other gentlemen of great interest in the Island. The allegations of this petition were, that *Löwther*, in

in violation of his instructions from the crown, had extorted from the island of *Barbados* 28,000*l.* of that currency; and that he had, contrary to the acts of trade and navigation, suffered a *Spanish* vessel to trade with the island. Those charges being fully proved, *Lowther* was ordered to be taken into custody and prosecuted; but the prosecution was afterwards dropped: Other charges, of the most tyrannical nature, were brought against *Lowther* and his creatures, particularly for their having caused a gentleman of the island to be publickly whipped by the common slave whipper, upon an accusation of private defamation; and all the justices, to the number of eight, who had been concerned in this illegal judgment, were removed from the commission of the peace. Mr. *Cox* being restored to the presidentship, and consequently to the administration during the vacancy of the government, a strange scene of anarchy ensued. All the chief places of the island were filled with *Lowther's* friends, who had on their sides a majority, both in the council and the assembly; and they had passed an act for preserving the peace and tranquillity of the island. The meaning of this act, in fact, was, to preserve their own places and seats at the council-board and in the assembly, and to restore *Freke* to the presidentship, notwithstanding the royal orders in favour of *Cox*. Their party was so strong, that when Mr. *Cox* at last took possession of the presidentship, they insisted upon the validity of the tranquillity-act (as they called it); and he was so hampered in his government, that he was obliged to suspend five or six of the refractory counsellors.

THE fluctuation of parties in *England*, and the death of secretary *Craggs*, who was *Cox's* great patron, with several other incidental causes, proved favourable to *Lowther* and his party. He suspended counsellors, and their friends sent over heavy complaints against *Cox*, and they obtained an order for resuming their seats at the council-board. This was so complete a triumph to the party, that they exulted more than ever, and perplexed the affairs of the government so much, that even the excise-bill, which was necessary for the support of the public, was in danger of being lost. It must be owned, at the same time, that Mr. *Cox* did not behave with the requisite moderation; and this might prepossess the ministry against him. He had, under no very justifiable pretexts, removed from the bench of justice several men of consequence in the island, who had been friends to *Lowther*, and had endeavoured to commence vexatious prosecutions against them; and this served to increase the opposition to his government. The apparent intention of the *British* ministry, upon so many

contradictory charges as daily came over from *Barbadoes*, was to let matters continue in the state they were, until a new governor should be appointed, who was to be furnished with full powers and proper instructions for enquiring into, and punishing all publick malversations on both sides.

*Lord Belhaven appointed go-vernour.* It was about this time that the greatest families in *Britain* were severely feeling the dreadful effects of the *South-Sea Scheme*; and the ministry, perhaps with no sound policy, sought to indemnify some of the sufferers by giving them *West-India governments*. Of this number was the lord *Belhaven*, a Scotch nobleman, a favourite with the prince of *Wales*, who being at that time well received at court, had interest enough to procure him to be appointed to the government of *Barbadoes*; but his lordship was unfortunately cast away near the *Lizard-Point*, in his voyage to that island. Lord *Irwin* was likewise appointed; but he also died before he reached *Barbadoes*, and then the government was given to *Henry Worsley*, Esq. Before that gentleman arrived in the island, the duke of *Portland*, who had been appointed to the government of *Jamaica*, with his dutchess, and a splendid retinue, landed at *Barbadoes*. Though the island was then in little less than a state of civil commotion, yet both factions seemed to vie with one another in the honours and entertainments bestowed upon his grace, but always in separate parties; and the most noble visitants departed from thence with the highest opinion of the *Barbadian* elegance and politeness.

*Account of the intend-ment of St. Lucia.* WHEN the duke of *Portland* was in *Barbadoes*, the ineffectual attempt made by the *English* under the duke of *Montague*, to settle the islands of *St. Lucia* and *St. Vincent*, took place. We shall not here enter into any discussion of the equitable claim the crown of *England* had to settle those islands, and which seems to be established beyond all dispute; but we shall recount how far the government of *Barbadoes* was concerned in those settlements. Mr. *Vring*, who had been appointed deputy-governor of both islands, found the affairs of both in a very different situation from what he expected; and to say the truth, it is not a little surprising that the *English* ministry should suffer the duke of *Montague* to expend the vast sums he did on this expedition, without knowing the dispositions of the *French* court; nor to mention the disgrace it brought upon his majesty's government and the honour of the nation. The governments of *St. Lucia*, *St. Vincent*, and *St. Domingica*, had till then been included in the commission of the government of *Barbadoes*, even after that of the *Leeward Islands* was separated from it. The insidious conduct of the *French* had amused the *English* govern-

now into too great a neglect of those islands ; though *William lord Willoughby*, while he was governor of *Barbados*, had always paid great attention to them ; and in 1668, he sent to *St. Vincent* a force which the *French* historian, *P. du Tetre*, acknowledges obliged the *Indian* natives of that island, as well as those of *Dominica*, to submit to the *English* government. Sir *Jonathan Atkins*, who succeeded the younger lord *Willoughby*, and Sir *Richard Dutton*, who succeeded him, seem to have paid but little regard to those islands ; but colonel *Syde*, *Dutton's* lieutenant-governor, hearing that the *French* used to wood and water upon them, sent captain *Temple* thither with a force to interrupt them. This happened about the time that king *James the II*d entered into a kind of a treaty of neutrality with the court of *France* ; by which all matters of debate, both in *America* and the *West-Indies*, were to be amicably adjusted by commissioners, and the conquests on both sides were to be restored. Even this treaty preserved entire to the crown of *England* its rights upon *St. Lucia* and *St. Vincent*, and they still continue to be named in the commissions of the governors of *Barbados* ; but it must be acknowledged, that effectual care had not been taken sufficiently to ascertain that right by possession ; and the *French* government, which never fails to turn the smallest omission to their own advantage, pretended, for that reason, that they belonged to his most Christian majesty,

IN 1719, M. *D'Estrée* obtained from the regent of *France* a grant of *St. Lucia*, and he accordingly sent a colony to possess and settle it. Though the *English* ministry at that time were but too intimately connected with that of *France*, yet the insolence of this grant became so much a national concern, that the *British* ambassador at *Paris* had orders to present very spirited memorials against the intended colony ; and so far had the *English* government been from giving up their right to the islands in question, that the following article always made part of the instructions given to the governors of *Barbados*, viz. “ If any of the subjects of a foreign prince or state have already planted themselves upon any of the islands of *St. Lucia*, *Dominica*, *St. Vincent*, *Tobago*, or shall hereafter attempt to do the same, you are to assert our right to the said islands exclusive of others ; and in order to hinder the settlement of any colony there, you are to give notice to such foreigners that shall pretend to make such settlements, that unless they shall remove within such time as you in your discretion shall assign, you shall be obliged by force to dispossess, and send them off the islands.”

*Affistance*. It is remarkable, that in the grant made by the regent of *given to it France to the marshal D'Estrées*, nothing was reserved to the *by the Bar* "crown of France but the faith and homage of the settlers, badians. " and a tenth of the free profits of the mines which shall be wrought there by the marshal or his assigns." This extraordinary grant being remonstrated against (as we have already seen) by the British ambassador at *Paris*, *D'Estrées* had orders from his court to discontinue his settlement, and to withdraw his people from the island. This compliance, together with the perpetual interruptions which the governors of *Barbados* had given to the *French*, when they pretended to wood and water upon those islands without their leave, was considered by the court of *England* as an acquiescence in their right to the islands in question; and it was upon that presumption that the duke of *Montague* had obtained his grant. The new colony was under the convoy of the *Winclesea* man of war, captain *Orme* commander, which brought *Mr. Vring* to *Barbados*. From hence he proceeded to *St. Lucia*, where they arrived the 17th of December, 1722. The resistance and danger which *Vring* underwent in attempting a settlement on *St. Lucia*, belong to another part of this work. Perceiving by all accounts that *M. de Feuquieres*, the governor of *Martinico*, had orders from his court, at all events, to oppose the settlement, *Vring* sent to the president of *Barbados* the letter he had received from *Feuquieres* on that head. The president, upon this, dispatched *William Boteler*, Esq; with a letter to *Martinico* for the *French* governor there, remonstrating against the opposition which *Vring* had met with upon the island, mixed with some menaces: but all was to no purpose. *Feuquieres* persisted in his resolution to act according to the letter of his instructions, and the commanders of the *English* men of war that were then in the *West-Indies*, hesitated to give *Vring* any assistance. This patriotic conduct is not easily to be accounted for, but by either supposing that those commanders did not think themselves warranted in commencing hostilities with the *French*, or that they had received secret instructions from the *English* admiralty to act as they did; but, indeed, the whole management of this expedition is dark and unaccountable. Nothing, however, was wanting on the part of the *Barbadians* to render the settlement successful. The president assembled the council, and understanding that captain *Brown*, of the *Feverham* man of war, had returned a very doubtful answer to *Vring's* request of assistance, *Cox* sent him a letter, in pursuance of his instructions, offering him, on the part of the island, all the aid he could require for making the duke of *Montague's* settlement good.

good. This letter proved to be of no service, for the French pushed *Vring* so briskly, that they drove him off *St. Lucia*; nor did he succeed better at *St. Vincent*, which he afterwards endeavoured to settle: Upon the arrival of Mr. *Worsey* at *Barbados*, he was congratulated by *de Feuquieres* in a letter which contained some reflecting expressions upon *Vring's* attempt. Mr. *Worsey*, in one paragraph of his letter, in answer to *Feuquieres*, dated the 12th. of February, 1722-3, tells him, "since you are pleased to communicate to me your conduct in the affair of *St. Lucia*, I must say I have a very great esteem for every officer that punctually obeys his master's orders; and had I been in my government when this affair happened, I should have used my utmost endeavours to have maintained the duke of *Montague* in the possession of those islands, to which the king my master has an incontestable right."

Mr. *Worsey* appears to have carried with him to *Barbados* strong prepossessions against Mr. *Cox*, the president, and Mr. *Lowther*, the gentlemen who had opposed Mr. *Lowther*, but he conducted himself with so much address, that neither party thought him their enemy, and therefore both courted him for their friend. Add to this, that many gentlemen of great consequence in the island blamed both parties, and sincerely wished to see an end put to their civil dissensions. All this operated favourably for the governor, who was well supported at home, and the assembly was brought to agree to grant him the enormous revenue of 6000*l.* a year. Their reasons, as afterwards appeared, for this liberality were, an expectation that all their grievances should be redressed, and their depending upon the governor's promise, "that he would be satisfied with that settlement, and make no other demand upon the public during his government." This great point being gained by the governor, and half a crown a head being laid on each negro for defraying it, he proceeded to his enquiries into the state of the island before his accession. A strong charge was urged against the conduct of Mr. *Cox*, who was accused, among other things, of insolent language in the council; but he retrepinated upon his opponents, by pleading that their behaviour had been undutiful and unwarrantable. He was likewise accused of having called too many councils, to the great molestation of the members; but he shewed that this was owing to their own non-attendance, by their factiously absenting themselves when any business of importance was to be done. Lastly, he was charged with the like misbehaviour for which Mr. *Lowther* had been censured, in his arbitrary commitments to prison, particularly of one *Macmalone*,

*Macmahone*, a lawyer, and one of his keenest opponents. Mr. Cox's answer to this was, that *Macmahone*, by his outrageous disrespectful behaviour, for which he was afterwards convicted before a jury, had drawn the commitment upon himself, and that he had suffered very justly.

*He censures Cox.* BUT the very able defence which Mr. Cox and his lawyers urged, had no effect upon the governor; who, having closed the process, reserved the decision of it to himself; and Mr. Cox petitioning him to know his fate, received from Mr. Hammond, his excellency's secretary, the following declaration. "His excellency commands me to acquaint you, in answer to your petition in which you have pray'd a copy of the judgment his excellency had given in your affair, that upon his hearing the evidences on both sides, he did determine, that you had acted corruptly, arbitrarily, and illegally; and, therefore, he not only removed you from being of his majesty's council here, but also declared you incapable of ever being one. And that it was his farther opinion, you ought to be prosecuted in the manner that the nature of the crimes proved against you required. I am, with very great respect, Sir, your most humble servant." This censure did Mr. Worlesley very little service. It exasperated all the friends of Mr. Cox against him, and the tax which had been laid upon negroes for the payment of his salary, was now so cruelly felt by all ranks and degrees upon that island, that there was a kind of general coalition of parties against paying it.

THIS was in a great measure owing to the indolence of the English government, which had suffered the French and the Dutch plantations in the West-Indies to cut the English, and the people of Barbados particularly, out of the sugar and rum trade, which was almost the sole means of their subsistence. The great imposts which the Barbados trade lay under, disabled the planters there from sending their sugars, rum, and molasses, so cheap to market as their rivals could afford to do; so that the latter carried on a prodigious trade with the English colonies in North America, who supplied them with great quantities of provisions, without which their islands could not have subsisted. The French likewise undersold the English in all the European markets; for they sent their commodities not only to France, Germany, Holland, the Straights, and other countries on the continent of Europe, but to Ireland itself, and all this, by means of the small duties they paid; while the English planters were bound down by the navigation and other acts to send their sugars first to England, which created an immense additional charge by their loss of time and enhancing their freights. But this grievance was in some measure

*Dissad-*  
*vantages*  
*of the Bar-*  
*badians.*

sore remedied (though the trade, even after that, lay under great clogs) by a British act of parliament enabling them to send their sugars to other ports as well as to England. The advantage the French had over them in this respect was so great, that the planters themselves and merchants in Barbados brought sugars cheaper from Martinico than they could expect them from their own islands. Those hardships were too severe to be longer endured, and at last the Barbadians laid their complaints before the British government, but without effect; though they proved, at the same time, that their island paid 10,000*l.* a year to the unappropriated revenue, and 50,000*l.* in customs.

THE council, the assembly, and the people of Barbados, who are resentful their disappointment in not obtaining their redress of grievances; but they could not get rid of the exorbitant salary which they had voted to their governor. The complaints they transmitted to England on this occasion, have something in them very striking, and serve to shew the deplorable state of the island at this period. They represented, that when his excellency Henry Worlsey, Esq<sup>r</sup>, took his administration of this government upon him, the gentlemen of this island, having for many years before been harassed with parties and divisions, in hopes to put an end to the same, and to obtain the redress of several grievances, were wrought upon to submit to a settlement of 6000*l.* sterling per annum on the said governor during his residence here; yet, notwithstanding this extravagant settlement, the island was so far from reaping any advantage from their indiscreet generosity, that, on the contrary, the public good had been entirely neglected, and no measures taken to redress the grievances of the island; but his excellency and his creatures had thereby been the better enabled, and more at leisure to oppress the inhabitants; the militia had been entirely neglected; the forts, breast-works, and batteries were gone to ruin; the public stores were embezzled and wasted; and all persons in office under his excellency busied in nothing but how to raise fortunes from the ruins of the people. To complete this dreadful view of the hardships they suffered under their governor, they added, that the said grievances, and many others tending to the impoverishing and ruin of the island, were still the more insupportable, from the dismal apprehensions his majesty's subjects here lie under in case of a war, the forts and fortifications of the island having gone to ruin, warlike stores of all kinds necessary for the defence of the island being wholly wanted, and no possibility of purchasing a sufficient quantity of powder and other stores; and the inhabitants not in a

condition of bearing the necessary charges, either of buying powder sufficient were the same to be purchased; or repairing the forts and fortifications, while the heavy tax which they had for so many years paid, chiefly for his excellency's use, was continued; by which tax almost all the current cash of this island was annually brought together, and hoarded in his excellency's coffers, trade was stagnated, and the value of the produce of the island was very considerably lowered, to the vast damage of the distressed inhabitants, who were forced to part with their goods at any price, to raise their quota of a tax, not only heavy in itself, but much more so in regard of the ill effects it had upon trade and the markets in the colony.

*Complaints against the governor.*

BESIDES this general representation, a great many private complaints against the governor were sent over by particular merchants, representing their grievances, of which they could get no redress upon the island, because of the servility of the council towards the governor, which rendered it hazardous even to petition him for relief. Among other matters, it was asserted, that he had demanded and received at one time 2000*l.* for the repairs of his house, notwithstanding his engagement to bring no farther burden upon the island than the payment of his salary. The governor, on the other hand, made a vigorous defence to all those charges; and his agents baffled them all before the Board of Trade. In this he was greatly assisted not only by the council, but by the grand jury, which is supposed to be the mouth of the common people of the island, and who presented an address applauding his conduct, and condemning that of his opponents. About the same time, the council had ordered some amendments to be made to the excise-bill, as prepared by the assembly. The council had loaded it with many gratifications to particular persons, for services performed in *England* not specified; a compliance with which the assembly thought to be unreasonable and unjust to their constituents; and therefore demanded, that the merits of the several parties should be enquired into before the money was granted; but the government interest in *England* got the better of this and all other objections to the liberality of the council, though not without considerable difficulty. In short, the abuses of patent places granted to those who never had been in the island, were acknowledged and universally condemned; but never redressed. The complaints, however, that were sent over upon those occasions were so frequent, and so well supported, that the government of Great-Britain became sensible of the necessity, on its own account, of looking more narrowly

rowly than ever into the affairs of *Barbados*. Mr. *Worsley*, the governor, found such difficulty in receiving his salary, that the island was near 20,000*l.* in debt to him, and he was obliged to employ legal methods to recover it. Upon his return to *England* in 1732, the government devolved upon *Samuel Berwick*, Esq; president of the council. It was under this gentleman's wise and moderate administration that the *British* ministry first applied in earnest to the relief of *Barbados*. Hardships and oppression had reconciled all parties upon the island, so that the *English* government was no longer under any doubt as to the preference of clashing representations; for all concurred in their sentiments as to the interest and distresses of the island; and a petition to the throne, entitled, "The humble petition of the planters, traders, and other inhabitants, of your majesty's island of *Barbados*," was sent over to *England*, representing, "That within these few years, great improvements have been made by the *Dutch* and *French* in their sugar colonies, and great and extraordinary encouragements have been given to them, not only from their mother-countries, but also from a pernicious trade carried on by them to and from *Ireland*, and the northern *British* colonies; and the *French* do now, from the produce of their own sugar-colonies, effectually supply with sugar not only *France* itself, but *Spain* also, and a great part of *Ireland*, and the *British* northern colonies; and have to spare for *Holland*, *Germany*, *Italy*, and other parts of *Europe*: and the *French* and *Dutch* colonies have lately supplied the northern *British* colonies with very large quantities of molasses, for the making of rum and other uses, to the vast prejudice of your majesty's sugar-colonies. As rum is a commodity, and which, next to sugar, they mostly depend upon, and they have in return for such sugar, rum, and molasses, shipping, horses, boards, slaves, hoops, lumber, timber for building, fish, bread, bacon, corn, flour, and other plantation necessaries, at easier rates than your majesty's subjects of the sugar-colonies have. For the continual supplies received by the *Dutch* and *French* from the *British* northern colonies, have enabled them to put on and maintain a great number of slaves on their plantations, and to enlarge their sugar-works, and make new settlements in new fertile soils; and, at the same time, cost little, being now purchased chiefly with molasses, which, before this late intercourse between the foreign colonies and the northern *British* colonies, were flung away as of no value."

THOSE allegations were all of them self-evident, and too notorious to be contradicted. Add to this, that the *French* and

who obtain some redress.

and Dutch colonies paid but one per cent. of duty for the sugars they exported to foreign parts. To remedy the hardships arising to the *Barbadians* from so many different causes, they proposed, that no foreign sugar, rum, or molasses, should be imported into any of the British northern colonies, or into *Ireland*, without being first imported into *Great Britain*; that thus the British sugar-colonies might be at least on a footing with their neighbours. This petition was taken into very serious consideration; foreign rum, sugar, and molasses, were entirely prohibited from being imported into *Ireland*, without being first landed in *Great Britain*. Foreign sugars, rum, and molasses, imported into any of our northern or southern colonies, were subjected to heavy duties, and certain restrictions were established, under which no sugar-colonies were at liberty to carry sugars to all the foreign parts of *Europe*. Other encouragements were likewise given to the petitioners. We are not to forget that this revival of unanimity and public spirit among the *Barbadians*, was, in a great measure, owing to a printing-press, which, at that time, was set up at *Bridge-Town* and every week published a paper, in which the most understanding inhabitants of the island had an opportunity of inserting essays and letters concerning the most important interests of their commerce.

Lord Howe,  
governor.

BUT the British ministry, who consulted the good of *Barbados*, chiefly, perhaps, on account of the rights which themselves received from it, by the patent, or other, place it furnished, and which it was at this time no longer at all in support, did not think it sufficient to have had the relief above-mentioned, without putting it in a while, under a mild, disinterested, and generous administration. For this purpose, the lord Howe was appointed to this government; and he arrived there with his lady, the *Royal* man of war on the 11th of April, 1733. A few days after, he met the assembly, and his speeches and behaviour to them were of so very different a cast from those of their late governor, that the *Barbadians* formed the highest opinion of his present and future administration, in which their most sanguine expectations were exceeded. The only discontent that appeared on the island, was among a few practising lawyers, who apprehended their exorbitant fees would be reduced under an equitable administration. So pacific a period affords but little matter for history to transmit. The *Barbadian*, unable to furnish his lordship with the same exorbitant salary that had been settled on his predecessor, gave him to the utmost of what their circumstances could afford, which was 4000*l.* a year; and which he generously spent upon the island,

island, with a large addition of his own revenue. But all his lordship's virtues could not extinguish certain private animosities which still subsisted there, and in a quarrel that happened at Bridge-Town, in which several gentlemen on both sides were engaged, one of them, Keeling, happened to be killed; upon which, some of the others, among whom was Macmahone, the turbulent lawyer, left the island, a bill of indictment being prepared against them. The parties afterwards surrendered themselves, and Macmahone alone was found guilty of manslaughter.

On the 27th of March, 1735, the lord Howe, who had *His death.* been for some days ill of a fever, died, to the inexpressible grief of all the island. Their sorrow for this loss was expressed in the most affecting manner, and never was there an experiment made with so much success, of what importance the right choice of a governor is to the prosperity of that or any other of our sugar-islands. The good understanding between the governor, the council, and the assembly, produced the very best effects for the mother-country, as well as the colony. As he had not resided as governor in the island above two years, he had rather suffered than gained in his private fortune by his commission. The council, and the assembly, then took an early opportunity, after his death, to express their sense of the great benefits they had received under his administration; for Mr. Dottin, as president of the council, succeeding him in the government, called them together, and having, in a meeting of them, recited the vast loss they had sustained by his lordship's death, he proposed the making a hand-over to his widow, who had of herself acquired a most enviable character in the island. A bill was accordingly brought in, and being passed unanimously, was entitled, "An act to better to manifest the gratitude of the people in this island, for the benefits they received from the just and prudent administration of his late excellency." By this act, 2500*l.* was granted to her ladyship, for her use, and for the payment of such debts as his lordship might have contracted upon the island. Soon after, her ladyship sailed for England, with the corps of her lord. The remaining part of Mr. Dottin's administration was employed in settling the fees for the several officers of the island, a measure of the utmost importance to the inhabitants, and in other acts of the same salutary public nature. Though his administration was active and irreproachable, yet he was contented with a settlement of 600*l.* per annum, during its continuance; a sum which, it is evident, did not exceed his expenses.

proof at what an easy expence the business of government may be carried on.

*Dottin, president.* MR. DOTTIN's administration continued in a calm, equitable strain; from the death of lord Howe to the year 1739, when the honourable Robert Byng, Esq; son to the lord Torrington, governor, and elder brother to the late unfortunate admiral of the same name, was appointed governor of *Barbados*. The war having broke out, at that time, between Great Britain and Spain, the new-governor's equipages were unfortunately taken at sea by the enemy, and the assembly generously made him a present of 2500*l.* as an indemnification for his loss. It does not appear that the *Barbadians* held Mr. Byng in the same degree of esteem and affection as they had done his predecessor the lord Howe; and some altercation happened between him and the assembly on account of his salary, which at last was fixed at no more than 2000*l.* a year. The short time of his administration was chiefly distinguished by the spirit which the *Barbadians* discovered and exerted, against the enemies of Great Britain, and in the large sums they expended in putting their forts in order, and making the necessary dispositions against them and the French in case of invasion. In the month of July, the *Shoreham* man of war arrived at *Barbados*, with orders for reprisals upon the *Spaniards*, which were received by the *Barbadians* with the utmost joy; but it was thought they would have been more effectual, had they not been published with so much ostentation, that the *Spaniards* were put upon their guard. As the war was not yet proclaimed with France, it was common for the *Barbadians*, as usual, to visit *Martinica*; and a misunderstanding happening between captain Reddith, commander of the *Anglesey* man of war, and the captain of a French man of war, some of the principal *Barbadians* were taken by the Frenchman's boat; but, by the firmness of the English commander, they were soon set at liberty, and the offenders obliged to ask pardon. Notwithstanding this, it is certain, that besides the loss of the ship *Dolphin*, captain Rhimes commander, which carried governor Byng's baggage, and a very valuable cargo besides, the *Barbadians* sustained great loss by the Spanish privateers: but, in a short time, they made themselves ample amends, by covering the seas with a number of their own privateers, who carried into the island great numbers of rich Spanish prizes.

*His death.* GOVERNOR BYNG died at *Barbados* in 1740, before he had been quite a year in his office. His administration was allowed to have been inoffensive; and he shewed no mean talents for government. Two days after his death, the assembly

sembly met, and came to a resolution not to make any settlement whatever upon a future governor. By this resolution, we are given to understand, that the *Barbadians* thought they had been ill-treated by their former governors, on account of their independency; and that they were resolved from thenceforth to proportion their rewards to their behaviour. Mr. *Byng* was succeeded in his government by Sir *Thomas Robinson*, 1743. This gentleman, upon his arrival at *Barbados*, had likewise some disputes concerning his salary; but they were soon compromised. His behaviour, during his administration, was universally allowed to have been affable and unexceptionable; but the ministry of *England* being altered, he was in the year 1746 recalled, and succeeded by *Henry Grenville*, Esq; nephew to the lord *Cobham*, and brother to the pre-<sup>Mr. Grenville, go-</sup>sentinel *Temple*. This gentleman, after his arrival in the island, <sup>governor.</sup> had little or no dispute about his salary, which is said to have amounted to 3000*l.* a year; and he is reported to have understood the commercial interest of the island better than any of its former governors.

THE island of *Tobago*, which, as we have already seen, had been always named in the commission of the governor of *Barbados*, was, by the peace of *Ais la Chapelle*, in 1748, stipulated to be neutral. The *French*, by an incredible effort of assurance and perfidy, privately sent orders to the marquis de *Caylus*, their then governor of *Martinica*, to settle this <sup>the little</sup> *island*, which they accordingly had begun to do, when their *Tobago* design was made known to Mr. *Grenville*, the governor of <sup>by the</sup> *Barbados*. He immediately ordered captain *Tyrrel* to visit that <sup>French</sup> island in a frigate, and to learn the truth of the report. The captain, on his arrival at *Tobago*, found, that three hundred men had already landed there, under the protection of two men of war, and two batteries, and every hour expecting farther reinforcements for carrying their design into execution. Mr. *Grenville*, not to be wanting in the duties of his commission, had sent a proclamation, which had been stuck up in the chief posts of the island of *Tobago*, commanding the *French* to evacuate the same, upon the pain of military discipline in thirty days time. *De Caylus*, on the other hand, published an ordonance, authorizing his master's subjects to continue in, and settle on, the same, and promised them assistance and protection against all who should attempt to dispossess them. As *Tobago* is, of itself, about the largeness of *Barbados*, besides a lesser island lying near it, and admitted of prodigious improvement, through the richness of its soil, the *French* would have carried a great point had they completed their settlement. Captain *Tyrrel* informed their

officers, that their attempt was a direct breach of treaties, especially that of *Aix la Chapelle*; and that, if they did not desist from their intended settlement, he would employ force to oblige them. It is a little surprising on this occasion, when we consider how positive the stipulation for the neutrality of this island was by the treaty of *Aix la Chapelle*, that a sufficient force was not fitted out to act offensively, especially as the French did not offer to justify their procedure. So far from that, the commanders of their two ships of war, when night came on, made the best of their way to *Martinico*; and the English captain having executed all that he had in charge, returned to *Barbados*.

IT was not long after this, before Mr. Grenville had an opportunity of transmitting a full account of this transaction to *England*, where it no sooner became public, than a vast indignation appeared among all ranks of subjects. The peace of *Aix la Chapelle* itself had not been universally approved of by the nation, and this daring violation of it was resented by all parties. Instructions were sent to the English envoy at *Paris* to make the proper representations on that head. The French ministry were prepared for this, and endeavoured to shew that Mr. Grenville's proceeding had been too hasty, and was unwarrantable. *Puyfieux*, one of their ministers, had even the insolence to hint, that the French having been in possession of *Tobago* towards the middle of the last century, it could not be properly considered as a neutral island. Being driven from this argument, he pretended that all that *de Caylus* designed, was to secure to the French a liberty of wooding and watering upon the island; but a copy of the original order of *Caylus* being produced, a dispatch was immediately sent off, commanding him to discontinue the settlement, and to evacuate *Tobago* of its new inhabitants. The plan of the English ministry, at that time, undoubtedly, was to keep well with *France*, of whose power, as we since have seen by experience, they had conceived too high an idea. The opposition in the house of commons believing that the French would not have attempted so flagrant a breach of the peace without some tacit encouragement from the British ministry, and receiving daily intimations that the French intended to settle the other neutral islands, as well as *Tobago*; an address to his majesty was moved for in the house of commons, that he would be graciously pleased to give directions for laying before the house copies of the instructions given to the governors of *Barbados* for ten years last past, so far as they related to those neutral islands. This motion was opposed by the then minister Mr. Pelham, as having an undutiful

dutiful tendency against the prerogative; and the motion was over-ruled.

THE people of Barbados, all this while, continued in great *The Barbadians* tranquillity. The publication of the French orders, revoking their settlement of Tobago, gave them infinite satisfaction; <sup>affit in the</sup> and the daily encrease of their trade perfectly reconciled them <sup>expedition</sup> to their government both there and in Great Britain; nor <sup>against</sup> Martini- to mention, that the vast number of prizes brought to their co. island increased their riches and importance. The time for Mr. Grenville's government being expired, he was, at the recommendation of the first lord of trade in England, succeeded by Dr. Pinfold, an eminent civilian, who still holds Pinfold, that government. During this gentleman's administration, <sup>governor</sup>, the inhabitants of Barbados bore no mean share in the glorious events which distinguished the British arms during the latter part of the last, and the beginning of the present reign. A resolution having been formed to reduce the island of Martinico, which had been at all times so formidable to the Barbadians, the same was communicated to their governor, and they entered into it with a spirit and ardor hardly to be paralleled in the English West-Indies; for they immediately ordered a large body of volunteers to be raised and disciplined at their own expence. They were greatly encouraged in this by a memorial presented to the French king by the chief inhabitants of Martinico, in which they represented their island as being in the most distressful circumstances, and as having been abandoned by its mother-country. Captain Hughes had sailed from St. Helen's on the 12th of November 1758, to join commodore Moore, who was then lying at Cur-  
lisle Bay in Barbados. Hughes carried with him eight sail of the line, one frigate, four bomb-ketches, with six regiments of infantry, and a detachment of artillery in sixty transports, besides 800 mariners distributed through the ships of war. The land forces were commanded by major-general Haffen, <sup>Account of</sup> an officer of judgment and experience, but thought not to be of sufficient activity for the command of such an expedi- <sup>the unsuc-</sup> <sup>tion a-</sup> <sup>gainst</sup> <sup>Martini-</sup> tion. He had under him major-general Barrington, the co-  
lonels Armiger and Haldane, with the lieutenant-colonels Martini- Trapaud and Clovering, who acted as brigadiers. This squa- co-  
dron, in seven weeks and three days, arrived at Barbados; where Mr. Hughes resigned his command to commodore Moore. The governor, council, and assembly of Barbados, immedi- ately before this junction, had given directions for the inhab- itants to furnish every thing that was in their power to ren- der the expedition successful. Proclamations for that purpose were issued, the number of the volunteers augmented, and

to save the labour as much as possible of the regulars, the *Barbadians* presented every ship with forty negroes for drawing the artillery. The whole of the troops did not exceed 5000 men; but before they left *Barbados*, they were joined by 200 highlanders of lord *John Murray's* regiment, under the convoy of the *Ludlow Castle* man of war. The whole armament sailed on the 30th of *January*; but the men were in a sickly condition, through diseases occasioned by the heat of the climate.

THOUGH *Martinico* was the first and chief object of this expedition, yet it was intended for the reduction of all the *Caribbee Islands*. *Martinico* itself lies in the latitude of 14 degrees and 30 minutes north; and through the natural indentments, which the *French* call *Cul de sacs*, that run along its shores, and are extremely dangerous, on account of their sand, discernible only at low-water-mark, is very difficult of access, and the more so, as all the approachable posts of its coasts were strongly fortified. Though it does not extend above fourteen leagues in length, and seven in breadth, yet it is by far the most considerable of all the *French Caribbees*; and the chief reason why their government had neglected it so much as it did, was, because they thought that nature and art had rendered it impregnable. Besides the difficulties we have already mentioned the *English* were to overcome, a ridge of almost impassable mountains runs quite through the island north-west and south-east, and all the space on both sides those mountains are intersected with deep gorges, which are very difficult to be passed, through the impetuosity of the water which pour'd through them in the rainy seasons. The chief fortifications of the island were the citadel of *Port-Royal*, and the town of *St. Pierre*, both which, especially the first, were regularly fortified. *Port-Royal* is the capital of the island, and is situated at the bottom of a bay of that name. As to the other defences of the island, they consisted of a body of regulars, then upon it, and a numerous well-disciplined militia, which the *French* had always accounted to be invincible by all the force the *English* could bring against them; and, indeed, their government had spared no pains to render the island populous. They likewise could bring into the field a very considerable body of negroes, the best of any in the *West Indies*, because well-affected to their masters, most of them having been born upon the Island; but, to the reproach of the *French* government, the place in all other respects was unprovided with necessaries, even to its wanting water and ammunition. At a place called *Cafenovire*, they had thrown up some intrenchments, thinking the descent would be attempted there. On the 15th of *January*, the *English*

*British* squadron entered the bay of *Port-Royal*, and was somewhat annoyed by a battery about half-way up the bay, from the little island of *Ranieres*. Upon the advance of the *English*, a *French* ship of 74 guns, and two frigates, put themselves under the protection of the citadel ; but the two frigates escaped in the night. The first operation of the *English* was to attack the battery of *Port Negro*, which they soon mastered, and then they destroyed the other battery at *Casenavire* ; upon which, the *French* troops, which had been drawn up to oppose the debarkation, retired to the citadel, and the *English* landed without any molestation, and took post in the island.

It happened fortunately for them, that the *French* general of the island had neither experience nor courage answerable to such a command ; and it was as fortunate for the islanders, that the *British* officers either had no good understanding among themselves, or had formed no settled plan of operations ; at least it appears that they were entirely ignorant of the nature of the island they were attempting to reduce. The vivacity of the islanders supplied the defects of their general. They plied the *English* as they lay under arms all night from their musketry, under the shelter of their woods. They had broken up all the roads, and next day, as the *English* advanced to an eminence called *Morne Tortneon*, which overlooked the town and citadel of *Port-Royal*, they lost abundance of men from the fire of the *French*, without being able to perceive from whence it came. Though this eminence was the most considerable post of the island, yet the *French* general had neglected to fortify it, and was preparing to blow up the fortifications of the citadel, when general *Hopson* drew off from the attack, and all the *British* troops were reembarked within less than four and twenty hours after their landing. The reason given for this unaccountable resolution, was, that the troops could not advance regularly ; and that the naval officers could not undertake to land the heavy artillery so near to the fort as the general required. It is said, that when this resolution was taken, the principal inhabitants found themselves in so miserable a situation, through their want of cannon and ammunition, and the cowardice of their general, that they were deliberating in the lower house of *Port-Royal* about sending to the *English* terms of capitulation.

WHEN the *British* troops were reembarked, it was proposed in a council of war to attack *St. Pierre*, where about forty sail of merchant-ships lay at anchor in the bay. This proposal was opposed by the *British* commodore for reasons which operate equally against any enterprise of danger ; and

he gave it, as his opinion, that the armament should proceed immediately to the reduction of *Guadalupe*; in the mean time, that no charge of backwardness might lie against him, he gave directions for sounding the bay of *St. Pierre*. Captain *Jekyl*, in the *Rippon*, was at the same time ordered to silence a battery, about a mile and a half to the northward of *St. Pierre*, which he did very gallantly; but his ship received such damage from two other batteries, and was in such danger of running aground, that orders were given for towing her off. All thoughts of any operation being effectual against *Martinico* being now at an end, the armament directed its course towards the island of *Guadalupe*; an object not so splendid, but more important than *Martinico* itself. It is one of the *Caribbee Islands*, lying about thirty leagues to the westward of *Martinico*, and is about fifteen leagues in length, and twelve in breadth; or, to speak more exactly, the whole forms two islands, divided from one another by a salt water river, which is about 300 feet over where it is widest.

*Expedition of the English against Guadalupe.* THOUGH *Guadalupe* was one of the oldest settlements the French had in the *West-Indies*, and its intrinsic value even exceeding that of *Martinico*, yet its importance was little known to the French themselves till after the treaty of *Utrecht*, or to us till after we had conquered it. The expence which the French government had been at in settling and fortifying *Martinico*, and the private interests of their governors and creatures in the *West-Indies*, rendered *Guadalupe* of little public consideration compared to *Martinico*; and the people there could only trade with *Europe* but by the way of *Martinico*; so that the English in general imagined that all the rich produce of *Guadalupe*, in sugars and other commodities that came to *Europe*, belonged to *Martinico*. The western division of *Guadalupe*, which is known by the name of *Basse Terre*, but commonly called *Guadalupe*, is its "principal, and contains the metropolis, with a citadel and other fortifications. The eastern division, which is called *Grond Terre*, has in it little or no fresh water; but it is defended by a fort and redoubt, called *Fort Lewis*, which commands the road of *Gosier*. No place in the world is better furnished with fresh water or rivers than the western division. *Guadalupe* abounds in high hills; of which one is a volcano, but presents one of the most beautiful landscapes to the eye that nature exhibits. The plains are fertile to profusion in sugar, cotton, coffee, indigo, and ginger. The air is remarkably salubrious for an island that lies between the tropics, and it is seldom mentioned but as being one of the most desirable spots in the *West-Indies*. Two small islands, called *All Saints* and *Desirade*, on

on the eastern side of *Guadalupe*, belong to its government; and besides all the advantages we have already mentioned, the woods of the island produce great plenty of game, and the plains all kinds of roots and vegetables for the common uses of life.

IT was the 23d of January when the *English* fleet came before the town of *Basse Terre* (for so the capital of *Guadalupe* is called); and it was resolved to attack the citadel, *Basse Terre*. town, and other batteries, which all together composed a most formidable fortification, from the ships. Four large men of war were brought to bear upon the citadel, while the rest were disposed of so as to act against the town, and the batteries which opposed the landing. Captain *Trelawney*, in the *Lion*, began the engagement by attacking a battery of nine guns. It was not long before the firing became general and dreadful. It was incessant from nine in the morning till night; but, in the mean while, the continual showers of bombs which seconded the cannonade, and which fell into the town, set it on fire; and the flames being increased by the rich but combustible materials they met with in the warehouses, nothing could be more dreadful than the prospect it presented all along the shore. Never did the commanders of an *English* fleet exert themselves with more intrepidity, and at the same time with more judgment, than they did on this occasion. The captains *Leslie*, *Burnet*, *Gayton*, *Jekyl*, *Trelawney*, and *Shuldam*, distinguished themselves in an extraordinary degree. The *Burford* and *Berwick* being driven to sea, captain *Shuldam* in the *Panther* was for some time unsustained; and the ship of captain *Jekyl*, after silencing the guns of one of the forts, running aground, was for some time exposed to a severe fire of musketry from a numerous and resolute militia, which lined the shore, and who, bringing up an eighteen-pound cannon, must have destroyed the ship, had not captain *Leslie*, in the *Bristol*, ran between it and the battery, and thereby saved her. Towards night, all the guns of the citadel and batteries were silenced; and at five in the afternoon next day, the *British* troops, after their ships had taken many of those of their enemies, who endeavoured to make their escape, landed, and took possession of the town and citadel, which they found entirely abandoned. It is said, that this success was not a little owing to the wisdom of the *British* commodore, who, by shifting his flag into the *Well-wich* frigate, and by keeping aloof without gun-shot, that he might give directions with the greater coolness, taught the officers under him that prudence ought to unite with courage in the character of a commander in chief.

A GENOISE deserter, who fell into the hands of the British troops, informed them, that the regulars upon the island did not exceed 100 men, who had retired with so much precipitation, that they could not execute a design they had of blowing up the powder-magazine in the citadel, which was accordingly saved, and most of the enemy's great guns were rendered serviceable by the matrofles, who drilled out the nails with which they had been spiked. But the taking of *Basse-Terre* was far from reducing the island, the nature of which was such, that it might have been defended foot by foot. When *Basse-Terre* was no longer tenable, the governor, *Nadur D'Etrel*, retired with about 2000 of the inhabitants and the armed negroes to the strong passes, particularly one in the mountains, called *Dos d'Ane*, the *Ape's Back*, which was deemed impregnable, and the most important in the island, as it opened a communication with *Capesterre*, the principal and most beautiful district of all *Guadalupe*. Here they assembled, and the governor gave out that he would defend it to extremity. The British commanders, being informed of the enemy's situation, sent a flag of truce with offers of capitulation to the governor. His answer was, that they were not to form a judgment of the strength of the island from the facility with which they had reduced *Basse-Terre* and its citadel; and that if they proceeded to unwarrantable extremities, he had a master powerful enough to revenge them.

*Cowardice of the French governor,* THIS behaviour of *D'Etrel* carried with it a shew of resolution; but his cowardly retiring from the defence of *Basse-Terre*, and his subsequent conduct, sufficiently evinced the small affection the French court had paid to the choice of their *West-Indian* governors. His cowardice was partly supplied by the spirit and resolution of the inhabitants and militia. Both they and their armed negroes kept up from their woods a constant fire upon the scouting parties of the English, even while their habitations were all on fire round them, and were not afraid of even encountering them upon an equality. A lady of fortune, one *Ducharmey*, signalized herself in person, at the head of her negroes, and obliged the English, who lost twelve soldiers, besides thirty who were wounded in the attack, to storm the intrenchments she had thrown up in defence of her estate. It was now the 6th of February, and the reduction of the island seemed still to be at a great distance. The islanders had formed a most sensible plan of defence, which was, to take every advantage of the strength and knowledge they had of the ground, by cutting off their enemies whenever they saw an opportunity. They knew, at the same time, that the British army was sickly, and

and but indifferently furnished with provisions ; so that above 500 were obliged to be sent sick from their hospitals, which were too crowded to contain them, to the island of *Antigua* ; and they shewed so much resolution in all encounters, that the English officers resolved to shift their scene of action to *Grand Terre*, to which their great ships were accordingly sent round ; and a body of their marines and highlanders, after a severe cannonading and driving the French sword in hand from their intrenchments, took possession of *Fort Lewis*.

SOME days after this, *viz.* on the 27th of February, major-general *Hopson* died at *Basse Terre*, and was succeeded in the chief command of the army by general *Barrington*, an officer of far greater enterprize and activity. The commodore had ordered two ships of war to cruise off the Dutch island of *St. Eustatia*, and to intercept all the supplies and provisions with which those mercenary republicans had hitherto furnished the inhabitants of *Guadalupe*. *Barrington*, on the first day of his command, ordered the British troops to strike their tents, the better to amuse the enemy ; and, in a few days after, he recalled his detachments from their advanced posts, and ordered the batteries in and about *Basse Terre* to be blown up. The army was then reembarked ; but colonel *Debrisay* was left with a regiment and a detachment of artillery in the citadel of *Basse Terre*. This disposition had all the effects which the British general had foreseen. The enemy, deceived by the reembarkation of the troops, attacked the citadel, and were preparing to besiege it in form, when the brave colonel *Debrisay*, major *Trellop*, a lieutenant, with some bombardiers and soldiers, were unfortunately blown up by the explosion of a powder-magazine, which damaged the south-east bastion of the citadel. Upon this accident, the enemy redoubled their attacks upon the fortifications, but were constantly repulsed ; and general *Barrington*, understanding what had happened, sent major *Melvil*, an officer of great merit, to succeed *Debrisay* in the command of the citadel, and the chief engineer to repair the damage that had been done to its works.

CERTAIN intelligence by this time was come, that M. *de Bonpart*, a French admiral, with eight sail of the line, and three frigates, and a large body of land-forces, were arrived at *Martinico*, where they lay at anchor in the bay of *Port-Royal*. Upon this, Mr. *Moore* called in his cruisers, and set sail for the bay of *Dominica*, an island about nine leagues distant to the windward from *Guadalupe*, leaving general *Barrington* with the transports, and no more than one forty-gun ship for their protection, while he resumed his operations against

against *Guadalupe*. Mr. *Moore's* taking his station at *Dominica*, instead of sailing directly to *Martinico*, where he might either have fought the enemy's squadron, or blocked it up, occasioned many speculations, especially as he left the seas open to the *French* privateers, who, on that occasion, carried prizes into *Martinico* above fourscore *British* ships.

*Gradual conquest of all Guadalupe.* GENERAL *Barrington*, in the mean while, knew what his country expected from the armament under his command, and ordered 600 men to make a new descent upon *Grand Terre*, under colonel *Crump*, who landed between the towns of *St. Anne* and *St. Francis*. Another detachment of 300 men landed, and, after a vigorous resistance, destroyed the battery and entrenchment that defended the town of *Gosier*, and drove its garrison into the woods. The detachments then forced their way to *Fort Lewis*, where an *English* garrison still continued, and which was ordered to sally out to favour their attempt; in which they succeeded with some loss and difficulty. Thus far the way was cleared towards a final reduction of the island, which still seemed to be at a great distance, and the general ordered the colonels *Crump* and *Clovering* to attempt surprising all at once the three towns of *Petitbourg*, *Gonoyave*, and *St. Mary's*, situated on the *Basse-Terre* side of the island. This design, though well laid, miscarried, partly through the tempestuousness of a dark night, and partly through a panic which seized their negroe conductors, who ran their flat-bottom boats upon shoals. This disappointment was far from daunting the ardour of the *British* general and officers, who shewed an alacrity hardly to be paralleled under such difficulties and discouragements as they had to encounter. Some fresh volunteers had, by this time, landed from *Barbados* and the other *English* islands, and general *Barrington* detached the same, two colonels with them, and about 1300 more men, to land in a bay under the protection of the *Woolwich* man of war, near the town of *Arnonville*, which lies at the bottom of the little *Cul de Sac*.

THE absence of the *British* fleet at *Dominica*, was, at this time, sensibly felt by our troops, as the communication between *Guadalupe* and *St. Eustatia* was again open, and furnished the islanders with supplies of all kinds. They had foreseen the descent near *Arnonville*, but had thrown up a very strong entrenchment at a post behind the river *Le Gorne*, which covered the bay *Mahaut*, where their succours from *St. Eustatia* landed. The enemy had neglected nothing that could improve by art the natural strength of this post, upon which, indeed, the defence of their island chiefly depended, and which, perhaps, no troops in the world but *British* could

could have mastered with so inconsiderable a force, *Duroure's* regiment and the highlanders advanced with the greatest intrepidity and coolness to attack it, under the fire of four field-pieces and two howitzers. The enemy had no idea of such resolution, and the assailants drove them from their entrenchments on the left, with vast rapidity, into the redoubt, which they became masters of. The *French* made a better stand within their entrenchments on the right, where they were well provided with cannon and musketry; but the *English* passing the river on that side upon an occasional bridge, they were driven from that post likewise, and about seventy of them, among whom were some of their chief planters, were made prisoners; while the *English* had two officers and thirteen men killed, and about fifty wounded: and the truth is, when we consider the difficulties of the service, and the resolution of the enemy, the loss of our troops on this expedition was but very inconsiderable.

*PETITBOURG* was next to be attacked; and though the banks of the river *Lizard* were strongly fortified by entrenchments and cannon, colonel *Clavering* forced them, and pursued the enemy to *Petitbourg*, from whence he likewise drove them by the assistance of captain *Uvedale* of the *Granada* bomb-ketch. So many dreadful blows seemed to have stunned the *French*, who, on the 15th of April, abandoned the strong post of *Gonoyave*, which, had it been well defended, was next to inaccessible. This important post being gained, colonel *Crump* proceeded with 700 men to the town of *Mahaut*, lying upon the bay of that name. A magazine of stores from *St. Eustatia* lay there; all which he seized, and burnt the place. On the 20th of the same month, colonel *Clavering* made two dispositions of the detachment under his command, one under colonel *Barlow*, to attack the enemy, who were assembled at *St. Mary*, in the rear; and another under himself for forcing their entrenchments, within which, it was given out, they were to make their last stand for the island. The *French* every where gave way to colonel *Barlow*, and retiring into their lines at *St. Mary*, when they saw the *English* endeavouring to turn them, abandoned them likewise to oppose their enemy upon equal terms; but they were soon defeated by a galling fire from the *British* musketry, whose commanders beat them out of all their works, obliged them to abandon their artillery, and took up their quarters for the same night within the lines of *St. Mary*. Nothing was now left to the inhabitants but to obtain as good a capitulation as they could; and, while they were drawing up the terms,

terms, the English troops entered without resistance the country of *Capesterre*, the principal division of the island, where one planter surrendered himself with no fewer than 870 negroes that belonged to his own estate; and his example was followed by many other chief inhabitants.

*Terms of  
the capi-  
tulation it  
obtained.* Two French gentlemen *Clainvilliers* and *Duqueruy*, were chosen by the latter as their deputies, for settling the terms of the capitulation for the inhabitants, and were conducted by colonel *Claverling* to general *Barrington*, who then was at *Petitbourg*. The general, and the chief British officers, were not at this time, as the event shew'd, without some well-grounded apprehensions of the islanders receiving succours from the French armament that had lately arrived at *Martinico*. Every hour was diminishing the small number of British troops, who continued still unprotected by their squadron; and, considering the natural strength of the island, it was hard to say what the event might be, if the inhabitants were driven to despair. The two deputies were authorized to treat by *D'Etreil*, whose commission, as governor, included *Guadalupe*, *Grand Terre*, *Descada*, and the *Saintes*. Very little difficulty attended the settling the capitulation: the honours of war were granted to the governor, who with the other regular officers, the commissary-general, and the officers of the admiralty, were to be sent to *Martinico*; and such of them as had estates upon the island, were at liberty to appoint attorneys to act for them; and in case the island should be left to *Great-Britain* by a peace, they had leave to sell their estates, and to carry off the produce; that all the armed negroes should be sent off the island, with all privateers-men, deserters, and the like; and that the island, with all magazines of provision, ammunition, and implements of war, with the papers relating to the revenue, should be immediately delivered-up to the English.

BESIDES those articles, which related only to the military and royal establishment of the island, another capitulation was drawn up for the inhabitants of the island, represented by Mess. *Debourg*, *De Clainvilliers* and *Duqueruy*, and authorized by *D'Etreil*. This capitulation was of more importance than the former; and the inhabitants, in consideration of the brave defence they had made, during an attack of three months, had the most honourable terms granted them. They were allowed the free and public exercise of their religion; and the priests and religious were to be preserved in their parishes, convents, and all other possessions. The inhabitants were not to be obliged to serve in arms against his most Christian majesty, and were to be indulged in the con-

continuance of their own civil government, and in the possession of all their properties and privileges. They were to be subject to no imposts but those they had paid under the French government, unless the island was finally ceded to his Britannic majesty; in which case, they were to pay the same taxes and imposts as were paid by the *English Leeward-Islands*. All their prisoners were to be exchanged, and their free mulattoes and negroes were to be considered as prisoners of war. None but the inhabitants, actually resident upon the island, were to possess any lands or houses, by purchase, grant, or otherwise, before a peace; but if at the peace the island should be ceded to the king of Great-Britain, then such of the inhabitants as do not chuse to live under the *English government*, shall be permitted to sell their possessions, moveable and immoveable, to whom they will, and retire wherever they please; for which purpose there shall be a reasonable time allowed. This article, which was the eleventh of the capitulation, was granted; but the absentees were at liberty to sell only to *British subjects*. By the 14th article, however, they were to have all the profits of their estates, which they were left at freedom to manage by their attorneyes. By the 16th article it was provided, that the *English government* shall procure for the inhabitants an exportation for such commodities as the island produces, and are not permitted to be imported into *England*. The 21st article, which was of the utmost importance, ran as follows: "The inhabitants and merchants of this island, included in the present capitulation, shall enjoy all the privileges of trade, and upon the same conditions as are granted to his Britannic majesty's subjects throughout the extent of his dominions." This article was granted, with an exception to the privileges of particular companies in *England*, and to the laws there, which prohibit the carrying on trade in any other than *English bottoms*.

SUCH are the material articles which were complained of by the people of *Barbados*, and their correspondents in *England*, as being too favourable to the *French* sugar trade. But the wisdom of granting the capitulation was convinced in a few minutes after it was signed, when a messenger came into the camp of the islanders, informing them, that M. de Beauharnois, general of the *French* islands, had landed under convoy of *Bonpart's* squadron, with a reinforcement of 600 regular troops, about 2000 buccaneers, or rather free-booters, and a vast quantity of arms and ammunition, for the relief of the island. The same hour, however, brought advice, that the *French* officers, hearing of the capitulation being signed, instantly reembarked their men and their stores, and sailed back

to *Martinico*. Few histories afford instances of so critical a transaction as this capitulation proved to be. The inhabitants were far from being diminished in their numbers, and would have still found resources in their courage and the natural strength of their island, had they not been dispirited by the cowardice and misconduct of their governor and military officers. If the succours from *Martinico* had arrived but one hour sooner, it is probable they would have baffled all the power of the *British* troops that were upon the island notwithstanding the incredible efforts of courage and military conduct they had exerted. As to the disappointment the people of *Barbados* met with, however great it was, after their services in promoting the expedition, it did not weigh against the vast national advantages which attended the conquest.

*Merits of the Barbadians.* IT is certain, that many thought the public spirit they displayed on this occasion, was not a little influenced by insular considerations. They had long felt the vast progress which *Guadalupe* had made in the sugar-trade, and which, when compared to that of their own island, might be considered as only in its infancy. The soil of *Barbados* in many places was worn out; it nowhere retained its original fertility, and required great expences to keep it in good condition. Many of their planters were in hopes of being able to make advantageous settlements under the government in *Guadalupe*, and were in a condition to have purchased them; in which case, their estates in *Barbados* would have acquired time for rest, and for recovering their fertility (T). They were disappointed in all those views by the critical capitulation of *Guadalupe*, which at that time was said to produce as much sugar as *Barbados* and all the other *English* sugar-islands.

*Further conquests.* No sooner was the return of *Boupart's* squadron to *Martinico* known, when the inhabitants of *Guadalupe* left the *Dos d'Ane*, and the *English* generously assisted them in the repairing the devastations of *Hasse Terre*, and in erecting huts for their shelter, till their houses could be rebuilt. After this, the islands of *Saintes* and *Desfada*, with *Petitterre*, accepted of the same capitulation which had been granted to *Guadalupe*. The inhabitants of *Marigalante*, an island lying about three

(T) The whole of this reasoning, though very plausible at the time, is extremely questionable, when we consider the vast quantities of sugar-grounds

which the *French* had in *St. Domingo* and other islands, which would be easily employed for that culture.

leagues to the south-east of *Grand Terre*, refusing to accept of the same terms; the general sent thither a body of troops, with three ships of war and two bomb-vessels, which took them under convoy at *Prince Rupert's Bay*, where commodore *Moore* then was; and the appearance of this armament soon reduced the inhabitants to reason. All this while, the operations of the British fleet under commodore *Moore* were not a little unaccountable; for though he had undoubted intelligence, while he lay in *Prince Rupert's Bay*, of *Bonpart's* having sailed to the relief of *Guadalupe*, and though, upon that, he returned to the windward, yet he afterwards fell to the leeward; by which the two squadrons never met, and Mr. *Moore*, at last, receiving advice of *Bonpart's* safe return to *Martinico*, repaired to his former station in the bay. The conquest of *Guadalupe* being finished, colonel *Crumpe*, who had greatly contributed to it, was left governor of the island, colonel *Delvile* had the government of the citadel of *Basse Terre*, and colonel *Delgarno* commanded at *Grand Terre*. Three regiments were left upon the island, and the rest of the troops were reembarked, some for *North America*, and others for *England*.

HAVING thus finished our history of the reduction of *Guadalupe*, upon the authorities of the *London Gazette* and other accounts, which were, at that time, looked upon as unquestionable, we shall, in justice to commodore *Moore*, insert some of his observations, tending to clear up his conduct, which he thought had been too virulently attacked by the people of *Barbados*; because he had been active in preventing the pernicious trade which many of them had carried on, by supplying with stores and provisions<sup>1</sup>, the privateers of *Martinico*, without which they could not have fitted out their ships; especially as Mr. *Moore*, by the disposition of his cruisers, had cut off all communication between *St. Eustatia* and *Martinico*. Mr. *Moore* alledges, that had his advice been taken, the island of *Guadalupe* must have been much sooner reduced than it was; and he endeavours not only to clear himself from every charge of being backward in the service, but affirms, that the expedition against *Guadalupe* was owing to his advice, which was founded on the thorough knowledge he had of the (till then concealed) importance of that island. We shall omit some other observations of less consequence, which Mr. *Moore* has made upon the published narratives of this expedition. He justifies himself for shifting

<sup>1</sup> Continuation of *SIMOLLET'S History of England*, Vol. IV.  
p. 451, &c.

his flag on board the *Woolwich* frigate, by the request of the general, who was in the same frigate, and desired him to be present, that they might advise together; and in the papers he communicated on that head, he seems to have had a very mean opinion of the courage of the inhabitants of *Guadalupe*. But as there appears in the papers and observations that have been published in his name, an evident tendency towards depreciating the merits of the land-service, we can say nothing as to that, and several other allegations. As to his sailing to the bay of *Dominica* upon receiving intelligence of M. *Bompard's* arrival at *Martinico*, though we are no judges of naval operations, yet considering the vast importance of destroying *Bompard's* squadron, we can by no means think them satisfactory, unless the commodore had advanced some other arguments besides his bare opinion, that *Bompard* could not have been attacked in the bay of *Port-Royal*. The consequence discovered, that the not attacking him there, or the shutting him up behind the careenage, hazarded the success of the whole expedition, because if *Bompard* had sailed an hour or two before he did, in all probability it had been ruined; an event of a too dreadful importance to be left to chance, or to the precarious foresight of an officer. The commodore denies, that when colonel *Cruspe* burned the town of *Mahaut*, that any provisions had been landed there since the first invasion of the island, which was owing to the good look-out of his cruisers, and which, he says, obliged a trader of *St. Eustatia* to offer to sell him 10,000 barrels of beef, which he intended for the French market. We apprehend there is little force in this argument, excepting what is due to the credibility of the commodore's own information; because the stores said to be found there by colonel *Cruspe* might have been amassed before the attack of the island. He pretends, that the troops who were landed by *Beaubarbes* did not exceed 600 blacks and whites, and those in a wretched condition, and that by landing his marines on the back of them, they might all of them have been taken prisoners; adding, that the buccaneers existed no where but in imagination, as the date of those adventurers expired above fifty years before this period. All this depends likewise upon the commodore's single assertion. He takes no notice of the arms and ammunition that were landed at the same time, and we have substituted the word free-booters, instead of buccaneers, which entirely removes his objection to their real existence. - That such a landing was effected is undoubted; and when we reflect

upon the spirit shewn by the inhabitants, and that they were still in possession of the *Dos d'Ane*, and several other strong posts of the island, neither the commodore nor any other man can say what the consequence might have been, had not the capitulation been signed. With regard to the other parts of the commodore's defence of his conduct, they do not come under our cognizance, as we do not pretend to pronounce upon the prudence of an officer, nor the operations of a sailor.

The next great expedition which sailed from *Barbados*, and *History of* to which the inhabitants of that island contributed in a most <sup>the con-</sup> eminent degree, was that to *Martinico*. No attempt had <sup>quell of</sup> been made by the English government from the time that <sup>Marti-</sup> *Guadalupe* and its neighbouring islands had been reduced, to <sup>nico.</sup> the period when it was more than suspected that a family compact had been entered into between the courts of *France* and *Spain*, with a view principally of distressing *Great Britain*. It was then foreseen that a rupture between her and *Spain* was unavoidable, and that she was consequently under the necessity of reducing *Martinico*, before she could be in condition to attack *Spain* in her *West Indies*, in case a war with that nation should succeed. From this consideration, the court of *Great Britain* came to a resolution of sending to the *West Indies* an armament superior to any that had ever been seen in those seas, and that it should rendezvous at *Barbados*; and the government and administration of that island having received proper notice of this intention, exerted themselves as they had done before in the expedition against *Guadalupe*, in contributing all they could to the success of the undertaking. The war against the *French* in *North America*, having in the year 1761, been decisively finished in favour of *Great Britain*, it was resolved to employ all the troops that could be spared, after the reduction of *Canada*, upon the expedition against *Martinico*, which the *French* affected to say was impregnable to the British arms, and had already repelled their utmost efforts. Eleven battalions were drawn from *New York*; a considerable draught was made from the garrison of *Belleisle*, and all the troops that had been cantoned in the *Leeward Islands* were ordered to the rendezvous at *Barbados*; and general *Monckton*, who had so gloriously distinguished himself at the conquest of *Quebec*, was appointed to the command of the land-forces, while rear-admiral *Rodney* was to command the marine.

MR. *Rodney* sailed in 1761 from *England*; but soon after his departure, he was separated from the rest of his squadron in a bad gale of wind. After his arrival at *Barbados*

*The vast difficulties attending it.*

on the 22d of November, he was by degrees rejoined by them, and by the 9th of December, all his ships were re-assembled. By the 14th of December, all the troops arrived from *Belleisle*; and by the 24th, general *Monckton* landed with all the *North American* forces. Some days were spent in watering the ships and recruiting the men, in which the inhabitants of *Barbados* contributed all that was in their power. On the 7th of January, the whole armament arrived off *Martinico* at *St. Anne's Bay*, where Sir *James Douglas*, a captain under Mr. *Rodney*, silenced some batteries that were raised on the shore. In this service, the *English* lost the *Raisonable*; but all her men, guns, and stores, were saved. After beating about for some time for a safe landing-place, *Cas de Navires* was pitched upon, and the ships having silenced all the batteries there, the troops landed without opposition, and without the loss of a man, on the 16th. Several skirmishes passed after their landing, but to the disadvantage of the *French*, some of whom were killed. The *English* encamped upon the heights above the *Cas de Navires*; but upon examining the country, they found it stronger, and more inaccessible than *Guadalupe*. The grounds were intersected with gullies and ravines, with rivulets between them at certain distances; and wherever they were passable, the *French* had erected batteries to defend them. Though the regulars upon the island were not very formidable, yet the militia, as also their mulattoes and negroes, were numerous, brave, and well-disciplined, and all of them in arms. The *English* happened to land at a place where those obstructions were greater than any where else in the island. The eyes of their army were bounded by two great eminences, *Morne Tortenson*, and *Morne Garnier*, both of them fortified with the utmost care, though they seemed almost inaccessible by nature. *Morne Tortenson* was the first to be attacked, and batteries were raised to defend the *British* troops in their passing a very wide gully, lying between them and it. Three dispositions were made for the attack. It was begun by the grenadiers under major *Grant*; brigadier *Rufane* with his division, assisted by 1000 seamen in flat-bottomed boats, fell upon the enemy's redoubts along the shore; and brigadier *Walsh* with his brigade and the light-infantry, under colonel *Scott*, after attacking the left of a plantation, were to endeavour to get round the enemy. All those operations were performed with astonishing impetuosity and success. The attack began at break of day, and by nine in the morning, the enemy having been driven from post to post, were obliged to abandon *Morne Tortenson* to the *English*, who were to the last degree ana-

zed.

zed upon viewing its strength and situation, at the dangers they had surmounted, and the numerous redoubts of the French, all of them mounted with cannon. The enemy, after suffering severely, especially from the grenadiers, fled, part of them to *Morne Garnier*, and part of them to *Fort Royal*, the British grenadiers pursuing them to the bridge of that place, where they even made some prisoners.

AFTER this, the general took possession of certain posts that were proper for carrying on the attack against *Morne Garnier*; and on the 25th, he began to erect batteries on *Morne Tortenson* for carrying on that against *Fort Royal*: but here the troops were galled from *Morne Garnier*, and reduced the general to the necessity of erecting batteries to the left, to silence those of the enemy, and to cover the passage of the troops over a ravine. It must be acknowledged, that had the French kept upon the defensive, had they been commanded by brave and steady officers, under a resolute and experienced general, it would have been extremely difficult for the British troops to have surmounted the dangers that now lay before them. But on the 27th, the French presuming that their enemies were entirely discouraged and dispirited, and that they wanted only a pretext to make the best of their way back to their ships, attacked the British light infantry, and colonel *Haviland's* brigade. Here fortune most surprisingly seconded the ardour and intrepidity of our troops, to whom nothing could have happened of such advantage as this attack. They repelled their enemies, they improved their own defensive situation into a most vigorous charge, and being well supported, pursued the enemy across the ravine, where they seized their batteries, and took post even in the enemy's redoubts; and this rout was so happily improved, that by nine at night, *Morne Garnier*, with all its works, was in possession of the English.

NOTHING but the want of proper officers could have induced the French to make so ill-judged an attack, and so disgraceful a retreat; for they left a mortar loaded, and their guns unspared, besides ammunition and provision in the hands of the English. But general *Monckton* was now preparing to batter the citadel of *Fort Royal* from the eminences he had gained; which the enemy perceiving, their despondency became as great as their presumption had been before. On the evening of the 3d of February, they beat the *echamade*, and accepted of a capitulation, by which the garrison was to be sent to *Rochfort* in France; but the militia and free-booters, with all others in arms upon the island, were to remain prisoners of war, till the fate of the island was determined.

mined. In consequence of this capitulation, which was not more fortunate than unexpected, the *British* troops took immediate possession of the citadel. The conduct of M. *De la Touche*, the governor-general of the island, was equally absurd and unaccountable. He had abandoned the citadel of *Fort-Royal*, at a time when it was very defensible; and retired with his remaining regulars to *St. Pierre*, the principal town upon the island, with a full kind of defiance both to the *French* and the *English*; and he seemed to disbelieve having any correspondence with the latter so much, that he did not send to enquire about his prisoners, or his dead or wounded. The islanders perceiving the amazing progress of the *British* arms, and that they were, in a manner, abandoned by their governor, sent deputations from all quarters of the island to capitulate against his express order; and a capitulation was accordingly settled between their excellencies *Messrs. Monckton and Rodney*, generals by land and sea of His *Britannic* majesty, and the inhabitants of the island of *Martinico*; represented by *Messieurs D'Alfö, Seig. Defragny la Pierre*, captain of horse, and *Ferrière*, captain of infantry of militia, furnished with full powers from nine quarters of the island. By this capitulation, the inhabitants were to march out of their posts with the honours of war, but afterwards were to give up their arms. They were to have the free exercise of their religion, nor were they to be obliged to take arms against the *French* king; and they were to live as *British* subjects, under their own civil government, till his *Britannic* majesty's pleasure was known. They were, the religious as well as laity, to be secured in all their property, and to be put on the footing of the other *English* subjects in the *Leeward Islands*. If the island was ceded to *Great-Britain*, the inhabitants, who chose it, were at liberty to dispose of their estates to *British* subjects; their trade was to be continued; and, upon very moderate conditions, they were allowed to make white and clayed sugars.

By this time *Pigeon-Island* surrendered, which, according to Mr. *Rodney* (U), gave the *English* forces possession of the noblest and best harbour in these parts of the *West-Indies*. *De la Touche* still continued to make a shew as if he meant to defend *St. Pierre*; and disapproved of the capitulation made by the other inhabitants. Mr. *Rodney* was just about to embark to reduce this stubborn governor-general, when the prin-

(U) See copy of a letter Royal Bay, *Martinico*, February from rear-admiral *Rodney* to '20, 1762.  
*Ms. Cleveland*, dated in *Fort*

cipal inhabitants of the island, seeing how irresistible the *British* arms were, and reasonably apprehending that if matters came to extremity, they might lose the benefits of the capitulations which had been granted to the rest of the island, forced him, in a manner, to send two deputies to *Fort Royal*, where the *British* general was, and where they arrived on the 12th of February, with an offer of a capitulation for the whole island on the part of the governor-general. Mr. *Monck* sent back his answer to these proposals, and on the 14th the capitulation arrived signed. The *French* governor-general struggled hard for a suspension of arms for fourteen days; and after that, if no *French* succours arrived in the island, the capitulation was to take place: but this was denied him, and he was obliged to put the whole island, with all its forts and posts, into the immediate possession of the *British* troops. In other respects, this capitulation did not much differ from that already granted. The governor-general desired with all his garrison, some cannon, and arms, to be sent to the *Grenades*; but they were sent to *France*. *De la Touche*, in this capitulation, employed much art and chicanery to obtain some articles, by which the *English* government might have been loaded with the *French* king's debts to private persons; and a road might have been opened to such collusive practices as might have greatly diminished the value of the conquest; but all those artifices were seen through, and rejected in the capitulation. *La Touche*, it seems, had a suspicion of a secret correspondence being carried on between the *English* and some of the inhabitants of the place, and therefore he demanded five of the latter to be delivered up to him; but his request was refused, because they had, by the former capitulations, been taken under the *British* protection.

THUS the whole island of *Martinico*, the capital of the *French* trade and dominions in the *West-Indies*, was reduced to the subjection of *Great-Britain*. It is not to be denied, that during the whole of this expedition, the people of *Barbados* had great merit in diligently supplying the fleet and army with all the provisions which their island afforded. The ~~soldiers~~ who distinguished themselves the most in this glorious reduction, were the brigadiers *Hawiland*, *Grant*, *Rufane*, *Lord Rollo*, and *Walsh*; the lieutenant colonels *Fletcher*, *Masey*, *Vaughan*, and *Sect*; major *Leland*, and captain *Kennedy*. The entire reduction of this island cost the *French* above 1000 of their best men, killed, wounded, and taken prisoners. The loss of the *British* troops, considering the nature of the service, was surprisingly small. No more than seven officers

*The History of America.*

officers were killed, and about 100 common men, and about 350 upon the whole were wounded. This expedition was distinguished above all that ever had gone from Great-Britain, by the unanimity which prevailed between the officers and men of the sea and land-service.

*The other French Caribbees reduced.*

DURING the reduction of *Martinico*, Mr. Rodney had made proper dispositions for reducing all the rest of the *French Caribbee-Islands*. That of *St. Lucia* surrendered to captain *Harvey*, with a very considerable quantity of ordnance, powder, and military stores. The island of *St. Vincent*, at the same time, was very closely blocked up, and commodore *Savant* was detached with a squadron, which had on board a detachment of land-forces under major-general *Walch*, to reduce *Granada*. All those undertakings succeeded without any effusion of blood. The island of *Grenada*, and the fort upon it, which was very strong, surrendered upon the same terms that had been granted to the inhabitants of *Martinico*; and to this desirable event, the same of the British clemency did not a little contribute. The *Grenadillas*, with the island of *St. Vincent*, underwent the same fate. Those conquests were the more important, on account of the period at which they were obtained; for the very day of the surrender of *Granada*, which was the 5th of March, the most powerful armament that ever went from *England* to the *West-Indies*, sailed from *Portsmouth*, to reduce the *Havannah*, which must have been next to impracticable, had the *French* remained in possession of *Martinico*, and their other *Caribbee-Islands*. The people of *Barbadoes* had undoubtedly formed to themselves very sanguine hopes of wealth and commerce upon their mother-country becoming master of all the *French Caribbees*. A number of adventurers, some of them with very considerable stocks, had of late offered to settle on their island; but they could neither get employment, nor lands to cultivate, the soil being improved to the utmost, and therefore they were obliged to remove to other *British* islands or settlements, and many of them, particularly those from *Ireland*, are said to have settled upon the *French* part of *Hispaniola*. It was on the other hand easily to be foreseen, that had the *English* kept possession of *Guadalupe*, *Martinico*, and the other islands they conquered, great numbers of the *French*, from their attachment to their religion and government, would gladly have disposed of their estates to *British* subjects, the *Barbadoesians* especially, which would have given the latter an opportunity of extending their commerce to an inconceivable degree. But the peace of *Fontainbleau*, in the beginning of the year 1763, destroyed all their expectations. It long remained.

mained a doubt with the government of *England*, whether they ought to give up the conquests they had made over the *French* on the continent of *America*, or those in the *West-Indies*. Many reasons determined them to part with the latter: for though their keeping possession of *Martinico*, *Guadalupe*, and the other *French Caribbes*, might have greatly extended their sugar-trade, yet it could not have secured the whole of it to *Great-Britain*; as both the *French* and the *Spaniards* were still possessed of vast tracts of land in the *West-Indies*, proper for that culture; and even the *Dutch* and *Danes* had settlements there, which they could have improved in raising sugars. In short, the monopolizing of that trade to *Great-Britain*, by maintaining those islands, was found to be a mere chimera; and, as the primary object of the war was to secure the *British* settlements in *North America*, which they did by the conquest of *Canada*, and the cession of *Louisiana* and *Florida*, the retention of the latter was thought to be by far the preferable alternative. We are now to give some description of the produce and commerce of *Barbados*.

OUR best geographers have laid down the island to lie between long. 59. 50. and 60. west from *London*; and betwixt north lat. 12. 56. and 13. 16. As to its extent, *Barbados*. Descrip-  
tion of it is very difficult to ascertain it. The most general opinion is, that it is twenty-five miles from north to south, and fifteen from east to west; but those mensurations are subject to so many difficulties and uncertainties, that the reader, perhaps, will form a more adequate idea of the extent of this island, when he is told, that in reality it does not contain above a hundred and seven thousand acres. *Barbados* is the most windwardly of all the *Caribbee Islands*; excepting *Tobago*. The whole of the island may be considered as one continued garden, every foot of which is so precious, that it is improved to the utmost, and presents to the eye, wherever it is turned, the most delightful prospects. The climate is hot, but not unwholesome, because of the sea-breezes; and a temperate regimen renders it as safe to live in as any climate in *Europe* south of *Great Britain*, and, according to the opinion of many, as *Great Britain* itself.

The chief town of *Barbados* is *Bridge-Town*, which lies in the inmost part of *Carlisle-Bay*. This originally was a most unwholesome situation, and chosen entirely on account of its conveniency for trade; but it is now deemed to be as healthy as any place in the island. The town itself would make a figure in any *European* kingdom. It is said now to contain about 1500 houses, and some contend that it is the finest the *English* possess in *America*. The rents of the houses, which

which in general are spacious, well-built and finished, are as high as such houses would let for in *London*. The wharfs and quays are well defended from the sea, and very convenient. The harbour is secure from the north-east wind, which is the constant trade-wind there, and *Carlisle-Bay* is capable of containing 500 sail of ships, and is formed by *Needham* and *Pelican* points. But that which renders *Bridge-Town*, the finest and most desirable town in the *West-Indies*, is its fortifications. It is defended on the westward by *James-Fort*, which mounts 18 guns; near this is *Willoughby's-Fort*, which is built upon a tongue of land running into the sea, and mounts 12 guns. *Needham's-Fort* has three batteries, and is mounted with 20 guns; and *St. Anne's-Fort*, which is the strongest in the island, stands more within land. In short, according to Mr. *Douglas*<sup>1</sup>, there is all along the lee-shore a breast-work and trench, in which, at proper places, were 29 forts and batteries, having 308 cannon mounted, while the windward shore is secured by high rocks, steep cliffs, and foul ground. Such was the state of the fortifications of the island in 1717: but since that time it has admitted of such additions, that though the plunder of this small, but rich island, is the most alluring object our enemies can have; yet it does not appear, that during the two late wars, while we were conquering all their *West-Indies*, that they ever thought in earnest of an attack upon *Barbados*. The powder and stores of the island are kept under a strong guard in a stone magazine, within a small fort of eight guns, on the east side of the town. The church of *St. Michael* exceeds in beauty, largeness, and convenience, many English cathedrals, and has a fine organ, bells, and clock. In short, *Bridge-Town* is destitute of few elegancies or conveniences of life that any city in *Europe* affords. It has a free-school for the instruction of poor boys, an hospital, and a college. The latter was erected by the society for propagating the Christian religion, in pursuance of the will of colonel *Christopher Codrington*, who left about 3000*l.* a year for its endowment, for maintaining professors and scholars to study and practise divinity, surgery, and physic.

*Attempts of the French against* *Anne's reign*, and war with *France*, the French had an eye upon *Barbados*; and *Lubat*, one of their most judicious missionaries and voyagers, who was upon the island, was of opinion, that the plate and furniture of *Bridge-Town*, if plundered, was equal in value to the capture of the *Spanish* gal-

<sup>1</sup> DOUGLAS'S Summary, Vol. I. p. 133;

leons; and that *Chatteauraud*, in 1702, might have made himself master of the island, had he not proceeded to convoy the plate-fleet to *Vigo*. But the missionary, at the same time confesses, that the conquest of *Barbados* could not have been effected by a less number than that of 5000 men, and those creoles and buccaneers, and twelve men of war to prevent any succours from coming to the islanders. But he supposes, at the same time, the *Irish* Roman catholics, who were then very numerous upon the island, would join the *French* against their masters. The opinion of this judicious missionary has in it some weight, even at this time; for though the island is now incomparably better fortified than it was sixty years ago, yet there is some reason for doubting, whether it is equally populous. Thirty thousand souls are supposed to be the utmost extent of the white inhabitants; so that the whites upon the island, capable of bearing arms, cannot be very numerous. According to a report of the military state of this island in 1736<sup>o</sup>, it had 22 castles and forts, 26 batteries, mounted with 463 pieces of ordnance, many of which were honey-combed, and near 100 wanting to complete the fortifications; which, with the military stores and arms, were much decayed. The militia consisted then of one troop only, two regiments of horse and foot, making in all, 4326 men; but the militia is now computed at 1500 horse, and 3000 foot. It is to be noted, that all freemen here are obliged to enter themselves in the regiment of their own district; and that there is a law obliging all persons, who design to go off the island, to leave notice thereof at the secretary's office three weeks before their departure. The reader in the note (X) will find .

\* System of Geography, Vol. II. p. 751.

(X) The government of this island as it is now constituted, resembles that of the other islands. It consists of the governor, a council of twelve men, who are, as it were, of his own nomination, being appointed by letters of *mandamus*; and an assembly of twenty-two, chosen yearly out of the several parishes; *viz.* two for each, by a majority of votes. The members of the council sit in the court of chancery with the governor, and are, by virtue of their posts, styled honour-

able. The governor has the sole power of appointing and displacing all military officers; but judges and justices of the peace, (though removable by him for sufficient reasons) are to be appointed by consent of the council, of whom no member can be displaced, without consent of the rest, unless on an extraordinary occasion not fit to be divulged to the whole body; and then the governor's reasons for such suspension are immediately transmitted home. The governor, besides his salary

*Its go-  
vernment  
and towns.* a very full and accurate account of the government of the island, which comes from so good an authority, that we

lary of 2000 £. sterling, payable out of the four and a half per cent. is intitled to no perquisite, except a third of seizures; and restrained from receiving any gift or present from the assembly, or others, unless it be granted as a settlement by the first assembly he meets after his arrival. Tho', the senior counsel is to administer affairs in his absence, or after his death, till the arrival of another, he cannot pass any acts but what are immediately necessary for the peace and welfare of the island, nor dissolve the assembly then in being, nor remove or suspend any officer civil or military, without the consent of at least seven of the council. The president is allowed for his trouble one half of the salary and emoluments allotted to the governor for the time being; and five members of council make a quorum, to transact all publick business, and to constitute a court of chancery, and court of errors; which courts are held monthly. The members of a new assembly are chosen on the expiration or dissolution of a former, on the *Monday* after the third publication of a writ directed to the parish-churches throughout the island for that purpose; and where they are returned to the governor in council, they take all the state-oaths, subscribe the test, and then chuse a speaker, who cannot act as such before he is presented to, and approved by, the governor. The speaker, and eleven other members, con-

stitute a house for transaction of busines. They may make what rules they think proper, which are binding on themselves. They may expell any of their members, and may give leave to two of them to go off the island for six months, for recovery of their health. They have a right to try and determine all controverted elections, but can only adjourn themselves from day to day; all longer adjournments being to be made by the commander in chief. The assembly annually nominates the treasurer, the storekeeper of the magazine, the agent, and the comptroller of the excise; as also, an inspector of health, and the gaugers of casks; but all those offices are to be approved of by the commander in chief and council, which the clerk and marshal of the assembly, of their own appointment, are not. The assembly, likewise, ascertain all the publick levies, which cannot be raised without their consent; and they prescribe the uses to which the money must be applied. Four of the council, and six of the assembly, or any six of them, are a committee for settling the publick accounts of the island. The governor has a negative in the passing of all laws agreed to by the council and assembly. Three of the council and three of the assembly, or any ~~six~~ of them, are appointed as a committee, to correspond with the agency in Great-Britain. The treasurer can pay no publick

chief to give it in the words of the writer. The governor collates rectors to the parishes of the island, which are in

lick money, nor make any particular appropriation of money, without an act, or an order from the governor, with the consent of the council. The chief justice of the pleas of the crown, and chief baron of the exchequer, are appointed by the governor, and have four other barons named with them; and any three of the five make a court for determining all matters. The island being divided into five precincts, there is a judge in each, who holds a court of common-pleas for trial of all causes, once every month, till the 26th of September, and then adjourns to the last Monday in January. From these courts there lies an appeal in all causes above 10*l.* value, to the governor and council, and from them in all above 500*l.* value, to the sovereign and council of Great-Britain. The five judges of the common-pleas courts are appointed by the governor, have each of them four assistants named with him, and any three of the five make a court for determining all suits for above eight pound. The chief judges of these courts take the probate of all deeds, which is the greatest profit of the office. The sole judge of the court of vice-admiralty is a patent-officer, though, for many years past, he has acted under a commission from the governor, who also appoints the two masters in chancery, the solicitor, and the collector-general; but the attorney-general is appointed by patent;

as are, also, the chief clerk, register, and sole examiner in chancery, clerk of the crown, and clerk of the peace; the secretary, and the clerk of the council; the provost-marshal, serjeant at arms, and marshal of the several courts; and the clerk of the market; all which officers are executed by deputies named by the patentees, or their attorneys. The casual receiver has his commission from England; the auditor-general is appointed by the lords of the treasury, and executes his office here by a deputy. The surveyor-general of the customs, with the other officers, are appointed by the commissioners of the customs, and, on any vacancy, the surveyor-general nominates till it is supplied from England. The naval office is granted by patent, and executed by a deputy; the surveyors of land are appointed by the commander in chief; the justices of the peace are appointed by a commission, which generally issues soon after a governor's arrival; and one of the persons named in that commission is nominated every half year, by the commander in chief, with the consent of the council, to preside as chief justice of the court of grand session, which is appointed by law to be held in June and December, besides the quarter-sessions held by the justices in every parish. The chief justice, with five other justices, are empowered to hold the court, to which are returned, from every parish, six of its in-

number eleven. The perquisites are very considerable; their stated income is about 150 or 200*l.* a year each; but the rectory of St. Michael's, in Bridge Town, is supposed to be worth 7 or 800*l.* a year. The bishop of London is the ordinary of all the English West-Indies and America, which makes his see the most extensive of any in the world. Dr. Sherlock, while he held it, made an attempt, in the reign of George the second, to introduce suffragans into America, for the more regular performance of the sacerdotal duties. But the motion was discouraged at the council-board, and the lordship got no credit by it, because it was considered as tending to the too great aggrandizement of his own authority. The church-affairs of Barbados are governed by a surrogate, of the bishop's appointment. There are upon the island some Jews and Quakers, and but very few other dissenters. The Barbadians formerly were remarkable for their unanimity, both in politics and religion; and their modern dissensions regarded rather persons than principles, and were occasioned through parties formed by oppressive rapacious governors.

THE forts upon the island, and what we may call the military establishment, are supported by a duty of four pounds of gunpowder for every ton of shipping that unloads there; and the amount of the duty is about 600*l.* a year. Every pipe of Madeira wine pays a duty of 4*l.* 10*s.* and this amounts to about 9000*l.* a year, and the duties upon other liquors, to about 2000*l.* a year. Besides those duties, the

inhabitants, who are freeholders, to serve on the grand inquest, and petty-juries. The coroners for the several parishes are appointed by the commander in chief, and so are the gunners and matrosses belonging to each of the five divisions, tho' they are under the command of the colonels of the foot, to which each division respectively belongs.

The commissioners for taking care of the fortifications are, the members of council and assembly resident in each parish or district, together with the field officers of the island in the precincts where the regiments are to which they be-

long. The governor, as captain-general, usually presides at the councils of war, but sometimes he grants the commission of president to another officer. There are six regiments of foot here, and two of horse, besides a ~~troop~~ belonging to the island, called the ~~troop~~ of horse-guards, the royal regiment of foot-guards, the ~~Windward~~ regiments of horse and foot, the flying regiment of foot, St. James's, or the ~~Hole~~ regiment of foot; Scotland regiment of foot, and the ~~Aber~~ regiments of horse and foot. Here is also a good train of artillery. Ibid.

assembly

assembly imposes occasional ones for public uses, which sometimes amount to about 2000*l.* a year more. All those are exclusive of the four and a half per cent. duty paid to the crown, which of late years has amounted to a large sum. The negroes, mulattoes, and mislive slaves, upon the island, are computed at an hundred thousand, and form great part of the wealth of the planters; but *Barbados* is not so subject now, as formerly, to the insurrections of negroes, because many of them are born upon the island, and entirely reconciled to their state, which their masters, for their own interest, take as agreeable to them as possible. They are not even without some property; having little indulgences granted them, and particular times allowed them, in which what they earn, becomes their own.

THE trade of *Barbados* is very extensive; they bring their lumber, that is, timber of all kinds, their bread, flour, Indian-corn, rice, tobacco, some salt-beef and pork, fish, pulle, and other provisions from *New-England*, *Carolina*, *Pensylvania*, *New-York* and *Virginia*. They import their slaves from the coast of *Guinea*; but since the acquisition of *Senegal* to the crown of *Great-Britain*, great improvements may be introduced into that trade in favour of the English colonies. They import their wine from *Madeira*, *Tercra*, and *Fayal*; and likewise some brandy. *Ireland* furnishes them with beef and pork, and the Dutch island of *Curaçao*, with salt. The great value, however, of *Barbados* to the mother-country, is best known from its vast consumption of *British* and *Irish* manufactures and commodities. Of these they import *Osnaburghs*, so called from a town in *Germany*, famous for manufacturing this coarse linnen-cloth, which clothe their slaves, linnen of all sorts, with broad cloth and kerseys, for the planters, their overseers and their families; silks and stuffs, for their ladies and household servants; red-caps, for their slaves, male and female; stockings and shooes, of all sorts; glovers and hats; millinery-ware and periwigs; laces for linner, wuffles, and silks; peas, beans, and oats, from our western counties; and biscuit from *London*; wine, of all sorts; strong beer, (which they have also from *New-England*) and pale ale, pickles, candles, butter and cheese; iron-ware for their sugar-works, such as saws, files, axes, hatchets, chissels, adzes, hoes, mattocks, planes, gouges, awgers, hand-hills, drawing-knives, nails, and all sorts of leaden-ware; powder and shot; and brass and copper-wares: but *Birmingham*-wares, though good commodities, soon rust

*Its negroes.*

/

*Exports.*

and canker, by the evening damps of this climate ; and therefore stand in need of continual repair, or new tools in their room ; and to this moisture of the air it is imputed, that clocks and watches seldom go right in this island. The *Barbadians* take off likewise large quantities of *East-India* goods from *England* ; and in short, there is nothing that sells in an *English*, or even *European* shop or market, that does not find a ready vent in *Barbados*, if agreeable to the climate. The soil of *Barbados* being too precious for common culture, renders it of infinite advantage to those parts of the *British* dominions, where the ground is best employed in producing the necessaries of life. Even coals, pantiles, hearthstones, and the like commodities and manufactures, are profitable branches of imports into this island. But besides what the *Barbadians* consume themselves, they are very considerable exporters of *British* goods to *Africa* ; and they even pay for their slaves in our manufactures ; such as guns, powder, and arms, stufle, hats, and wearing-apparel of all kinds. Some authors, who are acquainted with the island, pretend, that formerly *Barbados* required a supply of 100,000 slaves every thirty years ; and when the *African* trade was under a parliamentary enquiry in 1728, it appeared that in three years only, the number of negroes imported at *Barbados*, *Jamaica*, and *Antigua*, amounted to 42,000 : exclusive of those carried to *St. Christopher's*, *Ni<sup>r</sup>s*, and *Al<sup>r</sup>ea*. Thus enough for the imports of *Barba*.

As to its exports, sugar is its staple commodity. - In the course of the history of the island, we have introduced that of the sugar trade ; and have observed, that both the population and commerce of *Barbados*, were in former times superior to what they are now ; nay, if we are to believe some writers, in the year 1676, this island employed 400 sail of ships, each at an average, of 150 tons, and the current cash of the island was about 200,000*l.* while its exports to *Great-Britain* in sugar, ginger, indigo, and other commodities, amounted to about 350,000*l.* yearly. It is even said, that *England*, the aforesaid year, by exporting the goods imported from *Barbados*, got 200,000*l.* and that she had the like profit for many years before. But even those were not the golden times of *Barbados*, whose trade, before the Restoration, was still more considerable, though far from being so profitable, to the mother-country ; or indeed, to the planters themselves, as great part of it was engrossed by the *Dutch*, and entered in *Holland* : nor did it settle in *England* till after

\* *Ibid. ibid.*

the navigation-laws, and several other others of the same kind were passed by the legislature, both here and at *Barbados*. Those acts rendered *London* the great mart all over *Europe* for sugar, which commerce had formerly been in the hands of the *Portuguese*, by their being masters of *Brazil*. It was calculated, that from the year 1636 to 1656, *England* acquired by *Barbados* two millions of money, and double that sum the twenty years following. The settling and improvement of the *French* sugar-islands, with the decay of population in *Barbados*, from the causes already mentioned, no doubt, in after-times hurt the *Barbados* sugar-trade; but an accurate calculator says, that in the space of an hundred years, the people of *England* have received twelve millions of silver by means of this plantation; and had 50,000 of her inhabitants maintained all at that time, by the people of this colony. It appears, from the remarks on the present state of the sugar-colonies, that the *Barbadians* in 1730, exported higher 22,769 hogsheads of sugar, each weighing thirteen hundred weight; of which, near 18,000 hogsheads came into the port of *London* only, and that they made £10391*l.* clear profit of the whole; because it is proved, that the rum and molasses paid all the charges of a plantation. *Barbados* has now lost all its indigo trade, that culture being much more proper for the northern colonies; but it ships off a great deal of ginger, of which the inhabitants use large quantities for *England*; also lignum vita, wine, rum, and other strong waters, molasses, rum, and lime juice.

THE inhabitants of *Barbados* are reducible to three classes, *masters*, the masters, the white servants, and the black servants. <sup>that</sup> The former are either *English*, *Scotch*, or *Dutch*; but the great encouragement which the *Dutch* legislature has given to the people of that and our other islands, has induced some *Dutch*, *French*, *Portuguese*, and *Jews*, to settle among them with their estates, by which, after a certain time, they acquire the right of naturalization in *Great Britain*. The white servants, whether by covenant or by purchase, lead more easy lives than common day-labourers in *England*, and when they come to be overseers, their wages and other allowances are considerable. As to the black servants, the notions which generally prevail in *Europe* concerning them are very erroneous, it being, as we have already hinted, the interest of every planter to be even more careful of his black than of his white servants; the former with all his posterity, unless they should happen to be set free, being his perpetual property.

<sup>1</sup> Ibid. p. 752.

Most of the negroes are employed in the fields; but some of them work in the sugar-mills and store-houses, while those of both sexes, who are most likely and handy, are employed as house maids and menial servants. The original price of a negroe, when he comes from *Guinea*, is from twenty to forty pounds, according to his likelihood; but when they improve in any mechanic, or other trade, their price rises greatly: so that 400*l.* has been refused for a good sugar-boiler. The men are indulged in a plurality of wives. ~~But~~ it is ridiculous to imagine, that their being converted to Christianity introduces any alteration into their state of servitude. All the difference is, that a planter of any humanity may shew some indulgences to a negroe who discovers sentiment or reflection enough to desire to be baptized. But the truth is, the negroes in general are of such dispositions as call for the utmost vigilance, and the most severe discipline. They are obstinate, sullen, treacherous and vindictive; and many of them shew but few faculties that entitle them to be considered as rational creatures. Plantains, being a fruit so called, is the chief support of the negroes, who have various ways of dressing it; but they have every week, at stated times, an allowance of *Indian* corn bread, salt fish, or salt-pork. Every negroe family has a cabin, and adjoining to it, a small piece of ground by way of garden, in which the more industrious sort plant potatoes, yams, and other roots, and rear live stock, which they ate at liberty to eat or to convert into money for their own use, and it is incredible what savings of this kind some of them make. They are fond of rum and tobacco, and they generally lay out their earnings in fine cloaths, and ornaments for themselves and their wives. In all other respects, the manner of gentlemen and their families living at *Barbados*, is the same as in the most polite towns and countries in *Europe*; only the nature and礼貌 of their country disable them from hunting and other out-door exercises.

*Division  
of Barba-  
dos.*

As to the particular parishes, &c. &c., and towns in other parts of *Barbados*, besides *Bridge-Town*, there is but little either variety or improvement in describing them. It is sufficient to say here, that no article, either of conveniency or luxury, is wanting to the inhabitants, according to their different ranks, and that the island is divided into precincts and parishes as follows. In the south part of the island, in *St. Michael's*, or *Bridge* precinct, are the parishes of *St. Michael*, *St. George*, and *St. John*. In *St. James's*, or the *Hole* precinct, are the parishes of *St. James*, and *St. Thomas*. In *St. Peter's*, or *Speight's* precinct, is the parish of *St. Peter*,

with All-Saints chapel. In the west is the parish of St. Lucy. In the north, in St. Andrew's Overhill, or Scotland precinct, are the parishes of St. Andrew, and St. Joseph. In the east, in Offine's precinct, are the parishes of Christchurch and St. Philip. We are now to consider the soil, and other productions of Barbadoes.

This island has two streams that are called rivers on its ~~its soil and~~ east-side, and in its center it is said to have a bituminous ~~product.~~ spring, which sends forth a liquor like tar, and serves for the same uses as pitch or lamp-oil. The island abounds in wells of good water, and contains reservoirs for rain-water. Some parts of the soil are laid to be hollowed into caves, several of them capable of containing 300 people. These are imagined to have been the lurking-holes of run-away negroes, but they are probably natural excavations. The woods that formerly grew upon the island have been all cut down, and for the most part converted into sugar-plantations. When those plantations were first formed, the soil was infinitely more fertile than it is now; for the land, in some places, about thirty years ago, was so worn out, that the planters were obliged to raise cattle for the sake of their manure, which reduced their profits to less than one tenth of their usual value. Notwithstanding the smallness of Barbados, its soil is different, being in some places sandy and light, in others rich, and in others spungy; but all of it cultivated according to its several natures: so that the island presents to the eye, the most beautiful appearance of spring, summer, and autumn. The sugar-cane is cultivated from August till the latter end of January. The inhabitants have few orchards or gardens, because they employ their lands in a more profitable culture, and they can bring Indian corn from North America cheaper than it can be sold for when growing upon the island. Oranges and lemons grow in Barbados in great plenty, and to great perfection, and the lemon juice made here has a particular fragrancy.

THE citizens of Barbados afford the finest drams and sweet-meats of any in the world; the Barbados ladies excelling in the art of preserving the rind of the citron fruit. The citron-tree is small, but its fruit is so large, that it often pulls it to the ground; its stalk is darkish, and its leaf dark green; but indeed, Barbados, of all spots in the world, is by nature the best fitted for furnishing those exquisite luxuries, many of which are equally salutary as delicious. The lime-tree is prickly, like the English holly, so that, formerly, hedges were made of it. It grows about seven or eight feet high, and so much resembles the lemon-tree, that the difference is

## The History of America:

scarcely to be discerned at a little distance. The juice of the limes, or dwarf-lemons, (for such they are) is the most agreeable souring we know of, and great quantities of it begin now to be imported from *Barbados* to *Great Britain* and *Iceland*. The tamarinds of *Barbados* is ~~ag-eable~~, yet wholesome, sweet-meat, and has many medicinal virtues. The anana, or the pine-apple, is common at *Barbados*, and its flavour much more exalted than in *Europe*, with all the modern improvements of gardening and hot-houses. The aloe, mangrove, calabash, cotton, cedar, mastic, and bulley-trees, grow here in great plenty, as does the cocoa, and the cacao-tree, the latter yielding a fruit of which chocolate is made. The other trees of this island are the fig-tree, the fibres of which, shooting out of its trunk, take root again, and if suffered to grow, would produce a continued grove. The cassia fistula-tree is said sometimes to grow eight feet in twelve months. It would here be improper to enter into a description of the numerous fruits and trees, all of them unknown in *Europe*, that grow upon this island; such as the prickled-apple, pomegranate, papa, guava, custard-apple, macow-tree, palmetto, locust-tree, and iron-wood. The plantain-tree, or shrub, deserves a more particular description, because it is of the greatest utility, by its being the most wholesome nourishment which the negroes of the island have. Its growth is very quick, one sprout keeps its ascendancy over several that come out of the same root, and is surrounded with leaves, which rotting, are succeeded by fresh ones; and these last expand as the sun rises and grows intense. The plantain-tree is ~~not~~ grown, when it is eight or ten feet high, and then it never sheds its leaves. The negroes love the fruit when ripe, and think it both nourishing and pleasant. *Barbados* likewise produces some sensitive plants, with a good deal of garden-stuff that is common in other places. The yam, which grows there, is a root resembling potatoes, and the cabbage-tree grows to the height of twenty or thirty feet, being so called by its bearing a flower or fruit resembling our cabbages in form and taste. In short, a native of the finest, the richest, and most diversified country in *Europe* can scarcely form an idea of the variety of delicious, and, at the same time, nutritive, vegetable, productions with which *Barbados* abounds, and for which we refer to the natural histories of that island.

*Its cattle.*

WHEN *Barbados* was first discovered by the *English*, few or no quadrupeds but hogs were found upon it. For convenience of carriage to the sea-side, some of the planters at first procured camels; which, undoubtedly, in all respects,

would have been preferable to horses for their sugar and other works, but the nature of the animal disagreeing with the climate, their breed could not be preserved. They then applied for horses to *Old and New England*, from the former they had those which were fit for shew and draughts; from the latter those that were proper for mounting their militia, and for the saddle. They had, likewise, some of a coarse kind from *Curaffao*, and other settlements. They are reported to have had their first breed of bulls and cows from *Bonavista*, and the isle of *May*, and they now breed upon the island, and often do the work of horses and negroes. Their asses are the most serviceable in carrying burdens to and from the plantations. The hogs of *Barbados* are finer eating than those of *England*, but the few sheep they have are not near so good. They, likewise, have goats, which when young, are excellent food, and plenty of raccoons and monkeys are found in the island.

*BARBADOS* produces a variety of birds, the most famous *Birds.* of which is the humming-bird, the description and beauty of which is now well known in *Europe*; it being, according to the general report, the smallest and most beautiful bird that is known. The *Barbadians* have got often wild fowl. Teal are sometimes found near their ponds. A bird, which they call the man of war, is said to meet ships twenty leagues from land, and their return, is, to the inhabitants, a sure prognostic of their arrival. When the wind changes to south, and southwest, they have flocks of curlews, plovers, snipes, wild pigeons, and wild ducks. The wild pigeons are very fat, and plentiful at such seasons, and rather larger than those in *England*. The tame pigeons, pullets, ducks, and poultry of all kinds, that are bred in *Barbados*, have a fine flavour, and are accounted more delicious than those of *Europe*. Their rabbits are scarce; they have no hares, and if they have deer of any kind, they are kept as curiosities. The insects of *Barbado*, are not venomous, nor do either their snakes or scorpions ever sting. Their musketoes, a kind of gnats, are troublesome and bite, but are more tolerable at *Barbados* than they are upon the continent. They have various other insects upon the island, some of which are troublesome, but not in a greater degree than those produced by every warm summer in *England*. *Barbados* is well supplied with fish, and some caught in the sea surrounding it almost peculiar to itself, such as the parrot-fish, snappers, and grey cavallos, terbums, and coney-fish. Their mullets, lobsters, and crabs caught here are excellent; and the green turtle is, perhaps, the greatest delicacy that ancient or modern luxury can

*Aid fibres.*

can boast of. Besides the variety of eating found in it, it is at once, so light and so nutritive, that no bad consequences are known to attend it from indigestion or surfeit, be the quantity devoured ever so great. At *Barbados*, this delicious shell-fish seldom sells for less than a shilling a pound, and often for more. There is found in *Barbados* a kind of a land crab, which eats herbs wherever it can find them, and shelters itself in houses and hollows of trees. According to report, they are a shell-fish of passage, for in *March*, they travel to the sea in vast numbers. As to other parts of the natural history of *Barbados*, such as the cultivation of sugar-canapes, rum, and molasses, they do not come under the plan of this history; neither shall we undertake to trace the commerce and interests of the island through all their various labyrinths, especially as their channels are changed according to the different views, circumstances, and interests of the European nations, and particularly of *Great Britain*.

### *SAINTE DUCIA.*

*Description of St. Lucia.* THIS island may be considered as lying next to *Barbados*, from whence it is distant about twenty-one leagues. It lies six leagues south from *Martinique*, and the same distance north from *St. Vincent*. The island, which takes its name from its being discovered on the day of the popular martyr of *Lucia*, is fifteen miles in length, and eleven in breadth. It has upon it, besides several other hills, two that are remarkably round and high, and are said to be of the volcano kind. At the bottom of those hills are plains, finely watered by rivers, and very fertile. The air, by the disposition of the hills, which admit the trade-winds into the island, is found to be very healthy. The soil produces trees, which are fit for building houses and windmills, and have often been employed for that purpose by both the French and the English planters. It likewise produces cocoa and fustic. As to the bays and harbours of the island, the French had so great an opinion of those of *St. Lucia*, that during the negotiations for peace in 1761 and 1762, they preferred it to any two of the other neutral islands, and made their acquisition of this island an indispensable condition of their continuing the negotiation. The chief harbour of the island is called the *Little Careenage*; and it is, in the opinion of our neighbours, and of many among ourselves, the finest harbour in all the *Carribbees*. Whatever may be in this, it is certain that it was thought of so great importance, both by the French and English,

*English*, that both possessed it by turns, though neither of them ever fully settled it. The *English* have an undisputed right to the prior occupancy of *St. Lucia*, which was always included, as we have already mentioned, in the commission of the *English* governor of *Barbados*.

IT appears from the best accounts, both *French* and *English*, *Settled by the English*, that the *Caribbees*, who were the original inhabitants of *St. Lucia*, and gave name to those islands, were a fierce, intrac-table race of savages, and equally irreclaimable by good usage as severity. In the year 1637, the *English* were settled upon *St. Lucia*, where they had lived for some time before; but the year after, the *Caribbeans*, instigated, as the *English* alledged, by the *French*, either killed, or drove off from the island, all the *English* settlers, with their governor, for so the chief man among them was called. We do not, however, find that the *French* at this time laid any formal claim to the property of the island. The reason of the en-mity of the barbarians to the *English*, was as follows. An *English* vessel, lying at *Dominica* under a *French* flag, the *Caribbeans* taking her for a ship of that nation, came on board to traffic, as usual; but becoming drunk by brandy, the captain set sail with them. The savages, perceiving his treachery, all leapt overboard, and got to their island, excepting two, whom the *English* captain put in irons, and sold for slaves. The savages, who escaped, instigated all the *Caribbeans* who were dispersed through the *Windward Islands*, both *French* and *English*, to revenge this treachery, which they did to the full; for they landed upon all the *English* settlements that were accessible to their canoes, and massacred as many of *who are massacred by the savages*. them as they possibly could. They surprised in the night-time those of *St. Lucia*, killed the governor, and most of the inhabitants, in their beds; a few only of them escaping to *Montserrat*. The *English*, who survived, carried their complaints to M. de *Poincy*, then governor of all the *French Caribbean Islands*, against M. *Parquet*, who was then governor of *Martinica*, and whom the *English* accused of being the instigator of the massacre. *De Poincy* acquitted *Parquet* of the charge, as the latter endeavoured to prove, that he had sent intelligence of the design of the savages to the *English*, as soon as he knew it. Notwithstanding this, the *English* still continued to suspect both those governors of having been at the bottom of the massacre.

THIS dreadful catastrophe discouraged the *English* from *Settled by the French* inhabiting *St. Lucia*; nor could the *English* governors of *Barbades* prevail with any of their countrymen to live in an *island*, where they were subject to such tragical visits, and

*who are  
miserable  
likewise.*

was at such a distance from all relief from their other settlements. *St. Lucia* thus lying uninhabited, when the civil wars broke out in *England*, *Parquet*, in 1644, sent thither forty men, under one *Rousselan*, who was well provided with stores and ammunition. This proceeding removed the suspicions of the *English*, and the rather, as the first thing which *Rousselan* did, was to build a strong pallisadoed fort upon the island, surrounded by good ditches, and defended by cannon and paterroes; after which, his people proceeded to cure tobacco, and raise provisions of all kinds, and likewise to build dwelling-houses, under the protection of the fort. This little settlement thrived excessively, because *Rousselan* having married a *Caribbee* woman, was very agreeable to the savages, who not only left him and his colony unmolested, but traded with them. But all the good fortune of the *French* upon this island, ended with the life of *Rousselan*, who died in 1654, and was succeeded by one *la Riviere*. This gentleman had so good an opinion of the friendly disposition of the savages, that he built a dwelling-house for himself and his family, without the protection of the fort. The savages, by this time, had lost all affection for the *French*, and secretly conspired to cut them off. Barbarous as they were, they concealed and carried on this design in a most artful manner. They visited *la Riviere* as usual, and trafficked the same as before. At last, towards the end of the year, a large number of them came to his house, and after being entertained with liquor, one of them gave a signal, which they had concerted among themselves, and all of them falling upon the *French*, they murdered *la Riviere*, with ten others, plundered his house, and carried off his wife, two of his children, and a negro slave. *La Riviere* was succeeded by *Haquet*. This gentleman being fully apprised of the savage treachery of the *Caribbeans*, used all imaginable precautions, to avoid it; but, as the event proved, all was without success. They repaired to his fort with the most friendly appearances, and traded fairly with him for turtle and their other commodities. In the year 1656, pretending that they had left a large quantity of turtle on a neighbouring hill, he was prevailed upon, attended with no more than three of his soldiers, to repair thither, and the savages spying their opportunity, threw him from the hill into the sea. *Haquet* was stunned, but not hurt, by the fall. He recovered himself, and made the best of his way to the fort; but before he could reach it, he was mortally wounded in the side by one of the savages arrows, and died in three days after. *Haquet* was succeeded by one *Breton*, who being of low extraction, and

using the garrison ill, they conspired to assassinate him ; but he escaped into the woods, and eluded all the search they could make for him. The garrison, upon this, stript the fort ; ~~and seizing~~ a ship in the road, escaped to the Spaniards, who protected them.

ABOUT ten days after, a French ship passing by from ~~Gre-~~ The *Noda*, her captain perceived, that though the conspirators had French carried off all the furniture and moveables they could trans- ~~reposses~~ port, yet that the fort itself and its artillery were in good <sup>the island;</sup> condition. He therefore left it in custody of four of his seamen, whom he furnished with necessaries and provisions. As this captain was preparing to sail, *Bryton* made him a signal, and he was received on board the ship. *Parquet*, understanding what had happened, sent to *St. Lucia* one *Coulis*, with twenty-five soldiers, and thirteen others, to reside there till M. *Aygemont*, the governor, should arrive. In *Aygemont's* time, the English attacked the fort of *St. Lucia*, but the French pretended that they were beaten off. Be this as it will, it is certain that the savages held the French in such detestation, that in 1660, *Aygemont* was assassinated as he went hunting with them. Two years after, Mr. *Warner*, an Englishman, whose mother was a Caribbean, and his father, the English governor of *St. Christopher's*, having received a commission to be governer of *Dominica* for the English, purchased for his countrymen the isle of *St. Lucia* from the Carribbeans. A consequence of this acquisition, the English sent five men of war, with 14 or 1500 men on board, to take possession of the island, and were joined by about 700 of the Caribbeans in their canoes. One *Bonnart* was then the French governor of the fort, and having not a dozen of soldiers under him, he surrendered it upon the first summons, upon condition, according to the French author *Labat*, that he and his men, with their baggage, cannon, and ammunition, should be carried to *Martinico*. The same writer pretends, that the governor and soldiers only were sent thither ; but it is extremely improbable, that such a capitulation should be granted to a dozen of men, shut up in a weak pallisadoed fort, besieged by 1500.

THE English having got possession of the island, under so ~~but give~~ fair a title as that of a bargain with the natives, one Mr. <sup>way to the</sup> *Cook* was made governor of it ; but no care had been taken English. by the English, the bulk of whom we may suppose to have been men of desperate circumstances, and not very regular in their manner of living, to keep possession of the island. Their provisions fell short, and epidemical diseases made such havock of them, that in a short time, the poor settlement was

was reduced to eighty-nine persons. In such a dismal situation, it is no wonder that the few survivors, having before their eyes nothing but death by famine or diseases, set fire to the fort in 1666, and abandoning the settlement dispersed themselves through the other English islands. Father la Tetre, another French writer, pretends on this occasion, that the English made an offer to the French of yielding up the island to them, which was accepted of; but that the English were persuaded by lord Willoughby, then governor of Barbadoes, to retract their offer, on his promising to relieve them. His succours, however, were so long in coming, that they were obliged, in the manner we have mentioned, to abandon the settlement. Two days after, lord Willoughby, who perfectly well understood the commerce of the West-Indies, and the importance of St. Lucia, arrived, as some say, in person, with reinforcements, and took a new possession of the island. This possession was from year to year renewed with all requisite solemnities, by succeeding governors of Barbadoes, within whose commission St. Lucia lay; but the inattention of the administration under Charles the Second, and his close connections with France, prevented any material progress being made for its prosperity. By the treaty of Breda, in that reign, and that for the neutrality of the West-Indies and America, in the succeeding, the British claim to St. Lucia was in some measure suspended by the arts of France, though St. Lucia was certainly among the islands that by those treaties, as well as by that of Rijwick, were stipulated to be restored to the crown of Great Britain:

*Saint Lucia* continued, after this, to be resorted to, it becomes equally by French as English; but the only constant inhabitants of it were ship-carpenters, hewers of wood, and other labourers for felling and preparing timber for ship-building, from the size of the largest vessel, down to that of the smallest canoe. In process of time, runaway soldiers and sailors found St. Lucia, on account of its rocks and fastnesses, to be a most excellent receptacle for them; and in the year 1689, when Sir Hans Sloane was there, a small colony of Barbadians resided on St. Lucia, and lived by furnishing their own island with timber. Even the treaty of Utrecht did not restore St. Lucia to the English, the French pleading, that it was not comprehended in the islands to be restored by the peace of Rijwick, because it was not conquered from the English, but abandoned by them; and, therefore the French entered upon it as an unoccupied island. We have, in the history of Barbadoes, mentioned the remonstrances made by the French court on the part of Great Britain, on account of the insha-

*D'Estrées*' grant and settlement of *St. Lucia*; and it is certain, that the court of *England* always considered *St. Lucia* as an island belonging to *Great Britain*, and which might be planted by her subjects as soon as convenience should offer. In consequence of this claim, about the year 1715, while the island lay in a state of seeming neutrality, captain *St. Loe*, commander of his Britannic majesty's ship *Valour*, had orders to interrupt the *French* cutting log-wood upon *St. Lucia*, which produced a heavy complaint from *du Quesne*, general of the *French* islands, who sent one of his officers with a letter to the president of *Barbadoes* on that head. The president, in his answer, justified what had been done by captain *St. Loe*, and asserted the *British* right not only to *St. Lucia*, but to *Tobago*, desiring the *French* forthwith to remove their settlements from the former island, and asserting, that the result of the *French* to both had only been occasionally winked at on the part of *Great Britain*. The settlement and evacuation of M. *D'Estrée*'s colony at *St. Lucia* followed this transaction; and king *George* the first, on the 22d of June, 1722, granted to *John duke of Montague*, his letters-patent, constituting his grace captain general of *St. Lucia* and *St. Vincent*, with liberty to settle the same with *British* subjects.

In consequence of this grant, the following vessels were fitted out for those settlements, viz. the *Elizabeth*, of 130 tons, four guns, three officers, and nine servants; the *Charles* and *Freemason*, of 200 tons, ten guns, thirteen officers, and 108 servants; the *Griffin* sloop, of 90 tons, twelve guns, three officers, and forty-eight servants; the *Little George*, of 100 tons, four guns, eight officers, and thirty servants; the *Adventure*, of 200 tons, twelve guns, 13 officers, and 141 servants; the *Hopewell*, of 250 tons, six guns, eleven officers, and eighty-nine servants. In all, 520 tons, 48 guns, 51 officers, and 425 servants. This squadron was furnished with 56 pieces of cannon, 1163 muskets and bayonets, 500 cutlasses, 1000 grenade-shells, fixed with fuzees; 4 brass cohorn-mortars, 100 barrels of musket-ball, 20 barrels of bird and drop-shot, 100 barrels of gunpowder, 200 barrels of all sorts of nails, a great quantity of tools for carpenters, bricklayers, smiths, and masons; 20 tons of bar-iron, 10 tons of cordage; all sorts of working-tools, household-furniture, wearing-apparel, and, in fine, of every thing fitting for the secure and commodious being of a new settlement. Besides the above stores, were 30 house-frames, one large house-frame for the governor, 50,000 feet of board, 95,000 shingles, 40 live sheep, and 2 breeding sows. We mention those particulars, that the reader may have some notion of the vast expence to which the

Dated

Fort

Royal,

Martini-

que,

Feb. 24.

N. S.

Dated

Pilgrim,

in Barba-

dos, Feb.

21, 1714,

O. S.

noble duke was put in this settlement, and for which he never had any consideration allowed to him or his family. All his squadron was put under the convoy of the *Winchelsea* man of war, captain *Orme* commander; and after taking in additional supplies at *Madeira* and *Barbados*, they arrived at *St. Lucia* on the 17th of December, 1722; only the *Adventure* and the *Hopewell* came too late to be of any service to the infamy of the settlement.

*Miscarriage of the duke of Montague's settlement;* THE duke of *Montague* had appointed captain *Nathaniel Vring*, late commander of the *West-India* packet-boat, to be deputy-governor of *St. Lucia* and *St. Vincent*; captain *John Braithwaite*, to be lieutenant-governor, and Mr. *William Falkener*, to be secretary. The squadron arriving at *Pilgrim-Bay*, off *St. Lucia*, sailed from thence three leagues farther to the southward, and arrived at *Petit Careenage*, where they found a good harbour, at the entrance of which, Mr. *Vring* landed fifty men, to raise a battery at a place which he called *Montague's-Point*, intending afterwards to fortify a hill within musket-shot of the point. Soon after, a sloop arrived from *Martinico*, with a copy of a mandate by the French king, dated *September 21, 1722*, at *Verfouille*, and which had been published by beat of drum through all the towns of *Martinico*, importing, "that neither *St. Vincent*, nor *St. Lucia* belonged to the king of *England*: that the first of them ought to remain to the *Caribbeans*, according to conventions made with that people: that the second belonged to the king of *France*, who had been willing, however, to suspend the settlement of that island, at the request of the king of *England*: that the duke of *Montague*'s undertaking to send and take possession of these islands, and to transport families to them, being contrary to the rights of his most Christian majesty, his intention is, that, in case the *English* should take possession of *St. Lucia*, and settle there, the chevalier ~~de~~ *Fouquier* (governor-general of the islands) shall summon them to retire in fifteen days; and, if they do not depart, he shall compel them to it by force of arms."

THE propriety of the *British* court's conduct on this occasion is extremely questionable. As their ministry was not only in peace with *France* at that time, but intimately connected with its administration, we cannot account for the reason why the duke of *Montague* was put to so prodigious an expence, in attempting to make this settlement, before the *British* court knew the sentiments of that of *France*; or why he was not supported in the attempt. Even the captains of *British* men of war refused to assist him, though lying in the neighbourhood. Mr. *Vring* found all this out, when it was too late;

and all he could do was to send a letter to the governor of *Martinico*, proposing a suspension of all hostilities, till such time as they could hear from their respective principals. The sequel is scarcely credible. Mr. *Vring* perceived, that not only ~~the~~ <sup>one</sup> ~~part~~ <sup>part</sup> of all *British* ships of war, but all the *English* interest in *America*, the government of *Barbados* excepted, were averse from granting him any assistance, either by land or sea. Notwithstanding this, he landed his cannon and stores, and was in hopes of raising a defensible fortification upon the hill, before the time limited by the *French* mandate was expired. On the 29th of December, several *French* which is <sup>opposed by</sup> sloops stood into *Shoque-Bay*, with an intention, as afterwards appeared, to dispossess the *English* settlement; and it is reported, that their force amounted to between 2 and 3000 men. As *Shoque-Bay* is but an hour's march from the fort, which Mr. *Vring* was then attempting to build, he drew up a proclamation, requiring all strangers and foreigners, then within the <sup>lands</sup> of *St. Lucia* and *St. Vincent*, or either of them, to submit and conform to the government therein established, or to depart thereout.

THIS proclamation went to the *French* at *Shoque*, who treated it with infinite contempt, and their numbers were every day increasing, both from *Martinico* and *Guadalupe*. Mr. *Vring*, on the other hand, had not with him above eighty persons capable of bearing arms, and received a letter from the marquis de *Champigny*, the commander of the *French* troops, commanding his evacuation of the island, and flatly refusing to give the *English* the smallest respite, nor even time to receive advice from *Europe*. *Vring* consulted those who were about him, and all of them agreed to leave the island, upon condition that all their deserters should be restored, and sufficient time be allowed for reembarking the cannon, arms, ammunition, provisions, stores of all sorts, and whatever had by them been disembarked in that island, which the *French* were also to evacuate at the same time. Those demands were agreed to; but the *French*, to make every thing secure, continued advancing against the *English*, who every day expected the *Adventure* and *Hopewell*, with 240 men on board. Those not arriving, and the *French* every day pouring in fresh reinforcements from their islands, Mr. *Vring* re-imbarked all his company, demolished his fort and barracado, and, on the 14th of January, set sail for the island of *Antigua*. It must be acknowledged, that *Vring*, before his departure, had some regard for the honour of his nation; for the following is part of one of his memorials: "The *French* at this time opposed the *English* settlement, but by article 7th of the

the treaty, concluded on the part of the English, by Mr. Braithwaite, empowered by Mr. Vring, the duke of Montague's deputy-governor, and on the part of the French, by M. de Champigny, for the evacuation of St. Lucia, Jan. 8th, O. S. 1722-3, it is agreed, that immediately after the evacuation of the said colony of M. the duke of Montague, the sieur marquis de Champigny obliges himself also to make an evacuation of the French forces, and leave the island of St. Lucia in its former state and condition, till there shall be a decision of it by the two crowns. To the rights and pretensions of which, the said sieurs de Champigny and Braithwaite declare, they have neither inclination, or power to bring any prejudice to the present treaty."

THE evacuation of St. Lucia by Mr Vring did no prejudice to the British right to that island; for Mr. Worsley, who was then governor of Barbados, had St. Lucia still continued in his commission, but received instructions for its evacuation, in consequence of an agreement between the courts of France and Great Britain for that purpose, the French being tied down to the same condition. From that time to the conclusion of the definitive treaty, concluded at Paris, February the 10th, 1763, the island of St. Lucia was always considered neutral; but by the 9th article of the said treaty, it is stipulated, to be delivered to France, and his most Christian majesty is to enjoy the same in full right.

### *S A I N T V I N C E N T.*

St. Vincent, a neutral island.

THIS island is about twenty-four miles in length and eighteen in breadth; and lies about fifty miles northwest of Barbados. The original inhabitants of it were Caribbeans, but by a strange intermixture of shipwrecked, or runaway negroes, the negroe complexion and species has the predominancy. Upon the whole, the inhabitants of St. Vincent, before the cession of it to the crown of Great-Britain by the treaty of Paris, 1763, were extremely tenacious of their independency, but far from being so ferocious as many of the other savages, because they often traded with the European nations, and gave them refreshments for hatchets, scissars, knives, and other hardware toys. It is observable, that St. Vincent was more populous than the other Caribbean Islands of the same dimensions, because it was the general rendezvous of those savages when they carried on war with the people of the neighbouring continent, with whom they seldom were at peace. By all accounts, the Caribbeans consulted their own interests very improperly when they admitted the negroes into a partnership of their soil; for the latter

latter tyrannized over them to such a degree, that they made several attempts to introduce the *French* and *English* into the island, that they might dispossess the negroes. We do not, however, perceive that those attempts succeeded; for many of the negroes having some knowledge of the European discipline and manners, they baffled all the attempts made to dispossess them, and are said to have lived on the island plentifully and comfortably.

IN 1719, the *French* from *Martinico* endeavoured to dislodge them, but lost many of their men, and were obliged to return. It is generally allowed, that *St. Vincent* is one of the best of all the *Antillæ* islands. The soil is excellent, as likewise the water and the wood. Tobacco may be cultivated here to great perfection, and had the *Europeans* succeeded in making a settlement upon it, it must have soon become a kind of storehouse for *Martinico* and the other *Caribbean* islands, as every thing necessary for life is here easily raised. The negroes assimilate themselves as much as possible to the *Christians* in their dress and manner of living; but, they are easily distinguishable by their woolly heads and flat features. Both of them have separate chiefs, but no one claims to be sovereign; their government approaching more to the republican than ~~any~~ other form. When the duke of *Montague*'s attempt to people this island, and that of *St. Lucia* took place, the *French*, from *Martinico* and their other islands repaired hither, and prepossessed the inhabitants, both negroes and *Indians*, against the *English*, who, they said, intended to make them slaves. All the endeavours of Mr. *Egerton*, who was sent thither by captain *Vring*, to persuade the natives to submit to the duke of *Montague*'s proprietary power, could not get the better of this prepossession; nor could the natives form any idea of the right which a king of *England*, or any other potentate, had to dispose of their island. Their numbers, which amounted in the whole to about 14,000, made them the more secure.

Mr. *Egerton* thus failing in his solicitations, Mr. *Braithwaite*, who had been appointed lieutenant-governor under *lish* ~~Mr.~~ *Mr. Vring*, was sent from *Antigua*, to which island the settlement designed for *St. Lucia* had retired, in the *Griffin* sloop, settle it, attended by the *Winchelsea* man of war, to make a fresh attempt upon the inhabitants. This became the more necessary, on account of the orders lately arrived from *England*, which were peremptory, that a settlement should be made on *St. Vincent*. Mr. *Braithwaite*, coming to an anchor off the island, was visited by a person who pretended to be a chief, with twenty-two other inhabitants, but he soon had reason to believe, that this chief was an impostor, and had no other view

view than to get from him some presents. The currents soon drove Mr. Braithwaite's ship off from this station, and he anchored in a spacious bay to the leeward of the island, which then presented a place very proper for making a settlement. Here he landed, but found the shore covered with Indians, headed by a Frenchman, and all of them furnished with fire-arms. They immediately seized Braithwaite, carried him a mile up the country, where he was introduced to their general, who was surrounded by a guard of about 100 Indians, some with fire-arms, and others with bows and arrows. A Frenchman served as interpreter between the chief and Braithwaite, who found himself under a necessity to conceal his real errand, by pretending that he had come upon the island only to wood and water; and he offered to leave hostages in case the chief could be persuaded to trust himself on board the English ship. This offer was rejected, and Braithwaite was given to understand, that his safest course would be to get under sail, as information had been received, that he intended to force a settlement upon the island; nor was he permitted either to wood or water. Returning to the shore, he found an additional number of negroes with fire-arms; but when he got into his boat he sent on shore a present of some refreshments to the Indian chief. The scene was now changed. The French interpreter, who had been placed as tutor over the savage general, was withdrawn, and the present was not only received with great thankfulness, but the messenger was given to understand, that the English were welcome to whatever the island afforded. A present of bows and arrows attended this compliment, and ten of the Indians, who spoke very good French, going on board Mr. Braithwaite's ship, offered to remain there as hostages, if he chose again to go on shore. Braithwaite sent them on board the man of war, and went on shore with captain Watson; but he found that the negroes and the Caribbeans were united, and that the negro chief had with him 500 blacks, most of them armed with fire-arms. They offered to suffer Braithwaite to wood and water under a guard, and with difficulty he prevailed upon the Indian and negro chiefs to go on board the Winchelsea, where they were very handsomely entertained, and had presents made them by capt. Orr. Being plied with liquor, Braithwaite discovered that they were invincibly resolved against the English making any settlement upon their island; and he was informed, that had he owned any such design when on shore, they could not have protected him. He understood, at the same time, that the Dutch had made a like attempt, but without success; that the French had furnished the inhabitants with fire-arms, and had promised to support them with all the force of Martinico, against

against the English. Braithwaite, notwithstanding all this opposition learned, that the Caribbeans and the negroes were equally ~~useless~~ to the French as to the English government, and that they were determined to oppose all Europeans settling among them.

Thus ended this fruitless expensive expedition, which cost It is ceded the duke of Montague an immense sum of money. It is to Great-evident, that the French imposed upon the English throughout Britain. the whole transaction; nor is it easy to account for the principles upon which the latter acted. Upon Braithwaite's report, and the captains of the English men of war declining to act offensively in support of the settlement, the English government at Antigua gave it under their hands, as their opinion, that it would be dangerous, and at the same time ineffectual, to make any farther attempt for a settlement upon St. Vincent. The island, therefore, was considered as neutral between Great Britain and France, till the conclusion of the treaty of peace, signed the 10th of February, 1763, at Paris, when it was ceded by the ninth article to the crown of Great-Britain.

### *The GRENADILAS, or GRENADINE ISLANDS.*

THE chief of these is *Grenada*, which lies in west longitude, 61. 40. and north lat. 12. It is the last of the <sup>on of Gre-</sup> Windward Caribbes, and lies thirty leagues north of New <sup>naga.</sup> *Andalusia* on the continent. According to Father Tertre, it is twenty-four leagues in compass, but *Lobat* makes it no more than twenty two, and it is said to be about thirty miles in length, and in some places fifteen in breadth. It abounds with wild game and fish, which, probably, occasioned the Caribbeans to resort in greater numbers to this than to any other of the Antilles islands. In 1638, the famous Mons. Poincy, attempted to make a settlement here, but he was driven off by the Caribbeans. Mons. Parquet, the governor of *Martinico*, in June 1650, carried over 200 men from *Martinico*, furnished with presents to reconcile the savages to them, but with arms to subdue them if they should prove intractable. It is not easy to account for the right this Frenchman had to make such a settlement upon an island already inhabited by natives, which had often disclaimed all subjection to the French. The number of the latter are said to have frightened the savages into submission; and, if we are to believe the French accounts, their chief not only welcomed the

the new settlers, but, in consideration of some knives, scissars, hatchets, toys, and the like, presented to them, yielded to Parquet the property of their island, only reserving their own habitations to themselves. The French set about raising tobacco, and that which grew on this island was remarkably fine. They scarcely had got in one crop when they began to discover that all the seeming complaisance of the natives was dissembled ; for they took every opportunity of surprising, and cutting off their new guests. This produced a war, and the French settlers having received a reinforcement of 300 men from Martinico, forced the savages to retire to a mountain, from whence, after exhausting all their arrows and other weapons, they rolled down large logs of wood upon their enemies. Soon after, they were joined by other savages from the neighbouring islands, and attacked the French anew, but were again defeated ; yet they were so desperate, that forty of them who had escaped from the sword, threw themselves over a precipice into the sea. The French vented their rage upon their habitations, which they destroyed, together with all their provisions ; but fresh supplies of Caribbeans arriving, they renewed the war with great briskness, and killed numbers of their enemies ; the latter, upon this, came to a resolution of exterminating the whole race upon the island. An hundred and fifty of them accordingly attacked the savages unawares, and most inhumanly put to death the women and children, as well as the men, besides burning their boats and canoes, to cut off all communication, of the few survivors, with the continent, or the neighbouring islands. Notwithstanding all those barbarous precautions, the Caribbeans still proved the irreconcileable enemies of the French ; and their frequent insurrections at last obliged Parquet to sell all his property in the island to the count de Cerillac in 1657, for 30,000 crowns. The count sent thither a person of brutal manners to govern it ; upon which the better sort of the French abandoned it, and he was shot to death by those who remained. In 1664, no more than 150 planters, out of 500 who were settled on the island when the count bought it, lived upon it, and he sold it to the French West-India company for 100,000 livres ; but in 1674, they were obliged to surrender all their rights in it to the king. After this, it continued to be inhabited chiefly by French, but never was fully settled ; and, after the conquest of Martinico by the English, it was easily reduced ; the full property of it, and the Grenadines, being a cluster of small neighbouring islands, was confirmed to the crown of Great-Britain, by the definitive treaty of 1763.

*Which is  
likewise  
ceded to the  
crown of  
Great-  
Britain.*

GRF.

**GRANADA**, and the *Grenadines* produced very fine timber, but the cacao-tree is observed not to thrive so well there as in the other islands: The *latin-tree*, which grows here, has a tall body, and its leaves, when tied together, serve as thatch for houses. A lake on a high mountain, about the middle of the island, supplies it with fresh-water streams, which render its soil delightful. Several bays and harbours lie round the island, some of which might be fortified to great advantage; so that it is very convenient for shipping; not being subject to hurricanes. Experience has proved, that its soil is fit for producing; Besides tobacco, sugar, indigo, peas, and millet; and, upon the whole, this island carries with it all the appearances of becoming as flourishing a colony as any in the *West-Indies*, of its dimensions. The chief port is called *Lewis*, and stands on the west side of the island, at the middle of a large bay, with a sandy bottom. It is pretended that thousand barks from 300 to 400 tons, may ride secure from storms; and that 100 ships of 1000 tons each may be moored in the harbour. A large round basin, which is parted from it by a bank of sand, if cut through, would contain a considerable number of ships, but at present large ships, on account of this sand-bank, are obliged to pass within eighty paces of one of the mountains lying at the mouth of the harbour; the opposite mountain lying at about half a mile distant. One of those mountains, when the English reduced the island, was strongly fortified, and might have made a good defence, but surrendered without firing a gun. The truth is, the inhabitants, who were not very numerous, and but very ill commanded, were amazed at the reduction of *Martinico* and *Guadalupe*, and lost all spirit. *Grenada*; however, at the time of its surrender, contained the face of a settlement, having a mean church, and some places of rendezvous, where the French assembled to defend themselves from the attacks of the savages.

### *MARTINICO, GUADALOUPÉ, and the other French Caribbees.*

**W**E have already had occasion so often to mention the chief of the *French Caribbee-Islands*, when, treating of the conquest of them by the English, that our description of them is in a great measure anticipated; and we shall, therefore, confine ourselves to the historical facts before that period. *Martinico* is the largest of all the *Caribbee-Islands*: It lies betwixt 14 and 15 deg. of north lat; and between 60 deg.

deg. 33 min. and 61 deg. 10 min. west longitude; about twenty leagues north-west of Barbados. It is said to be about sixty miles in length from north-west to south-east; but its breadth is unequal. The produce of the island, besides tobacco, is much the same with that of Barbados, and its coasts abounds with turtle; but the French are far from being so expert as the English are in that species of fishing.

*First settlement of Martinico co.* In 1637, Mons. d' Euanbuc, a famous French settler, brought from St. Christophers, which then belonged to that crown, a hundred soldiers to Martinico, all of them well provided for forming a colony. He landed at *Basse-Terre*, which lies to the west, and south parts of the island; and if we are to believe the French, the inhabitants yielded up to d' Euanbuc all that coast, on which he built a fort called St. Peter, at the mouth of a river of the same name, tho' by some it is called *Royal Anne*. Upon the savages retiring to *Cape-Sterre*, the new colonists applied themselves to ~~all~~ whatever the island was capable of producing; especially, mandioca, peas, potatoes, cotton, and tobacco; for, at this time, the culture of sugar was but little known to the French. D'Euanbuc then returned to St. Christophers, but left one *du Pont* to be his lieutenant-governor in Martinico. It is in vain for the French to pretend, that the inhabitants formed plots against them, and murdered them whenever they had an opportunity. The French, by their own accounts, were the aggressors by invading the natives; and it was natural for the latter to endeavour to repellets their own country. Hostilities multiplying every day, the new settlers gave no quarter to the savages, who sending for assistance to all the neighbouring islands, they were joined by other Caribbeans, to the number of 1500, in canoes, from which they landed under the fort. The French governor, on their approach, had removed all his men and provisions within his entrenchments; so that the savages imagining the fort to be abandoned, advanced within pistol shot of the walls, without any order. This was what *du Pont* had foreseen; and, watching his time, he poured upon the savages a full discharge of his cannon and musketry, which killing one half of them, the survivors fled to their canoes. This discomfiture of the Caribbeans secured to the French, for some time, the quiet posession of their settlements, which they not only enlarged, but supplied with fresh colonists drawn from St. Christophers; so that, in a short time, the natives were obliged to sue to them for peace.

THE French then proceeded to a regular settlement of the island, which they divided into five wards or parishes. Each parish contained a church or chapel, an armoury, stogehouses, dweli-

'dwelling houses, and other conveniences. The governor took up his residence in St. Peter's ward, on account of the fort we have mentioned, but made a present of some fine buildings, raised at the expence of the colony, to the jesuits, who were very powerful at *Martinico*, as well as in the other French settlements. *Martinico*, notwithstanding all its natural advantages, suffered greatly at this time, by a report that its soil produced and harboured serpents and other venomous reptiles. This notion prevailed so strongly, that the people of *St. Christopher*, and the neighbouring islands, declined coming on shore at *Martinico*, and the inhabitants were obliged to carry their tobacco, which they now raised in great plenty, and of an excellent kind, on board the ships. In process of time, they learned from Mr. *Poincy*, the same who attempted to settle *Grenada*, the art of cultivating the sugar cane ; and *Martinico* then maintained 800 men fit to bear arms, besides covenant servants.

ABOUT the year 1646, many of the inhabitants refused to pay their imposts to the French West India company, within whose charter *Martinico* was included. This produced an insurrection in the island, which was quelled by the death of the chief leaders. It was about this time, that the differences which we have mentioned in the history of *Barbados*, arose between the Dutch and the Portuguese in *Brazil*; and the former retiring from that country, landed at *Martinico* with some rich Jews, who offered to settle there. The jesuits made a strong opposition to this proposal, on pretence that the new guests would introduce judaism and heresy into the island. The large sums of ready money which they were possessed of, prevailed over the jesuits' remonstrances with the governor, to allow them a settlement upon the island in a separate quarter. The climate not agreeing with them, many of them died, while others moved off the island, and the few who remained set up public houses, by which they acquired fortunes. But all this while, the possession of the French themselves in *Martinico* was very precarious, on account of a general revolt of all the *Carribbeans* from their government. Nothing but the most horrible massacres ensued. Many of the more dissolute among the French spirited up the savages ; and *Parquet*, who was then governor of the island, was besieged in his own house, where he must have been murdered, had he not been relieved by the arrival of some Dutch ships, who seeing several parts of the island in flames, landed 300 men, and defeated the savages. This gave *Parquet* an opportunity of taking the field ; and the natives, with the negroes who had joined them, were every where slaughtered,

### The History of America.

or obliged to fly to *Dominica* and *St. Vincent*. By their flight, the French became masters of *Capesterre*, and at last of the whole island, having clapped up a peace with the neighbouring *Caribbeans*. In 1650, the king granted the old French *West-India* company his licence to sell *Martinique*, *S. Lucia*, *Grenada*, and the *Grenadines*, to *Parquet*, who purchased them for 50,000 livres.

*MARTINICO* becoming thus *Parquet's* private property, was of no great service to *Old France*. Its inhabitants being under little or no controul, traded with the *English*, *Dutch*, and other *European* nations; but at last, *Louis the XIVth*, in 1664, redeemed the island from the proprietaries, and granted it to a new *West-India* company. Next year, this company being united with that of *Cayenne*, they purchased all the other *French Caribbean Islands*, to which they appointed governors. This change of property made little or no alteration in the affairs of *Martinico*, where the same abuses continued, and the same illicit trade was carried on as before, to the vast prejudice of the *French* revenue; but at last, in 1674, the *French* king suppressed this new company like, wife, and all the aforementioned islands became part of his domain. After this, *Martinico* was attacked by the famous Dutch admiral *de Ruyter*; and we have, in the history of *Barbados*, already given an account of the expeditions undertaken by the *English* against this island. But though those expeditions were unsuccessful, they were of infinite prejudice to the *French*, the most wealthy of their planters retiring, with their effects, to places where they could live with more security, many of them moving to *Old France* itself. *Labat*, who was then upon the island, attributes the calamities which the natives suffered, to a kind of an epidemical frenzy, which broke out among them, and drove many of them to put an end to their own lives, while others were guilty of such extravagancies, as proved them to be totally void of all reason. The best cure for this madness was found to be darkness, a low diet, and severe bastinadings, which sometimes brought the patients to themselves.

In the year 1700, the *French*, settled upon the island of *Martinicq*, were computed to be 1500, besides the negroes, whom they employed, and great numbers of *Caribbeans*, who were readmitted into the island, but were obliged to work as slaves, and to live among the *French*, that they might have no opportunity to form conspiracies and plots with their countrymen, or to associate together. On the 29th of October, 1727, *Martinico* was in danger of being destroyed by an earthquake, which lasted, with very short intervals, for eleven hours,

*Invaded  
by the  
English.*

hours, and threw down St. Peter's Fort. Many lost their lives in the calamity; and besides churches, convents, and other public buildings, above 200 sugar-works were ruined. One mountain was levelled, another cleft in two, and copious streams of water issued from the fissure. A few years recovered the island, and the inhabitants having the *Guadalupe sugars* shipped from thence, with many other advantages from their mother-country, grew rich and flourishing. *Its flourishing state,* Before it was subdued by the English, it could raise 10,000 white inhabitants, fit to carry arms, and above 40,000 negroes or slaves. Besides this force, some companies of regulars were always quartered in the island; so that the French at last gave it out to be impregnable; and it is certain, that nothing but the most notorious misconduct, as we have already observed in the history of *Barbados*, could have rendered the British troops masters of it with so little loss as they suffered in its conquest.

*MARTINICO* is not only the chief of all the *French and government* *Caribbee of Antilles Islands*, but the residence of the governor-general, and the intendant of them. It is likewise the seat of a sovereign council, which superintends all their other islands, and even their settlements in *St. Domingo* and *Tortuga*. This council consists of the governor-general, the intendant, the governor of the island, an attorney-general, the lieutenant-governor for the crown, and twelve counsellors. Its powers are very extensive, for it judges in the last resort upon all matters that come before its court by way of appeal. The governor-general, if upon the island, is president of the council, or in his absence, the intendant. If both are absent, the eldest counsellor then present collects the votes, and pronounces the sentence of the court, the constitution of which is preferable to the like in *Old France*, as the members rise to their seats by merit only. The other officers on the island are two lieutenant-governors, one for *Capesterre*, and another for *Basse Terre*, with a secretary of the marine, whose commission is very extensive. But some of those high-sounding officers have more power and honour than profit attending them, their revenues consisting chiefly of some exemptions of their negroes from the capitulation-tax, and a few casual perquisites, but those not considerable.

THE French governor-general is commonly a man of quality, and both he, the intendant, and the lieutenant-governor, are paid out of the finances of *Old France*. The governor of *Martinico*, as well as of *Guadalupe*, are paid in sugar, as indeed are all the officers of the island, excepting some inconsiderable sums, that issue from the treasury of *Old France*.

The hundred weight of sugar is rated at four livres ten sols. The governors are allowed 60,000 pounds weight, with a pension of 1000 crowns, paid in *Old France*. The lieutenant-governors have 20,000 pounds weight, and 5000 francs salary. The king's judges, attorneys, and other officers have each an allowance of 6000 weight ; but the counsellors of the sovereign council have no more than 1200 weight. twelve of their negroes, exempted from the capitulation-tax. This is a tax paid by the white men and the free negroes, who are hired servants, and consists of 100 weight of coarse sugar a year, for each domestic negro, who is employed in manufacturing it ; and of six livres for every other. All provisions imported into the island are subject to a duty of one per cent. in specie, and a third of all forfeitures and fines goes to the crown. Martinico owes its flourishing state, in a great measure, to the French government having transported thither, by way of punishment, great numbers of its protestant subjects ; some of whom voluntarily settled there.

*Air of  
Martinico.*

THOUGH Martinico is generally said to be healthful for people settled upon it, yet it is certain, that the vast quantity of water which runs through it, creates a humidity, which is very noxious to the constitutions of the inhabitants. Martinico is likewise much subject to epidemical diseases, but those chiefly imported in ships from *Asia* and *Africa*. *Labat*, who resided upon the island, says, that a French ship from *Siam*, in bringing off the remains of two colonies they had there, landed at Martinico, where the crew and the passengers infected the inhabitants with a most horrible distemper, which corrupted the whole mass of the blood ; and, after producing the most shocking symptoms among those affected with it, the patient generally died in four or five days. This was in the year 1705. As we know very little of Martinico, it having been too short a time in our custody after its conquest, for us to be perfectly acquainted with it, we are obliged to have recourse to the French writers for our description of the island.

*Description of St. Peter's, parts of the island.* SAINT PETERS, which we have already mentioned to have been the capital of Martinico, was built in 1665, in order to overawe the mutineers of the island against its proprietors, the second West-India company, who were at the same time the proprietors of all the French Antilles. The town itself extends along the shore ; and a battery, which commands the road, is erected on the west side, which is washed by the river *Royolan*, or *St. Peter*. The principal entry to the fort is from the east ; and the fort itself, towards

the

the sea, is very strong. Upon the high ground, which overlooks the town, is built a wall, which extends thirty-five fathoms, and is well mounted with cannon, with a large square at each extremity. This fortification commands the parade and the town. The fort has no ditch, nor covered way, but the walls are four feet and a half thick, with a parapet and battlements of stone, and the gates are defended by strong pallisades. The parade is a square, of about 300 feet, surrounded on three sides by houses, from which five streets run, and with the fort in its front. The town itself is divided into three wards; the middle, which is properly St. Peters, begins at the fort, and runs westward to the battery of St. Nicholas, which is mounted with eleven guns, and is situated on a mountain. Under the walls of the second ward, ships ride at anchor more securely than under the fort; for which reason, this ward is called the Anchorage, and extends from the battery of St. Nicholas to that of St. Robert, which bounds the town on the west side. The third ward, called the Gallery, extended along the sea-side, from fort St. Peter to the Jesuits river; but 200 houses of it were destroyed by a hurricane in 1695. It was afterwards rebuilt, and became the most populous ward of the three. But those fortifications, formidable as they appear upon paper, made a very inadequate defence against the English, when they reduced this island. The houses of St. Peter's, particularly those of the intendant, the governor of the island, and the other public officers, were found to be neat, commodious, and elegant. The parish church of St. Peter is built of stone, its front is of the Doric order, and every thing about it, shewed both the taste and magnificence of the jesuits, who officiated in it; the whole being 120 feet long by 36. The church of the Anchorage, which belongs to the Jacobine friars, is likewise of stone, and is 90 feet long by 30; two chapels belonging to each church. The building of this church was greatly forwarded by the officers of the marine, who ordered their crews to assist in it; and therefore they enjoy some particular marks of distinction, such as pews and burying-grounds. Nothing can be more delightful than the walk from the yard, in which this church stands, to the Jacobine convent. It is formed by two rows of fine orange-trees, and crossed by two others, half a mile in length. The kitchen-garden of the convent is furnished with all kinds of delicious fruits. The jesuits-cloister is built of marble and free-stone, and commands a very fine prospect over a great variety of gardens and vineyards.

**FORT-ROYAL** is the next place of great consequence in *Martinico*, and it lies by land at the distance of seven leagues, and nine by water from fort *St. Peter*; but the land road is so very incommodious, that travellers generally chuse to go by water. This fort is built on an eminence, fifteen or eighteen fathom above the surface of the sea, by which it is surrounded, excepting a neck of land, of about fifteen fathom over; so that the fort may be said to lie in an isthmus. It is built of earth, and its chief defence consists of the fortifications raised upon this isthmus, which are two demi-bastions and a half-moon, but all of them small; a wet ditch, a glacis, and a covered-way pallisaded. On the flank of one of the demi-bastions lies the harbour, which has a communication with a fortified platform by a pair of stairs. On that side, the fort is shut in by a double wall; and a parapet, with some port-holes, lies towards the sea. The soil, on which the town is built, is a kind of a quicksand; but though it contains regular streets, and one large church belonging to the capuchins, it is said not to be comparable to *St. Peters*. *Cul de Sac Robert*, which lies in this island, is a large bay, almost two leagues deep, with two little islands at its entrance, which, by breaking the force of the waves, renders the bay a fine, safe, natural harbour; for the largest ships, which may be admitted here, to a great number, may reach the shore by a plank in many places. *Fort Trinity* lies at the bottom of *Trinity-Bay*, and is formed by *Point de Caravel*, on the east side, and on the west by an isthmus, which is joined to the land by a neck, about 200 feet broad. It is said, that the tide here flows to the height of fifteen or eighteen inches, and in new and full moons, to above two-feet, which contradicts a common opinion that there is no reflux, or if any, only an imperceptible one, between the tropics. The lieutenant-governor of *Capesterre* has his residence in *Trinity-Town*, which is likewise inhabited by a considerable number of merchants, and by its convenient situation for the European trade, and the safety of its port, during the hurricane-season, is become one of the most thriving parishes in the island. The manufactures of cocoa, sugar, cotton, and other commodities, carried on here, are very considerable. In former times, the *Carribbeans* or natives had their chief town at *Carbet*, (so called from them) near *Fort St. Peter*, in *Basse Terre*. The rivulets and gullies which abound in *Martinico*, render travelling upon the island very incommodious; but under the direction of a better government than that which *Martinico* had when it was conquered by the *English*, those gullies might be made highly serviceable in defending the island.

THE conquest of Martinico, in a manner, closed the operations between the English and French in America during the war<sup>Reflections</sup>. It struck the court of Versailles with greater consternation than even the loss of Canada had done; and the English, rather, because their ministers at foreign courts had in no very decent terms reproached that of London, for want of sufficient armament against an island that might securely bid defiance to all their power, by its artificial as well as natural strength, and the numbers, spirit, and martial disposition of its inhabitants. This conquest, as we have already partly observed, facilitated the reduction of the other French Caribbean-Islands, as it in a manner annihilated all their power there. As to the inhabitants of Martinico, they remained with great tranquillity under the military government of the English, during the short time they held it, and even seemed well-pleased at their change of masters. This disposition proved very favourable to the English, who having, by that time, resolved upon an expedition against the Havannah, were obliged to draw off great part both of their land and sea-forces from Martinico, to reinforce that expedition. During a negotiation for peace, that was managed between Mr. Pitt on the part of his Britannic majesty, and M. Buffy on that of the French Court, the latter seemed from the beginning to have made no difficulty of putting the English in possession of Canada, provided they could recover Guadalupe; but Martinico being conquered, they added to the English the possession of Louisiana, almost as far as New Orleans.

THE subjects of Great Britain, however, not foreseeing what turn those negotiations might take, had availed themselves of the conquest of Martinico and Guadalupe, by opening in both islands a very promising trade; and even numbers of them settled there. It was therefore necessary to prevent all loss and inconvenience to private property, to specify in the eighth article of the definitive treaty, that all British subjects, "who shall have settled in the said islands, or those who shall have any commercial affairs to settle there, or in the other places restored to France by the present treaty, shall have liberty to sell their lands and their estates, to settle their affairs, to recover their debts, and to bring away their effects, as well as their persons, on board vessels, which they shall be permitted to send to the said islands, and other places restored as above; and which shall serve for this use only, without being restrained on account of their religion, or under any other pretence whatsoever, except that of debts, or of criminal prosecutions; and for this purpose, the term of eighteen months

months is allowed to his Britannic majesty's subjects, to be computed from the day of the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty; but, as the liberty granted to the Britannic majesty's subjects, to bring away their persons and their effects, in vessels of their nation, may be liable to abuses, if precautions were not taken to prevent them; it has been expressly agreed between his Britannic majesty and his most Christian majesty, that the number of English vessels, which shall have leave to go to the said islands and places restored to France, shall be limited, as well as the number of tons of each one; that they shall go in ballast; shall set sail at a fixed time; and shall make one voyage only; all the effects belonging to the English being to be embarked at the same time. It has been further agreed, that his most Christian majesty shall cause the necessary passports to be given to the said vessels; that, for the greater security, it shall be allowed to place two French clerks, or guards, in each of the said vessels, which shall be visited in the landing-places and ports of the said islands and places restored to France; and that the merchandize which shall be found therein shall be confiscated."

IN consequence of this article, on the 20th <sup>st</sup> December, 1763, public notice was given in the *London Gazette*, for all merchants and others concerned in the trade to *Martinico*, and the other restored islands, to send in to lord *Hallifax*'s office all the above specified particulars, that his lordship knowing the numbers of the vessels, might accordingly apply to the courts of *France* and *Spain* for passports. Upon the whole, the French behaved, during the whole course of the negociation, an eagerness for the restitution of the three islands *Martinico*, *Guadoupe*, and *St. Lucia*, that was impolitic; and, probably, must be ineffectual. Their retaining the property of *St. Lucia* may be some advantage to them, but can be of no detriment to *Great-Britain*, as we shall farther remark in our account of *Dominica*. The French, by all accounts, are endeavouring to give this island all the additional strength that it can admit of; but they are undoubtedly mistaken in imagining as they do, that they ever shall be able to revive that gainful sugar-trade which they carried on before the last war from *Martinico*. The acquisition that has been made by the English of the other *Caribbee Islands*, where sugar, indigo, cotton, and the like commodities may be raised in as great perfection, and with as much facility, as they can be in their islands, must soon convince them of their error; besides the infinite losses they have sustained in their *North American* possessions, which used to supply their islanders with many

necessaries for their plantations and commerce, and likewise took off large quantities of their sugar, rum, and molasses.

The island of Guadalupe was by the Carribbeans called Guada-Carukera, or Carriceur., also was discovered by Columbus, loupe. who gave it the name it now bears, from a distant resemblance it has to a chain of mountains of the same name in Old Spain. Discovery and name when he landed here, it was peopled by a set of savages who knew the arts of life better than those who inhabited of Guadalupe.

The other Caribbee-Islands. His landing was opposed by the women of the island, who furiously attacked his men with their bows and arrows; but they were soon dispersed by the fire-arms of the Spaniards, who thereby obtained an easy possession of the island, where they found the houses of the barbarians stored with large quantities of cotton, spun and unspun, and looms for weaving it; mention is likewise made of iron; bows and arrows, and cotton hammocks. Those particulars raise some suspicion as to the veracity of the Spanish accounts; unless we can suppose the natives, either to have descended from the inhabitants of the old world, or to have acquired some knowledge of manufactures after the two former voyages of Columbus. Honey, wax, pompons, (for so a bastard kind of pine-apple is called) a sort of cinnamon-tree, mastic, aloes, sandel-wood, giffer, and several other *West-India* fruits, were found here in large quantities. The birds discovered on the island were parrots, partridges, turtle-doves, herons, falcons, to mention no others; because the histories of places, which come from the first discoverers of America, ought to be read with great caution. Whatever may be in this, Columbus, who, notwithstanding his personal merits, and the obligations he has laid the public under by discovering America, was no other than a commissioned pirate, acting under the authority of two powers, the pope and the king of Spain, who had no right over the places he conquered. He behaved accordingly; for after landing his men, he plundered and burnt the houses of the natives.

GUADALUPE lies thirty leagues north-west from Marti-nico, and is supposed to be near an hundred leagues in compass. Situation. We know nothing of its history from the time of Columbus landing on and plundering it, till the institution of the French general company of the American islands in 1635, within whose commission Guadalupe lay. This company being unable of themselves to plant or cultivate these islands, empowered M. St. Olive, or, as he is called by Labat, de Loline, who was their lieutenant-general of St. Christophers, which was then a flourishing plantation, and one du Plessis, to contract with some merchants of Dieppe, for settling Guadalupe.

The

The religious differences in *France*, at that time, as well as in *England*, soon produced adventurers, who, besides the inducement of enjoying liberty of conscience, were impelled by views of interest, which, in fact united all parties and religions in such adventures. Those merchants contracted with 400 men, who were obliged to serve them three years; but many of the adventurers, who were protestants, did not imagine that the new settlement was absolutely under the direction of cardinal Richelieu, who sent along with them four Dominican friars, provided with very full powers from pope Urban the VIIIth. The commission of the adventurers from the general company of the *American* islands left it optional to them to settle either *Martinico*, *Dominica*, or *Guadaloupe*.

*and first  
peopling.*

**MARTINICO**, as being the most promising, was pitched on; but when the colonists landed on that island, nothing but mountains and precipices presented to them, and they found it full of those serpents and poisonous animals we have already mentioned, which determined them, after erecting a cross in sign of possession, to remove to *Guadaloupe*. The value of this island, by what has fallen from the French and Spanish writers, was, at this time, far from being unknown to the Europeans; for we are told that the *Dominicans* had obtained the mission of it, on the merit of eighteen of their order (Spaniards in all probability) having been put to death there in 1603 and 1604. The adventurers happened to make an unfortunate choice of the place on which they landed; for the soil, which was red, seemed to be proper only for making bricks. As an addition to this misfortune, their two conductors, *D'Olive* and *du Plissé*, disagreed in the partition of their command; which afterwards proved very detrimental to the colony; and they had been guilty of an unpardonable oversight, in not carrying along with them provisions sufficient to subsist them for at least twelve months, without the assistance of the natives. On examining their stores, they found no more left than could maintain them for two months, and the two chiefs dividing them between them, as well as their men and ammunition, agreed to separate.

*Distresses  
of the co-  
lony.*

*D'Olive* built fort *St. Peter*, so called, because he took possession of it on that saint's eve. At first, the natives were far from shewing any disgust or dislike towards them. On the contrary, they assisted them in rearing their huts, and furnished them with cassava-bread, with seed for raising tobacco, cotton and peas, and even taught them to catch turtle and other fish in canoes. It is probable, that the colonists made ungrateful returns for those acts of friendship, for otherwise we can scarcely account for the dreadful famine, with

which

which, in a short time they were afflicted. This became so raging, after consuming their bread, that many of them died of bloody fluxes, others retired to St. Christopher's, and those who remained, were reduced to the horrible necessity of even devouring dead bodies, which they pulled from the graves. A ship arriving from Dieppe, with 140 men, landed a month's provision, but that being spent, the famine and mortality raged as much as ever. Notwithstanding the horrors of this narrative, the miseries of the settlers must have been partially alleviated, either by the commiseration of the natives, or the produce of the grounds, as it is impossible to conceive they could subsist in such misery for near five years, which father la Texe informs us they did. Their sufferings, however, were very great, and famine had reduced their bodies to such a state of weakness, that they were unable to clear the ground, so as to raise other plants, roots, fruits, or corn.

In the course of those calamities *du Plessis* died, by which through the direction of the colony devolved upon D'Olive. The *French* ~~writers~~ themselves observe, that the settlers were equally *miserable* afflicted by the insatiable avarice and cruelty of their ~~com-~~ <sup>of its di-</sup> manders, as by the hand of Providence. D'Olive, at last broke ~~retracte~~ with the wages, numbers of whom he massacred, as being the readiest way to procure subsistence. As usual, they applied to the *Caribbeans* of the neighbouring islands, who attacked the *French* in such numbers, that so many of them were cut off, as scarcely to leave to the remainder the name of a colony. And indeed, when we consider the calamities they are said to have struggled with, it is surprising that any one among them was left alive. We are, therefore, reasonably to presume, that their sufferings were over-rated by themselves or their historians; especially, as the war between them and the *Caribbeans* is said to have been carried on with great slaughter and cruelty on both sides, from January 1636 to 1639. During this period, it appears even from the *French* accounts, that several reinforcements were sent them, both from *Europe* and St. Christopher's; but they tell us, that all their convoys of provisions miscarried, as if the hand of God had been upon the colony to blast it. We need not, however, search for extraordinary causes, when natural ones readily present themselves; for it is generally allowed, that the tyranny and rapaciousness of D'Olive were insupportable, and that the colonists resolved to undergo any extremity, rather than continue under it. When the settlement was brought to its lowest ebb, D'Olive detached a party of his best men to bring provisions from St. Christopher's; but they either perished in the

the voyage, or carried away the ship, to rid themselves of D'Olive's tyranny ; for they never ~~were~~ <sup>had</sup> heard of.

D'Olive, one of them, put under arrest.

D'Olive's ambition for command was such, that he could not bear the thoughts of resigning, even that of this miserable colony ; and he sent over a Dominican to be his agent at the court of France, which he understood was filled with complaints against him, as well as to solicit speedy supplies from the company. The Dominican managed to ~~get~~ by representing the colonists as heretics, and that all the outrages against D'Olive, were from his vigilance and strict discipline, that the company received a message, which was to them a law, from cardinal Rubertier, commanding, that they should renew D'Olive's commission, and constitute him governor of the colony. The Dominican returned with a new commission, and the governor immediately assembled his officers to hear it read, but while this ceremony was performing, the Dominican church, with all its rich furniture and plate, was consumed by fire, nor were the perpetrators ever discovered, a strong proof of the detraction in which this commission was held by the colonists. In the mean while, all M. de l'Isle's authority could not prevail with the merchants of Dieppe to make any addition to the expences of men and money they had laid out upon the colony, and even the company turned a deaf ear to all D'Olive's repeated applications for fresh supplies ; nor could such of the colonists as had served out their time, be prevailed upon, either by entreaties or threats, to remain longer in the island. The dreadful situation he found himself in, infected his brain, and becoming blind, he went to St. Christopher's, where he was put under arrest by M. de Poincy, general-governor of the French islands.

*Guadalupe now settled by de Poincy.* DE POINCY knew the value of Guadalupe, and the reasons why the colony had miscarried. He immediately formed a plan for selling St. Christopher's to the English, and for carrying over all its inhabitants to settle Guadalupe. The bad success of the former colony probably prevented this proposal from being executed ; but de Poincy was so thoroughly convinced of its expediency, and the advantages that must attend it, that, at the request of the company's agent, he sent over men, and ammunition to Guadalupe, where the Caribbeans had again come to a great head ; and he published advertisements or placards through all the French part of St. Christopher's, offering to such of the inhabitants as inclined to remove to Guadalupe, their passage free, and to maintain them till their own plantations could subsist them. He even prohibited the French of St. Christopher's to cultivate tobacco in their mountains or higher grounds ; and thus they were put

But under a kind of necessity of complying with his proposals. On the 14<sup>th</sup> of January, 1640, a hundred and thirty-two French of St. Christopher's sailed for Guadalupe; but being driven back and the ship in bad condition, they did not reach it before the last of the month. Poincy hearing of their arrival at Guadalupe, raised as many more, and, to increase their number, he released all the civil debtors upon the island, whom he likewise sent over to Guadalupe, where he laid the interest of the King and the company demanded their victories. Two officers, Vernade and Sabouilly, were appointed by de Poincy to manage the affairs of the new colony; and their first measure was to make a partition among their settlers of all the estates and effects that had belonged to D'Oliver's planters, and which the few remains of his colony thought ought to be appropriated to them. The misunderstanding this occasioned was of infinite disservice to the colony. The officers continued to exercise such tyranny over their inferiors, that many of them ran into the woods, where some of them joined the Caribbeans, who carried on incessant war against the French, while others occasionally plundered both parties. Sabouilly defeated the savages, and once more forced the greatest part of them to leave the island; but soon their departure, the fugitive French uniting in a body, de Poincy was obliged to send over 500 men from St. Christopher's to reduce them, and the colony thereby recovered some degree of tranquillity.

THE new settlers still laboured under vast disadvantages. The air of the island, which was not yet cleared, proved fatal to their constitutions, and carried numbers of them off. The survivors found, that without the assistance of the savages, it was impossible for them to procure subsistence while they were clearing their plantations. The Caribbeans, therefore, were once more admitted to a communication with the French, who furnished them with knives, scissars, nails, and the like articles, of small value; and received in return, hogs, turtles, and a great variety of other fish, which subsisted them while they were clearing their grounds. Before the end of the year 1640, M. Aubert was appointed by the West India company their governor of Guadalupe; and while he continued in that station, he was, by his prudence, justice, and moderation, of vast service to the colony. He re-established a good understanding with the savages, and the terms being faithfully observed on both parts, sufficiently proved, that all the former misfortunes of the colony had been owing to the tyranny and rapaciousness of its governors and officers. The advantages of the new settlement became every day more and

*First establish-*  
*ments of*  
*the colo-*  
*nies,*

more evident, by the revival of tranquillity and plenty, and many eminent planters were encouraged thereby to settle in the island. This desirable situation did not long continue. The members of the *West-India Company* France had but a very slender stock of credit, and most of them were men of ruined fortunes, desirous of repairing them by every practice of oppression and rapaciousness. The promising aspect of their colony at *Guadalupe* was too tempting to be resisted, and M. *Houel*, one of their own number, was sent over to inspect the affairs of the island, upon his return in 1642, made so favourable a report of it, that *Aubert* was displaced, and *Houel* sent over governor in his room. We know little of the history of this governor's administration, during his ten years residence upon the island, any farther power that dissention and animosity among the colonists again goting under him; but, in the main, the colony acquired strength and riches, though, perhaps, not in so great a degree, as it might have done, had it continued under its former governor. *Houel*, going over to France, left the government of *Guadalupe* in the hands of his brother and nephew; and when major-general *Penn*, in his expedition against *Hispaniola*, appeared before it with an English squadron, he found it in so good a posture of defence, that we are told, he did not think proper to attack it. This, however, is a ridiculous assertion, raised by the French themselves; for it must have cost *Penn* his head had he made any such attempt, there being then the strictest intimacy between *Cromwell* and the court of France.

*Defrac-*  
*tive hur-*  
*cane in*  
*the island.*

ABOUT this time, the colony upon the island of *Guadalupe* was threatened with utter ruin by three most dreadful hurricanes, which happened in the space of fifteen months, which destroyed most of their plantations, and almost all the live stock they had subsisted upon; so that a depopulation by famine must have ensued, had not the colonists been relieved from other islands. When the hurricanes ceased, the air was infected, and prodigious quantities of large caterpillars devoured the fruits of the ground: but those natural calamities were not the only misfortunes the colonists had to struggle with. *Houel*, who was naturally of a tyrannical and avaricious disposition, by his oppression often provoked the colonists into insurrections; and to quell them, he had recourse to the negroes and other slaves upon the island, into whose hands he put fire-arms. Fortunately for the colonists, these negroes were of two sorts, those from *Angola*, and those from

*Cape Verde* ; but having been always at war with one another in *Africa*, they could not unite in *America*, so as to make their conspiracy agree with the French a common cause. They carried it, however, as far as it could go ; for though they could not agree about uniting together, yet they were unanimous as to a conspiracy into which they entered against the French. Their plan was, to murder all their masters, but to preserve the females, a breed, and then to divide the island between them, under two kings, as they called themselves, the one to reign over *Basse Terre*, and the other over *Capesterre*, which was appointed for their general rendezvous. Before the day of execution arrived, the hearts of the *Cape Verde* negroes failed them ; whether through fear, or from the aversion they had to their brothers of *Angola*. The latter punctually observed their rendezvous, notwithstanding their disappointment : having waited a whole day for their *Cape Verde* friends, they fell with great fury upon the French plantations at *Capesterre*, whom they destroyed, killing the planters, and carrying off their arms. They then sheltered themselves in the woods, whence, for fifteen days, they made excursions, destroying all the French who fell into their hands. This obliging the French to unite, the savages were defeated ; their two kings taken, and put to death, as were many of their ring-leaders, while the interior fort suffered different, but severe, punishments. The Caribbeans about *Capesterre* were accused by the French of having fomented this and another conspiracy, which was likewise defeated ; and those savages, to clear themselves, entered into a compromise with the French, to renounce all farther connections with the negroes.

Those disturbances were not confined to slaves and savages ; Oppressions for *Houel's* oppressions and exactions irritated the French of *Houel*, themselves into a revolt, which was appeased only by his promising to abolish their grievances. But his danger was no sooner over, than they were renewed, and he was so rapacious as to strip even his brother and nephew of their estates upon the island, and obliged them to come from France to *Guadalupe* to reclaim them. The planters and merchants took their part, and *Houel* was forced again to patch up an accommodation, which he broke likewise ; but at last, *de Poincy* interposed, and matters were once more seemingly accommodated. This reconciliation being soon broken, both parties had again recourse to arms, and the French king was daily pestered with remonstrances and petitions from both sides ; so contradictory to each other, that in 1663, he gave a com-

mission to the marquis de Tracy, whom we have already mentioned in the history of Canada, went to the French St. Lawrence Islands, with the new ~~order~~, his majesty's vice-roy of America, and, after leaving every thing ready to take upon him the government of Canada. When Tracy arrived at Gouadalupe, he found the affairs of the island in vast disorder. The slaves had again deserted to the number of 400; and from their fastnesses in the woods, having forty a daring fellow of their own number, they committed great disorders among them, with him a strong body of regulars, threw some of them into the torts of the island, and others he found little difficulty in reducing the slaves to their duty. At last he found means to establish a kind of a general ~~order~~ over all the islands, in which the English, the French, and the Spanish were parties. During Tracy's residence in Gouadalupe, he was guilty of many unkindly justices towards the English, the termed rebels, on pretence of their having insulted the King in catholic, and encouraging the rebels of the island.

By this time, the East India company was bankrupt, and sold to M. de la Serre, Houel, and others, the islands of Gouadalupe, Dijon, Marigalante, and others, and other small islands, nothing being reserved to the French crown more than the bare right of sovereignty; and then the company was dissolved. It would not have subsisted so long, had it not been for the spirit of colonizing that they possessed the French, and especially the protestants; for though it was established under the powerful patronage of cardinal Richelieu, yet its capital did not exceed 4000 £. Sterling. The court of France looked upon the bargain they had made with the new proprietors, as a transaction they had no power to conclude, and as a nullity ~~so far as~~. It was upon this presumption, that Tracy had been sent over to regulate the affairs of those islands, and in July 1664, a new East India company was instituted, comprehending all the French possessions in America, on the continent as well as in the islands, but not till after the new proprietors of Gouadalupe, had been reimbursed their purchase money. The first governor of Gouadalupe, under this new company, was Mons. de Lien. The king was to be at the expence of its military establishments, and his troops accordingly continued to garrison the torts upon the island. The company on the other hand, had vast funds and resources for carrying on their commerce; and one of the first of the royal instructions was, that they should use all means to recover the trade of the French Antilles-Islands, out of the hands of the Dutch, who

who, during the troubles which happened in the French king's minority, had also contrived it. They likewise had it in charge to recover from the Knights of Malta, and other private owners, all the smaller islands, which they had obtained by sham purchases from the late proprietors.

The institution of this new West-India company was a bold *New institution* and spiritued undertaking, and every way worthy the genius <sup>of</sup> the great Colbert, who formed it; and who proposed, that it should defray half the military expence of the French nation; but he did not foresee, that the French had not stability enough in their nature for executing, to the full, so momentous a plan. Though the company, while it existed, did <sup>not</sup> fail in answering the expectation of the government; yet the services they performed were turned against them-selves, and Colbert immediately concluded, that if private persons made such advantage by trade, the profits must be more than doubled. Should the crown return into its own hands the property of those islands; but, as we have observed in the history of *Sigala*, this was far from being the case of that and *the other* French settlements upon the continent. In consequence of this scheme, the new French West-India company was suppressed in 1674; and then their trade, and all their possessions, by means that are not material for this history to transact, were reduced to the French king's hands, whose ministers, from that time, seemed to have adopted a commercial system that was entirely new. In imitation of the courts of *England* and *Spain*, their plan was to confine the trade of the French *Antilles* to France alone; but this, in a great measure, depended on the concurrence of *Barbadoes* company, who, as it happened at *Barbadoes*, disputed their right of importing negroes from Africa; and of their farmers-general, whom the late West-India company was greatly in arrears, without their having any prospect of being repaid, but from the profits of that trade.

Those different claims threw the *Antilles*-Islands into a violent contention with regard to their trade, and they still admitted Dutch vessels to trade with them, five of which were burnt by the English in one of the harbours of *Guadalupe* in 1677; and some of the French plantations in *Grand Terre* were plundered at the same time. As to the other naval transactions which then passed between the English and French at *Guadalupe*, we must refer the reader to the history of *Barbadoes*. Upon the whole, the French saw, that through the mismanagement, pride, and avarice of their own governors, the English had got the start of them in their West-India trade; and that the same motives had induced their

settlers and officers to be guilty of the most flagrant breaches of justice and good faith against ~~the subjects of all America~~, Had the resentment of the English been all their own hands, they might easily have punished themselves ; but the French king, sensible of the ascendancy he had over James II. proposed a fresh negotiation between the two crowns for regulating their differences in America, and for preventing all future disputes between their subjects. James had great notions of trade ; but he had attached himself entirely to the African, whose interest, as he thought, then protracted war would serve ; and therefore after many preliminary discussions, the treaty proposed by the French was signed at Whitehall, November the 5. a. 1686, by Barillon, its ambassador at London, on the one part, and by the English office of state on the other.

*A treaty of neutrality* The great points settled by this treaty, which was ~~more~~ ~~of~~ ~~disadvantage~~ ~~to the~~ ~~English,~~ ~~utmost~~ ~~prejudice~~ ~~to the~~ ~~English interest over all America~~ First, That the subjects of both crowns (upon the continent as well as in the islands) should live ~~in~~ ~~neither~~ ~~in~~ ~~amity~~, and each be at liberty without interruption to pursue their separate views, intentions, and improvements. The second article, which seems upon the main to have been copied from the treaty of Westphalia, exclude all manner of trade or correspondence between the subjects of the two crowns, in their several ports or harbours ; and both were to enjoy their privileges, prerogatives, and jurisdictions in their utmost extent, with all their benefit of trade. But notwithstanding the above stipulations, ~~oddly~~, certain regulations were laid down, under which, in cases of necessity, the subjects of one nation might enter into the ports and harbours of the other ; and all necessary assistance was to be given by either in case of shipwrecks, or other sea accidents. The fourth article, the English were at liberty, to load and unload salt from the ponds of St. Christopher's, and the French were at liberty to water in the same island ; but both at those times, upon the third firing of a gun, land with a flag. By the fifth article it was stipulated, that neither nation were to harbour the fugitives, whether white, black, or Indian, that had belonged to the other ; or the goods that they had purloined. The sixth article provided against all depredations committed by the privateers of either nations, the masters of which ships were to give security in a thousand pound for their good behaviour ; and likewise to subject their ships to the making good all acts of injustice they should commit. The seventh article bound up both the contracting parties from granting commissions, or letters of marque, to the ships

of any power with whom either might be at war, and that neither should assist the other to support the pirates or free-booters of either. The eighth article provided, that all American disputes between the two contracting parties, if they could not be settled in *America* within the space of a year, should be stated, and sent home to their respective courts for discussion. The ninth, and last article we shall mention, was the most insidious of all on the part of *France*; for it provided, that whatever war might break out between the two crowns, strict neutrality should be observed amongst their subjects in *America*.

Such were the heads of this treaty of neutrality, which, but during the short time it lasted, raised the *French* affairs in *America* from a despondent to a formidable state. Any one who has read the foregoing pages may easily conceive the French advantages which the *French* derived from a neutrality at a time when the *English* subjects there had not even provocation but power sufficient to have reduced all their settlements. The *French* lost no time in improving the happy crisis. They extirpated the *Caribbeans* from *Guadalupe*, as those poor savages had no longer the *English* to apply to for protection or assistance; but they invented a distinction between the savages they had thus destroyed, on pretext of their having been slaves or rebels, and those who had taken refuge in *Dominica* and *St. Vincent*; and whom, they said, they had received into their protection. They had even the effrontery to carry this infamous distinction to the court of *England*, and had formed a sketch of a treaty for maintaining the *Caribbeans* in those two islands, till they were in a condition of extirminating them from thence, as they had done their brethren from *Martinico* and *Guadalupe*.

of a people invited by *Labat*, that in the descent made by the *French* upon *Guadalupe*, under commodore *Walker* and colonel *Waddington*, had not the officers of the *English* the *Carronades* among themselves, the like misunderstanding among the *French* officers must have put the island into the hands of the *English*. The truth is, this invasion, though in a manner recent, and at that time, of great importance to both nations, is so variously related by *French* as well as *English* writers, and most of them too upon the spot, pretending that they deliver nothing but what they say, throws the utmost confusion and uncertainty upon the whole; so that all we know, is, that the *English* did infinite damage to the island: but upon the arrival of M. *Gabaret*, the governor of *Martinico*, they thought proper to reembark with a considerable loss of men, but chiefly by sickness. During the remainder of that war, as well as the two wars which broke

out between France and England, ~~and~~<sup>which</sup> became the great rendezvous of the privateers; and their exploits against the English were performed ~~at~~<sup>in</sup> Wat Head; but as those transactions do not fall within the bounds of this history we omit them, to pass to matters of more general concern.

SINCE the French, by the treaty of 1763, re-~~en~~<sup>re-</sup>gain<sup>gained</sup> Its <sup>south</sup> possession of *Grenada*, they seem to be more than ~~ever~~<sup>more</sup> sensible of the importance of this island, and have brought nearly to the constitution of a Spanish colony, as appears by the following ordinance of M. Bourlémont governor-general, and M. le Présar, its intendant and intendant; viz. First, That no foreign vessel shall navigate nearer those coasts than the distance of one league, or land any boat ashore without a written permission from the intendant, in which shall be specified the nature and quality of the effects ~~they~~ have on board. Secondly, That all such foreign vessels shall anchor in *B. G. Tétre* road, and at *Punt-Peter* only. Thirdly, That they shall take in all their loading at the port they first an-

chor in. Fourthly, No permissions will be delivered by the intendant, to such French merchants as he shall think proper to send over to foreign ports, and colonies; and no foreign vessel shall take on board any thing but molasses and rum. Fifthly, Enjoins masters of foreign vessels to make their report, and shew their permission upon their arrival; and obliges them to receive a waiter on board. Sixthly, Forbids the trespassing against this ordinance, under the penalties of confiscation of vessel and cargo 3000 livres, and a year's imprisonment. Seventhly, Orders all gardes de cotes, from the first of November instant, to see all foreign vessels that shall be found within a league of these coasts, without such permission as aforesaid. Eighthly, One concerns the registry and publication of the ordinance."

The air of Guadeloupe is preferable to that of Martinique, more salubrious and less sultry. Such was the policy of the French governors, that they did not encourage the population of Guadeloupe equally with that of Martinique, for this reason, that they always were sure of settlers for the former, and that an over increase of planters might break the balance that was necessary to be kept up between it and their other islands. In short, it has been asserted, that Guadeloupe, if as well peopled and cultivated as Barbadoes, might produce as much sugar as would furnish all Europe. Among its remarkable productions of the vegetable kind, *Labat* mentions the valuable copau-tree, from whence is extracted a most excellent balsam, and which he could not find true. in any other of the French islands. It grows about twenty feet in height, and makes a fine appearance. Its leaf resembles that of the orange-tree, and is of an aromatic smell, as well when rubbed or squeezed. The wood is white of a per-<sup>the copau</sup> and according to *Labat*, when its balm is carefully bed in the soil, it is a good sovereign internal as well as external the utr. The milk shrub, so called from its yielding a sub-<sup>the copau</sup> milk when ripe, is likewise found here. Its leaf shrub. resembles the laurel, as its blossoms do that of the jessamine. *Labat* says, that the juice of the shrub falls little or nothing short of the copau-balsam in its sanative virtues. The mou-<sup>Moulane</sup> bine-tree, which grows here, bears a yellow plum, with <sup>and corbe-</sup> which the natives fatten their hogs; and the gum of the cor-ry-tree. bary-tree, when hardened in the sun, becomes so translucent, that the Caribbeans use to form it into ornaments and wear them as beads and bracelets. Many of the mountains with which Guadeloupe abounds, are loaded with wood, and nothing can be more verdant, or more beautifully variegated, than the large fruitful plains that lie at their bottom; but the

## The History of America

*Hot  
springs.*

the most extraordinary object that is found in *Guadaloupe*, or in any of the French islands, is ~~a salt-pit~~, so it appears to be by its continual smoaking, which communicates a sulphureous taste to the neighbouring streams. Near the little island of *Goyaves* are found springs that are boiling hot, and are said to contain many medicinal properties, particularly in the cure of dropsies. The *vals de facs*, or pools, that lie on the coasts of *Guadaloupe*, contain turtle, sharks, land-crabs, and various other fishes. As to the fortifications of this island, the reader will be able to form a proper idea of them from reading the history of its conquest, which is comprised in that of *Barbadoes*. But I may be permitted to give some account of other particulars.

In the *Grande Terre* are several indentings made by the sea along the land, which are spacious enough to shelter ships from the hurricanes, and are shaded by palmetto-trees to which they may be fastened. The *Great Cul de Sac* is an excellent riding for ships of all burdens; but in particular the *Little Cul de Sac* is the most populous and frequented of any in the island. The town and fort of *Basse-Terre* lies two leagues north of the original fort, which was twice carried away by inundation; and, indeed, all the buildings upon the island have undergone various alterations since its first settlement, from inundations, hurricanes, and earthquakes. Among the other parishes of *Guadaloupe*, *Pointe à la Saline* is remarkable. It is so called, because it was occupied in the time of the first company by those who had fulfilled their contract of the three years service to the proprietors; and hence it is reckoned, that they might be distinguished from those who were servants still.

*Devil-bird.* The most remarkable bird found by *Labat*, ~~on the island of Guadaloupe~~, was the devil-bird, which is peculiar to the island of *Dominica*. According to him, it is a bird of passage, ~~and~~ of the size of a young pullet, and all its plumage coal-black. Its wings are long, its legs short, and its feet, which are like those of a duck, have strong claws; its beak is crooked, sharp, and hard, and in length about an inch and a half; its eyes are large, and serve it to distinguish fishes, which it catches at night out of the sea; but they are unable to bear the light in the day-time when flying, so that they often rush upon interposing objects and fall down. After their fish-hunting in the night, they repair to the *Devil's-Mountain*, so called from its lying near *Bailiff-River*, where they ~~live~~ by pairs in holes like rabbits. Their continuance here is during the months of *October* and *November*, though they are seen singly in other months; but all of them disappear in *May*, ~~with-~~

without being seen again till September. The negroes of the island have a peculiar way of hunting those birds with dogs and hawks, but will long be described here; and *Labat*, who attended four of them during this dangerous diversion, says, that by noon they had taken an hundred and ninety-eight. Their flesh, when carefully cleaned, and cured of its fusty taste, is good and nourishing food; and the negroes and poor of the island subsist upon it during the season.

THE bees of Guadalupe are very different in every respect from those of Europe, being black, smaller, and without wings, or, indeed, none that can be felt. They never hive but in the hollows of trees, and their wax, which is of a dark purple, approaching to black, besides its being too soft to candle, never can be blanched; so that it is made use of for sealing the corks of bottles. Those bees, instead of making combs, lay their honey in bladders of wax about the form and size of a pigeon's egg; but by all accounts it is harder, and more of any other consistence than that of oil or oil. This island is pestered by an insect called a ravel, *The ravel* laying a may-bug, or cockchaffer, of a stinking-smell, and preying upon paper, books, and furniture, and whatever they do not gnaw is discoloured by their ordure. These nasty insects, which are very numerous, and appear chiefly by night, would be invisible were it not for a large spider, some of them the length of a man's fist, which entangles them in its web, and otherwise surprises them, for which reason the inhabitants of the island are very careful not to do the least hurt to those animals. Having thus given the civil and natural history of Guadalupe, as far as it imports an English or a curious reader to know, we shall now enter upon an account of the manners, dispositions, and religion of a people whom we have often mentioned, but never have had an opportunity of describing, though their history is of the utmost importance to this part of our work, we mean the Caribbeans; and in this we shall be directed by ancient as well as modern authorities, to which last the French writers have too much attached themselves.

*LERY*, a Frenchman, who went to Brasil in 1556, and remained there for some time, mentions the *Caribbes*, <sup>Account</sup> who the Caribbean undoubtedly are the same with those we have called *Carib-beans*, as being the priests of the *Brafilians*, and very expert by their jugglings in imposing upon those barbarians, and making them believe whatever they pleased. *Lery* could scarcely be mistaken in the name; and his relation of them

\* His works, which is very scarce, is written in Latin, and was printed by *de Bry*, in 1592.

is very credible; for though he endeavours to exaggerate those powers of imposture, as if they were affected by some supernatural cause, yet common experience teaches us, that enthusiasm and venality every day produce the like, and, indeed, much more wonderful effects than any he mentions. He observes, that those *Caribees* had a much stronger aversion to *Europeans* than the rest of their nation had; and this may very well account for these *Europeans* giving the name of *Caribbes*, or *Carribbeans*, to the inhabitants of those islands, who are, of all other savages, the most irreconcileable to our manners and government. Other writers say, that the *Carribbeans* were a people of *Virina*, who being expelled from their own country took refuge in those islands; but Mr. *Brigstock*, an Englishman says, that they are a nation of the *Apalachians*, and are till to be found at the back of *Georgia* and *Carolina*.

From all that we can learn with certainty, the inhabitants of the *Carribbeans* have been greatly altered since the time of their first discovery; and about 1625, they have done a bartering-trade with the *Spaniards*, before the arrival of whose ships they impatiently waited. But this change appears to have been for the worse; for we hear no more of their cotton manufactures and clooms, which the *Spaniards* destroyed at their first arrival on the island. Mention is indeed made by *Gage* of their being in possession, at that time, of sugar-canæs, which is a stronger argument for their having come from *Brazil*, where that plant was then cultivated, and no where else in the *West Indies*; and *Lery* observes, that the *Brazilians* had clooms, which their women managed with great dexterity, and that they made cups and vessels of earthen-ware neater than those that are manufactured in *Egypt*. Among the *Brazilians*, the *Carribes* or priests seem to have been the only people who did not go naked; but they were covered only with robes made of feathers, very nicely joined together, the manufacturers of the clooms being kept for bed cloaths, and other household furniture. The *Antilles Caribbean* have an olive complexion, little black piercing eyes, and their mothers are at great pains to flatten their foreheads and noses, so that the appearance of a *Caribbean* cannot be very pleasing. They suffer no beard to grow on their faces and chins, and they are of a strong, well-proportioned make. They kept their hair nicely combed and clean. The men sometimes wear feather-hats, but both sexes otherwise commonly go stark naked. Like other American savages, they bore their noses, ears, and lips, and hang

hang by them pieces of amber, chrystral, tortoise-shell, gold, silver, or whatever strong ornament they are most fond of, or can procure. O ~~the~~ <sup>the</sup> solemn divs the men are dressed like the *Brazuas Caribas*, in leather-robes; but the noblesse, ornament their chiqit can have bout him is a copper gorget, which is an infallible proof of his valour, as that metal can be found no where but in the country of their enemies. After iring <sup>which</sup> they do before the sun, they wash themselves in a tanning water, and when the man is dry, the woman dresses his hair, and with feathers, instead of pencils, ~~hair~~ *Leytaysser*. *Brazuas* women have pencils, and that they handle them v<sup>e</sup> ~~re~~ <sup>re</sup> dexterously in painting themselves and their or shands) she decorates his body all over with a red colour. The women themselves are painted in like manner. When the operation is over, the whole family fall, ~~without~~ <sup>in</sup> any ceremony, but in great silence, to eating. This continues after the meal is over for a considerable time. Some go to sleep in sleeping, others in playing upon some rude musical instruments, and some in making their ~~musical~~ <sup>other</sup> weapons. Their whole mode of life is unrefined, but modest. when they break silence, the speaker is heard without interruption, and with applause, as is the succeeding speaker, even though he contradicts the sentiments of the former. *As*, if original language is now degenerated, by their adapting into it a <sup>part</sup> of European words, to enable them to talk and converse with Christians. When they die by the sickness, they return to their ancient language, which is said to be in good part slowng, and so fond are the *Caribes* of it, that even such of them as are converts to Christianity, make great difficulty of instead of Europeans in it.

*The Cap. Iban*, without all doubt, devoured the bodies of *Formerly* all whom they took or killed in war, and that too, if we *are* ~~were~~ to believe crocodile eye witness, with the most shocking ~~circumstances~~ <sup>circumstances</sup> of inhumanity and barbarity. The French pretend that they have deformed them from this indecent custom, but by their carrying off the dead bodies, there is too much reason for believing the contrary. I know it, though they pretend that all they eat is, that they should be evidence at home of their vice. *After* respect *Lal* *t*, who was well acquainted with the savages, gives them much the same character, as to their manner, customs, virtues, and vices, as *L* *ro* *gives* of the *Zoroa* *n*. This is a strong inducement to believing that the first colonists in which the *Caribes* etc drawn by former a vent for it in France and *but*, was owing to the resistance they met with from the generow

generous love which those barbarians had for liberty and their country.

~~beir bu-  
munity ..  
eay, true  
women and  
children.~~ ACCORDING to the same author, the *Caribbeans* treat their female captives with the greatest decorum and tenderness, and have sometimes been known to marry them. As to their captive children, they either sell them to *Europeans*, or breed them up as their own. Their natural disposition leads them to be docile and compassionate, and they have a hearty contempt for that species of *European* avarice, which prefers gold to chrystral or glass. Though naturally extremely curious, they are so rivetted to their own country, that they seldom or never can be prevailed upon to leave it; and they often very pathetically reproach the *Europeans* for their injustice in seizing their islands. Though they are tenacious of their property, and love to make good bargains, yet there is so little known among them, that they often leave their houses open to every one; but these excellent qualities are not without an intermixture of vices. After receiving what they conceive to be an injury, they are to the last degree vindictive and unmerciful; and upon their losing the smallest trifles, will revenge immoderately, sometimes for a whole week.

THEY often make public entertainments, from which none are excluded; but their neighbours only are invited to be guests. On those occasions it is that they consult of peace, war, and matters of commerce, but they generally get intoxicated, and give a vent to their revenge, &c. i.e. resentments of ever so old standing. They commonly execute their revenge in an unmanly manner, by stabbing the party, or knocking him down from behind. When such murders are committed, the assassin escapes generally unquestioned, unless the deceased has relations in the assembly, and then they cut him in pieces. Such assassins, however, before they strike the blow, if they see any relations present, defer it till another opportunity. Those barbarians, by all accounts, have not the smallest idea of reconciliation or forgiveness; for if a friend, though no relation of the murdered party, ~~never quits his resolution of revenge, but treasures it up~~, he can repay the murder in kind, which almost always happens, unless the assassin leaves the country. It is to this spirit of revenge that travellers attribute the want of population among the *Caribbeans*, whose numbers of men are very thin, though the women are plentiful, and the men indulge themselves in polygamy.

*Theirsare.* THE fare of the *Caribbeans* at their entertainments is far from being contemptible. They boil their venison and fish, and they have such plenty of swine and poultry, that they carry

carry them to the English and French, and exchange them for tools and necessaries. Wood-pigeons, parrots, and thrushes, which they kill with their arrows, always make a part of the feast, to which are added cinnamon, oranges, bananas, figs, and cassava. The manner in which they proceed, if they deliberate upon war, strongly characterizes their fury and inconstancy. On such occasions an old woman becomes the trumpet of the assembly. She stands up in the middle; she recapitulates all the provocation, insults, and injuries, done to them by their enemy; and finding them sufficiently heated, she scatters among them the boiled limbs of those enemies which have been served for that purpose, which all the company hawk and hew until the utmost fury. They then fix the day for opening their campaign with loud acclamations of approbation; but they take care never to stir from the entertainment while one drop of liquor remains; and when they grow sober, they very often think no more of the resolution they had taken.

The Caribbeans have no compulsive power among themselves, nor any institution of government for punishing the most serious crimes; so that private resentments direct all their justice. But this is to be understood as happening between man and man, for every husband has so full and uncontrollable a power over his wife, that he can kill her on the slightest offence, or even on suspicion. The submission of the females to the tyranny of their husbands is admirable. After the husband has killed venison or fishes, the wife brings the thing from the boat, dresses it, and performs the most serviceable duties without repining; while the husband enjoys himself in all manner of indulgence. If the Caribbeans shew the smallest respect to each other, it is on account of usage; but their old women are said to be the most spiritual wretches in the world, especially against young wives, whom they sometimes accuse of witchcraft, upon which the poor wretches are condemned and put to death unheard. They train their children up from their birth to archery, so that the Caribbeans are generally excellent marksmen.

THEY are fond of all European who carry military, naval, Names, or civil commissions, and lay upon the richest merchants and other chanciers as being no better than their wives. They commonly ~~mades of~~ assume to themselves one of the name, and this kind of ~~using~~ self-adoption is celebrated with great jollity. In their expeditions, they lay their entrees so artfully, that by covering themselves up with boughs and leaves of trees, they are not to be discerned. These attacks are cowardly, and always from behind, and they have a particular dexter-

dexterity in discharging arrows that are pointed with flaming matches of cotton, that never fail to consume the houses on which they light, if they are covered, as they commonly are, with canes and palmettos. When the ~~treacherous~~ inhabitants fly out of the houses flaming about them, the Carribbeans wait for them in ambush, and shoot them dead, concealing themselves so artfully, that the survivors can find no object of revenge. It is surprising with what quickness and dexterity they discharge their arrows; and such of them as have fire-arms, handle them equally well. On account of those qualities, the French care for the Carribbeans, whom they cannot otherwise fear; for they never stand a fair combat, but they may be mischievous to the full degree of the manner related. The water seems to be as much the element of a Caribbean, as the land is; for when one of their boats overlets, men, women, and children, swim about it, the women sometimes supporting one or more infants, till it is put to rights; and such is their dexterity, that they never lose the smallest particle of their lading. The Carribbeans, ~~as~~ bare as they are, are not without some rude ideas of two principles, the one benevolent, for which reason they think it quite sufficient to pray to it; the other, which they call Alaniouy (a term which is common with the other savages of the American continent) that is, hurtful, and to which they pray with great favour, but without having the smallest notion of what it is, or how it operates. They never marry in the first degree of consanguinity, but the female cousin-german of a man has a right to him; so that sometimes he has three or five sisters for his wives; and when any of them are too young for marriage, they are bred up to all the domestic duties, till they are old enough to become wives to their cousin-german. The master of a house, when dead, is buried in the middle of it, and his family then abandons that habitation.

*Whimsical custom of the Caribbeans.* FATHER la Terre mentions a very whimsical custom of the Caribbeans, which is, that when a woman lays in of her first child, if it is a son, the father betakes himself to his bed, and without stirring for thirty or forty days, most continually acts the part of his lying-in wife. We shall not consume our reader's time in giving any further particulars of those savages. What we have given are extracted from French authors, who are not always consistent among themselves. It is certain, that since the time of their writing, which is about sixty years ago, the Carribbeans have been greatly humanized, and this has been owing to

<sup>c</sup> Lery relates the same thing of the Brasilians.

the English, & both the interests and principles of the French, and Spaniards leading them to wish that they might continue in their native barbarity. They are now no longer fond of human banquets, and feed the same as all Europeans do, upon swine's flesh, & the other meats which they formerly abhorred. The tyranny of the husband over the wife is almost entirely abolished; and, about the time of the duke of Montague's attempt to settle St. Vincent and St. Lucia, they seem to have erected themselves into a species of government; and, by the best accounts, their connections with the French were formed only that they might be the better enabled to void all dependence upon the English. We have already seen, that the negroes, who had been wrecked upon St. Vincent, associated themselves with the Caribbeans; and the French inform us, that they served them with the same submission and respect, as if they had been Europeans. The French, in relating those matters, have assured us, with an air of triumph, that they were informed by the Caribbeans, the taste of one of their countrymen was much better than that of Spain, and with a more delicate flavour. Some pretend, that the Caribbeans to this day indulge themselves in eating the flesh and drinking the blood of their enemies at the *Arenoues*; but to this we give little credit.

The islands of *Xaintes*, or *All-Saints*, lie within the government of *Guadaloupe*. They are three in number, and their soil is pretty much the same with that of *Guadaloupe*. The "yesterday-morn" island, which is the best, is about three leagues in circumference; but none of those islands seem ever to have been properly inhabited, because destitute of fresh water, though producing all other necessaries of life. According to the French writers, the *Xaintes* were possessed by the French in 1648, but for want of water they were obliged to abandon them. In 1652 they returned, and dispossessing the Caribbeans, they built a fort on one of the islands, which was taken by the English; but the victors were obliged to surrender their slaves prisoners to the French, who carried them to *Guadaloupe*. They add, that the expedition, in which lord *Willoughby*, governor of *Bermudas* perished, was undertaken to recover this island, and that he was wrecked in the strait, between that and *Guadaloupe*, as he was proceeding against the French of *St. Christopher's*. The coasts of those islands abound in turtle and excellent shell-fish.

*Islands of Xaintes.*

The main of *Desfada* lies in longitude 61. 20. and in lat. 16. 20. It is about twenty miles from *Guadaloupe*, and is about sixteen miles in length, and two in breadth. This island was discovered by the great *Columbus*, who gave

## The History of America,

it the name of *Desiderata*, or *Desireable*. Some part of it deserves that epithet, the soil being proper for the cultivation of sugar and cotton; of which last, it produces the best of all the French islands. This island, as well as those of *Xainte*, became of importance during the late war, on account of the very convenient shelter their ports afforded to privateers and free-booters; and by the definitive treaty of 1763, their inhabitants were admitted to the same capitulation that had been granted to *Martinico* and *Guadalupe*.

**Marigalante.** ABOUT twelve miles south east from *Grand Terre*, and seventeen north from *Martinico*, lies the island of *Marigalante*, so called from the name of the ship of Columbus, who first discovered it in 1493. This island is of a circular form, and about fifty English miles in circumference. When the French first attempted to settle it, which was about the year 1647; its *Caribbean* inhabitants, as usual, manfully resisted them. Ever after those savages were quelled, or forced to submit, the possession of the invaders was unquiet and precarious. Sometimes the natives attempted to throw off their yoke and massacre their masters, and sometimes were plundered by the Dutch. In the year 1652, the *Caribbeans* of *Marigalante* were obliged to retire to *Martinique*; and, after that, the French remained sole possessors of the island. In 1691, general *Codrington* landed some men out of the fleet, commanded by commodore *Fright*, &c. without opposition, took the town and fort, making the governor and his lieutenant prisoners, and then, after ravaging the country, and ruining its plantations, he reembarked for *Guadalupe*. Since that time, *Marigalante* could scarcely be called an object of military operation; and the English became twice masters of it, exclusive of its last submission, without resistance; and it received the benefit in the late definitive treaty of the capitulation of *Guadalupe*. This island abounds with tobacco, and contains a great many grottoes where large crabs are found, as also several rivers and ponds of fresh water. Along the eastern shore run high rocks, so perpendicular, that seem to be planned by art, and which give shelter to vast numbers of tropic birds, they being as full of holes as a pigeon-house. The western shore is flat, and cinnamon-trees are found upon the island, which, besides the commodities that are produced in the other French Caribees, manufactured at the time of its last reduction by the British arms, one thousand hogsheads of sugar yearly.

**St. Bartholomew.** THE island of *St. Bartholomew*, another of the French Caribees, lies in the longitude of 62 and a half, latitude 18; about eighteen miles north of *St. Christopher's*, some say twenty.

twenty-five. It is about twenty-five miles in compass; and Poincy, the French governor of St. Christopher's, peopled it at his own expence in 1648. As its soil is but indifferent, tho' both that and the air are salubrious, the French were suffered to enjoy it without molestation, till the year 1689, when Sir Timothy Tho: nhill, landed up'n it. The inhabitants had made use of their long tranquillity in fortifying their island with batteries, breast, and other works, to the extent of two acres of ground, doubly pallisaded round with stakes six feet high, all which were taken b<sup>y</sup> Sir Timothy, who after ravaging the island, carried off about 700 of its inhabitants, with their cattle and effects. The men were sent to Nevis, and the women to St. Christopher's. The English government thought this a severe proceeding, and suffered the inhabitants to reposess their island, but as English subjects. At the peace of Ryswick, it was restored to the crown of France. During the first war with France which broke out under Ch<sup>r</sup> II. this island was so convenient to the French for privateering, that above fifty English ships were carried into its harbour; and therefore, two privateers from Antigua attacked and reduced it, making prisoners 400 of its white inhabitants, of whom 140 were fit to bear arms, and 300 negroes. The French afterwards returned to the possession of it, which they have retained ever since. There is little of the soil of this island fit for cultivation, yet it produces tobacco and c. ava, with some excellent woods and lime-stone, with which the inhabitants furnish their neighbours. All the fresh water they have is saved in cisterns, and the island itself is encompassed by most formidable rocks, which render it dangerous for large ships to come near it. Its chief products for exportation are drugs and lignum vitæ, with which it abounds.

BESIDES the English and French, the Dutch and the Danes have islands among the Caribees. The principal belonging to the former is St. Eustatia, which lies three leagues northwest of St. Christopher's, and is about fifteen miles in compass.

This St. Eustatia may be more properly termed a huge pyramidal rock, rising out of the waves, than an island, yet for its bigness, it is incomparably the most valuable of all the Caribees. Its situation is so strong that it has but one landing-place; and that, though difficult of access, is fortified with all the art that can render it impregnable, and nothing has been wanting on the part of its masters to make every inch of the island equally so. Tobacco is its chief product, and it is cultivated on its sides to the very top of the pyramid, which terminates in a plain surrounded with woods; but having a hollow in the middle, which serves as a large den

den for wild beasts. No fewer than 6000 white people, and 15,000 negroes, subsist upon this spot, and rear hogs, kids, rabbits, and all kinds of poultry, in such abundance, that they can supply their neighbours after having served themselves. The policy of the Dutch in the government of this island, exceeds that of all the other European nations who hold any of the *Caribbees*. They are jealous of admitting any stranger whatsoever into their harbour, and few besides themselves know any thing of the internal government or riches of the island, any more than this it serves as a stoehouſe for all kinds of European commodity, which when returns fail from Europe, the whole colony must purchase upon whatever terms the *Janm* are pleased to impose.

*Saint Lucia* became a Dutch island by their taking possession of it, and it was granted in property by the states general, to certain merchants of *Leyding*. Perhaps the Dutch were the only people in the world who could have rendered so unpromising a spot a flourishing settlement. The first colony sent to it consisted of about 1600, but during the wars between the English and Dutch in 1665, the latter were dispossessed of *St. Lucia*, by the former from *Jamaica*. Soon after, the Dutch and the French becoming conquerors, the English were dispossessed in their turn by their combined arms. The French, however, held a garrison in the island till it was restored to the Dutch by the treaty of *Breda*. Soon after the Revolution, the French dispossessed the Dutch of *St. Eustatia*, from whence they were in their turn driven by the English, under Sir *Timothy Thornhill*, for the loss of no more than eight men killed and wounded, though the fort which he took mounted sixteen guns, and was in every other respect very strong, a proof that the French, who defended it, must have been very raw in the exercise of arms. Sir *Timothy* found it necessary, for the protection of the Dutch, to leave a small English garrison in the fort: but he granted the French no terms of capitulation, but for their lives and their baggage. The peace of *Ryswick* restored the Dutch to the entire property of this island, of which they have remained the undisturbed possessors ever since, an uncommon instance of tranquillity! but improved by them in rendering their island, (as we have already mentioned) at once powerful and wealthy; for, besides tobacco, the inhabitants have of late years raised and exported incredible quantities of sugar. We shall but just mention the little island of *Suba*, which lies thirteen miles north west of *St. Eustatia*, and thirty south-west of *St. Bartholomew*, and belonged formerly to the *Danes*, as it now does to the Dutch. This small island, which is but about four

four leagues<sup>\*</sup> in circumference, contains a delightful valley, which produces necessaries for the inhabitants, and materials for several manufactures, which they carry on there; but being destitute of any port, it is very inconsiderable. The access to it is by a road cut out of the rock, by which one man only can mount a-blast at a time; and this road is plentifully stored with magazines of stones, by which the inhabitants, by tumbling them down, can bid defiance to the greatest number of assailants. Those stones were the arms by which they beat off the desperate French buccaneers, who attacked them in 1683. The inhabitants raise some indigo and cotton, but their chief manufacture is shoes; and such is their economy and industry, that they live comfortably among themselves, are attended by slaves, and some of them even become rich.

THE island of *Santa Cruz*, the property of which is vested in the crown of Denmark, lies in longitude 65, and in latitude 18°; it is about fifty leagues west from St. Christopher's, about ten or twelve leagues in length, and at the broadest, somewhat above three, though in one part it is To width by a bay, that it is not above one. Columbus, though the most humane of all the Spanish adventurers, exterminated the natives, who stoutly opposed him; but abandoned the island, &c. It was afterwards visited by the English in 1597. They probably possessed it till 1635, when the Dutch, putting in their claim, the island was divided by compromise between the two people; each of whom had a governor, but the whole being a private, rather than a national transaction, their names have not come to our hands. It is, however, certain, that about the year 1645, the Dutch governor surprized the English one in his house, and murdered him, and this produced a war upon the island, in which the Dutch were defeated, and their governor killed. The consequence was, that a short pacification ensued, but fresh trouble, happening, the new Dutch governor was killed by the English, and the Dutch themselves, among whom were 120 French, who, at their own request, were sent to Guadalupe, were driven off the island. The reader, from the complexion of this little history, may easily perceive, that those settlers were no better than lawless free-booters, acting without any legal authority; and soon after, viz. in 1649, or 1650, the Spaniards from Porto Rico attacked the English, and treated them as such, by putting to death all who fell into their hands. The Dutch of St. Eustatia hearing that their enemies the English had been exterminated, returned to take possession of *Santa Cruz*, and being ignorant that it was still in

the hands of the Spaniards, they were surrounded, and forced to surrender prisoners of war. Before the Spaniards could carry them to *Porto Rico*, the French general *de Poincy*, arriving with a superior force, obliged the Spaniards to relinquish their prisoners, and return to *Porto Rico*; but he carried the Dutch, who, in fact, had no right to the island, back to *Eustatia*. He there entered into treaty with those Dutch merchants who had advanced money towards the settlement of *St Croix*; and after reimbursing them, he purchased the same, together with some other islands, in property for the order of *Malta*; which purchase was afterwards confirmed by the French king, who reserved the sovereignty of it, and a certain reddendo to his own crown by way of acknowledgement. When *Collas*, the French minister, struck into a new system of commerce, he made no scruple of reducing this bargain, which indeed was of itself absurd and impracticable, by repaying the money which the order had advanced for the purchase in the year 1664, and the *Danes* were re-entered into possession of it. About the year 1695 or 1696, the court of Denmark thought of colonizing this island, and the French had their reasons, both pecuniary and political, for transmitting the property of it to the *Danes*, who were long considered as being its proprietors rather than settlers; for its chief profits went to the English. In later years their Danish majesties thought fit to be at considerable expences in improving this island to their own immediate emolument. It is equally the interest of the English as of the French, that the *Danes* should be possessed of it remarkably so any other European power, their right to it has hitherto been unquestioned. Some day, that the island of *Santa Cruz* is far more valuable than it is generally imagined to be. The soil, which is rich, and easily improvable, produces many excellent dying and other woods proper for house and ship-building. The progress of the inhabitants in cultivating the sugar cane under the protection and encouragement of the Danish court, has been of late years very considerable. Oranges, citrons, and the mandioca-root, with granates, lemons, and the papay-tree, the fruit of which makes a most excellent sweetmeat, grow here in abundance. The air is excellent, and the water, when filtrated or settled in earthen jars, becomes wholesome. Its chief port lies on the north side, where there is a large bay, on the west side of which stands the governor's house.

*Anegada*, *Sombrero*, *THE* islands of *Anegada* and *Sombrero* are at present without any settled European inhabitants, and are only remarkable for the colibri or humming-bird, the smallest, but at the same time, one of the most beautiful of all the feathered creation.

creation, and for painted crabs of a delicate taste and a peculiar nature. The *Virgin Islands* are about twelve in number, *The Virgin Islands* but are so inhospitable and unimproveable, that they properly ~~gin~~ belong to no European power. They lie to the east of *Porto Rico*, and to the west of *Anegada*. The chief of them is that of *St. Thomas*, which is divided between the *Danes* and *St. Thomas* *Brandenburgers*, many of whose merchants and planters ~~mas.~~ by opening their harbour, which is safe, strong, and commodious, to traders of all nations, become very rich. It naturally produces most of the *West-India* commodities, but is infested with musketeers. The *French* buccaneers destroyed the *Danish* factory in this island, but since that time, a large battery has been erected between the fort and the harbour; so that it is now made proof against all irregular attacks.

### *The other ENGLISH CARIBBEE ISLANDS.*

*ANGUILA*, so called from its snake-like form, is about ten leagues in length, and three in breadth, and is the most northerly of all the *English Caribbes*, lying twenty-five miles north-east from *Santa Cruz*, and about fifteen north from *St. Christopher's*. It is, properly speaking, one of the *Virgin Islands* likewise. When the *English* discovered this island in 1650, it was filled with alligators, and other noxious animals; but they imported into it live cattle, which they have since multiplied exceedingly. They found the soil friable, proper for raising tobacco and corn; and in general the whole island agreeable. But not being settled here under any public encouragement, each planter laboured for himself, and the island became a prey to every rapacious invader, which disheartened the inhabitants much, that all industry was lost among them; but their chief suffering was from a party of wild *Irish*, who landed here after the Revolution, and treated them more barbarously than any of the *French* pirates, who had attacked them before. The people of *Barbadoes*, and the other *English Caribbes*, knew the value of the soil, and several of them removed to *Anguilla*, where they remained for many years, and even carried on a profitable trade, but without any government, either civil or ecclesiastical. Though their militia in the year 1745, did not exceed 100 men, yet they defended a breast-work they had thrown up, against 1000 *French*, who came to attack them, and obliged them to retire with the loss of 150 men, besides carrying off some of their arms and colours, as trophies of their victory. Since that time, the inhabitants have subsisted mostly

mostly by farming, though they still plant some sugar, and the island is in general said to be capable of vast improvements.

*St. Martin.*

THE island of *St. Martin* lies about fifteen miles distant from *Anguilla* on the north-west, and the like distance from *St. Bartholomew* on the south-east, and is about seven leagues in length, and four in breadth. This, for its bigness, is a most valuable island, and chiefly so by its salt-pits and salt-water lakes, which the *Spaniards* thought so considerable, that they built a fort upon the island to protect them, and to prevent other nations from settling on the island. In the year 1650, when the affairs of *Old Spain* were in a most miserable situation, the garrison of this fort being no longer able to maintain themselves, blew it up, and destroyed at the same time all their houses and cellars. The *French*, upon their retiring, set up a claim of pre-occupancy, and endeavoured to get possession of the island, but were thwarted by the *Dutch*; and an accommodation being proposed, the island was divided between them; the *French* entering into possession of the most pleasant part of it, which looks towards *Anguilla*, but the *Dutch* into the most profitable, because it contained the salt-pits and ponds abovementioned. The *Dutch* quarter was soon filled with fine buildings and spacious *casemates*, while that of the *French* was poor and unprovided; and in the year 1689, was plundered by Sir *Timothy Thornhill*. The *French* still continued in possession, and the *Dutch* upon this island might have been a thriving colony, had it been provided with a tolerable port, and did not the island lie so far to the leeward for convenience of commerce, with the *Windward Islands*. In 1744, a handful of *English*, headed by the deputy-governor of *Anguilla*, with two *St. Christopher's* privateers, drove the *French* from the possession of their part of the island, and it has been ever since considered as belonging half to the *Dutch*, and half to the *English*.

*Berbuda.*

THE island of *Berbuda*, belonging to the *English*, is thirty-five miles north from *Antigua*, fifty-three north from *St. Christopher's*, and about ninety south-west from *Anguilla*; being in length twenty miles, and in breadth twelve. This island was planted soon after the *English* had settled upon *St. Christopher's*; for one Mr. *Littleton*, a planter, of *St. Christopher's*, obtained a grant of it from the earl of *Carlisle*, within whose charter it lay. The beautiful appearance of the island made the first settlers give it the appellation of *Dulcina*; and they removed to it in 1628. They soon had occasion to abate of their sanguine expectations. The island had no harbour; it was exposed to the descents of the merciless *Carribbeans*; and it was not yet discovered that it was capable

of producing any staple commodity. All that invited the new settlers to persevere was its salubrious pleasant situation, and its readily affording all the necessaries of life. The Caribbeans from Dominica, in their nocturnal descents, proved troublesome, that the English were several times obliged to forego their design of planting Barbuda; but after the resumption of lord Carlisle's patent, and after those barbarians had been a little chastized by other English colonists, colonel Codrington became sole proprietor of the same, and he well deserved to be so, by the many important services he did to the crown of England in the West-Indies. This island remains the property of the Codrington family to this day. Their possession of it, however, was attempted to be interrupted by Park, governor and captain-general of the Leeward Islands, an insolent ministerial governor, without the smallest qualification for his trust, but his having had the good fortune to carry to England the first news of the battle of Blenheim. Codrington's title was so well known, his family having been in unquestioned possession of Barbuda for thirty years before, that he despised Park's enmity so much, that he refused to protract his right, and his own friends advised the governor to drop his claim which was only founded upon Barbuda being a Caribbean Island; and therefore, (as he pretended) within his government. In progress of time, as the numbers and savagery of the Caribbeans decreased, the inhabitants of Barbuda enjoyed comfortable livelihoods; and in 1708, no fewer than 120 English were supposed to be upon the island. In its infant state it was harassed by the French, merely out of spite to their capital enemy in the West-Indies, general Codrington who had driven them from St. Christopher's. The appointment of a governor is in the Codrington family, and part of the estate arising from this island, amounting, as it is said, to 2000*l.* a year, with two plantations in Barbados, was bequeathed by Christopher Codrington, Esq; to the society for propagating the gospel, towards the instruction of the negroes in the Caribbean Islands in the Christian religion, and the erecting a college at Barbados for teaching the liberal arts.

THE land of this island lies low, but it is fertile, and the inhabitants are chiefly employed in breeding up black cattle, sheep, kids, fowls, and all kind of domestic stock, which they dispose of to the neighbouring islands; so that their way of life differs little from that of an English farmer. The land, upon trial, has been found proper for the cultivation of many of the commodities with which the other West-India islands abound, such as citrons, pomegranates, oranges, raisins, Indian-figs, majz, cocoa-nuts, cinnamon, pine-apples, and

and the sensitive-plant, with various kinds of wood and drugs, such as brasil, ebony, pepper, indigo, and the like. Some serpents, which are large upon this island, are so far from being poisonous, that they are salutiferous, for they destroy rats, toads, and frogs; but the stings or bites of others are mortal, unless an antiote is applied to them in two hours. On the west side of this island is a good well-sheltered road, clear from rocks and lands; but two shores of sand run above two leaguis into the sea, from the north-west and south west points.

**St. Christopher's.** THE Land of St. Christopher's, affords more matter for history, and has undergone greater revolutions, than any other island in the West-Indies. When it was discovered by Christopher Columbus in his first voyage to America, the name given to it by the inhabitants was *Liamuga*, which he changed to its present name, upon a fanciful resemblance of a large rock, bearing a little one upon its top, to the Romish legend of St. Christopher bearing upon his back the infant Jesus. It lies between lat. 17° 10'. and 17° 40'. and the middle of the island in long. 62° 40'. west from London, and is about ten miles north of *Newis*, and fourteen leagues from *Antigua*. Its length is twenty-five miles and a half, and its greatest breadth seven; yet at a particular spot at its south-east end, towards the salt-ponds, it is not above half a mile. The compass of the whole island, is between seventy and seventy-five miles. Who were the original settlers upon this island, the French or the English, is a point of very little consequence in itself, had it not been magnified in importance by both nations. It is certain that soon after the discovery of America, societies were formed in England for establishing there; and after many successful essays had been made, some of the greatest and best subjects of the kingdom formed themselves into companies, every member bearing a proportionable share of the expence, and were to have the like in the profits, but still reserving those claimed by the crown. The settlement of *Guiana* by the English upon the river *Surinam*, seems to have given them the first notion of settling what are called their *West-Indian Islands*, whether under the denomination of the *Antilles* or *Caribbees*. It appears that before this scheme was ready for execution, several straggling English had found their way to those islands; and being so few in number as to give no umbrage to the *Caribbeans*, they lived on good terms with those savages. One Mr. Thomas Warner, who had attended captain Roger North, brother to John North, to *Guiana*, had some conversation with one captain Peintz, who mentioned to him the preference of their settle-  
ment

ment upon St. Christopher's, or any other of the *Caribbean Islands*, which the Spaniards did not think worth possessing, to one upon the continent, where the English were always sure of being harrassed and disturbed by those jealous troublesome neighbours.

SOON after this conversation *Painton* died; but it made *Settlement* such an impression upon *Warner*, that in 1620 he sailed for *St. England*; where he took fourteen other gentlemen into the *Christo-scheme*, and having received a grant of the island from king *pher's by James J.* they sailed from *England* to *Virginia*, and from *the Eng-lishence to St. Christopher's*, where they arrived *January 1623*; where they actually began their settlement, and by *Septem-ber* following, they must have had a tolerable good crop of tobacco, had it not been destroyed by a hurricane. The French writers have informed us of other particulars concerning the origin of this settlement. They tell us, that *Monst. Desnambuc*, whom we have already mentioned, having the same view with *Mr. Warner*, took possession of *St. Christopher's* on the very same day the latter did; that the English found three Frenchmen, who had been shipwrecked settled upon it, who endeavoured to excite the *Caribbeans* against them, ~~but~~ in vain. Be this as it will, it is certain that *Warner* and *Desnambuc* understanding the intentions of each to be the same, instead of entering into any critical disputes about pre-occupancy, resolved to divide the island between them, but, upon occasions to unite against the *Spaniards*, who had long known the island, but had never settled it, and were in so good correspondence with the natives, as to leave, from voyage to voyage, their sick in their hands?

This good agreement seems to have introduced a most ~~unwarrantable~~ <sup>who mas-</sup> act of cruelty that was perpetrated by the settlers of both nations. *Warner* and *Desnambuc* intending to ~~massacre the natives~~ return to their respective courts in *Europe*, suspecting the practices of the *Spaniards* with the natives, whom, by this time, they had forced into a submission, resolved to get rid of them. For this purpose, pretending (for the whole seems to have been a pretense, and a very shameful one too) that they had received intelligence of the *Caribbean* magicians having instigated the natives to massacre the *French* and the *English*, they attacked those poor savages by night, and drove from the island, all whom they did not murder. Though this massacre was committed under pretence of the natives being ~~hostile~~, yet no proofs have been brought in support of such a charge, and it is plain, that the massacre of the savages was committed only on account of the dislike they might have expressed at the new settlers invading their land, and abridging

ing them of their liberties. The two *European* chiefs of the island returned to their respective countries, where their inhumanity was highly approved of. *Warner* was made a knight, and governor of the *English* part of the island, as *Desnambuc* was of the *French*. The latter pretended, that the settlers of both nations had pitched upon him for their governor, and he talked to *Richelieu* so plausibly, that a *French American* company was erected in the year 1626. It is not unlikely, that captain *Warner* talked to his court in pretty much the same strain, for an *English American* company was established the same year.

*The savages invade the island.* In the mean while, the expulsion of the *Caribbeans* had alarmed those of the neighbouring islands, and of the continent; and they made a descent upon *St. Christopher's* to the number of about 3 or 4000 in their canoos. The *English* and *French* were no strangers to their intention, and made a proper disposition to receive them. Part were suffered to land, but volleys of musketry from the settlers, who were planted in ambuscade, laid most of them dead, and forced the others to retire to their canoes, but not before the savages had killed 200 of the *Europeans*, besides many who after the field of wounds from poisoned arrows. This account, however, we are apt to believe, was invented to palliate the severities practised against them. Before we proceed in this history, it is highly proper to observe, that the *English* appear to have been far better acquainted than the *French* with the state of the *West-Indies* at this time; and to prove this, we need but to lay before our readers, documents, in the commission granted by both courts. That to *Desnambuc* ran in the following terms. "Arniard John du Plessis de Richelieu, cardinal, counsellor of the king in his councils; chief, grand master, and sur-intendant of the commerce of France. To all to whom these presents shall come, greeting: maketh known, that the sieur *Desnambuc* and du *Ruffy*, captains, belonging to the western department of the marine, having given us to understand, that they have, within these fifteen years past, by licence from the king, and the said admiral of France, been at great expences in the equipping and arming ships and vessels, for the searching out of fertile lands in a good climate, capable of being possessed by the French, and therein had used such diligence, as that some time since they had discovered the islands of *St. Christopher's* and *Barbados*, the one of thirty-five, the other of forty-five leagues in circumference, and other neighbouring islands, all situated at the entry of *Peru*, from the eleventh to the eighteenth degree north from the equinoctial line, making part of the West-

*West Indies*, which are not possessed by any king or christian prince. This commission is dated, October 31, 1626 " That granted to the earl of Carlisle was as follows. " Whereas our well-beloved and faithful cousin and counsellor, James lord Hay, baron of Sawley, viscount Doncaster, and earl of Carlisle, having a laudable and zealous care to increase the christian religion, and to enlarge the territories of our empire in certain lands, situated to the northward region of the world, which region, or islands, are hereafter described, which before were unknown, and by certain barbarous men, having no knowledge of the divine power, in some part possessed, commonly called *Caribbe-Ilands*, containing in them these islands following, vizt St Christopher, Granada, St. Vincent, St Lucia, Balaud, Matalana, (that is what the French call Martinique) Domicia, Mirigalante, Diseasea, Tedofantes, Guadaloupe, Astion, Morserrat, Redento, Barbudo, Nevis, (properly Ne is, by the French Nies) St Bartholomew, St Martin, Anguilla, Sibrica, and Enegada, and other islands before found out, to his great cost and charges, and brought to that part, to be a large and copious colony of them."

These charters when compared give a shrewd intimation, that the French were but very little acquainted with the better the islands thereby conveyed, whereas the 1<sup>st</sup> charter contains the proper names of all the 1<sup>st</sup> Caribbes. Each court was presid with its chief, and in the year 1626, both sailed back to St. Christopher's, where they landed, but the English first, in virtue of good correspondence. Soon after the partition of the island was made by both parties, each consisting of about 30 in number, with greater precision and exactness than heretofore. In this new partition, which was signed by the two governors on the 13<sup>th</sup> of May, the boundaries of their several divisions were fixed, but with a special proviso, that fishing, hunting, the salt ponds, the most precious wood for dyers and joiners works, the havens, and the mines, should all of them be common to both nations. At the same time, a league against their common enemies, who, we are to suppose, were the Spaniards and the Caribbeans, was entered into by both nations. By this treaty, the English were settled on the south and north sides of the island, and the French on the east and west.

THE vast superiority for colonizing, which the English who are always possessed over the French in the requisites of good understanding, spirit, and industry, were fully displayed on this occasion. The English company at London supplied Spaniards, their planter, upon St Christopher's, at once, so punctually and

so plentifully, that Sir Thomas Warner was at the head of a flourishing colony before the French had set about clearing their grounds; nay, so greatly did the English plantation flourish, that they had men to spare for settling Nevis on the like plan of partition. The flourishing state of St. Christopher's, which the Spaniards had always considered as the most valuable of the Caribbee Islands, awakened the jealousy of the court of Madrid so greatly, that don Frederic de Toledo took upon him the command of a formidable fleet, consisting, as we are told, of twenty-four great ships, and fifteen frigates, to drive the two nations from St. Christopher's, so as to prevent their disturbing the Spanish colonies either in the West-Indies, or upon the continent. Don Frederic having procured some English ships, which he seized at Nevis, anchored in the road of Basse-Terre, below the cannon of that fort, which was in the French quarter, and commanded by M. du Rossy. Neither the French nor the English had conceived the smallest idea of being able to resist so powerful an armament; all their provisions being just sufficient to hold out against a small squadron. Du Rossy having made the best defence he could, abandoned Basse-Terre, and retreated to Capesterre, the opposite part of the island, where the French had another fort, which was commanded by Desnambuc in person. He knew that the main object of this great armament, was not the little island of St. Christopher's, which it was to attack only by the bye, but to carry home the flota. He represented this to his men, and likewise, how impracticable it was for them to secure themselves in the fastnesses and nooks of the island, till don Frederic should re-imbarke, which he absolutely must be obliged to do in a very few days. Nothing however made any impression upon his colonists, who had been seized with a panic, on the report of the strength, numbers, and cruelty of the Spaniards. They insisted upon immediately leaving the island, (and indeed, every thing considered, they were, perhaps, in the right) which they accordingly did.

IT does not appear how the English were employed during this catastrophe. It is most probable to suppose, that the French had been taken entirely unprovided by the Spaniards; and consequently, that they had not been able to advertise their English allies of their danger; otherwise from what afterwards fell out, had they been joined, they might have made such a stand against all the troops the Spaniards could land, as, if not successful, might, at least, have obtained for them an honourable capitulation. But the English hearing that Desnambuc and their allies had evacuated the island, fell into despair likewise, and offered to treat with the Spanish admiral.

admiral. All they could obtain was liberty to evacuate the island, on pain of being put to the sword. The English were obliged to accept of this order, instead of a capitulation, and he was prevailed on to allow them the ships he had taken at Nevis for their transportation; and at last, to give liberty for those who could not be transported, to remain with their wives and families on the island till they could. Before his departure, he forced into his service, and carried along with him, 600 of the stoutest English.

As to the other part of this agreement, he left it to be ~~but return-~~  
executed by itself, and the terror of the Spanish name, for we do not find that many of the Eng'ls had actually left the island when he departed, so that their settlement went on as usual, after repairing the damages that had been done to their plantations by the Spaniards. The French, in like manner, who had gone no farther than Antigua and Montserrat, understanding that the Spaniards had departed, returned, and resumed the works of their plantation. But the situations of the two sets of planters were very different. The English applied themselves to population, had regular meetings, and lived in comfortable manner within good houses. The habitations of the French were little better than the huts of the Caribans had been, and few or none of them having families to mind, they took no care for the future. *Dufresne*, the French father of this colony, died about the year 1637. By this time the active Sir Thomas Warner had rendered the English part of St. Christopher's a nursery of his countrymen for settling ~~the~~ *Barbadoes*, *Martinique*, and *Antigua*; all which islands he planted and peopled, but he did not long survive his colleague *Dufresne*. At the time of his death, St. Christopher's was said to contain 12 or 13 000 English, all of them in good condition, a most amazing entreaty to arise from the good conduct of a private gentleman. It is true he was assisted by the government at home, and the people of St. Christopher's were so sensible of the obligations they lay under to the crown of England, that after the murder of Charles the first, they rec'd to submit to the powers of usurpation.

ONE Mr. Rich succeeded Sir Thomas Warner in the go Rich, go-  
vernment of St. Christopher's & and proceeding upon the same ~~desirous~~  
prudent wise plan, the island still increased in population and riches. Mean while, the French part of the island underwent a variety of alterations; but its military establishment was all that the inhabitants seemed to concern themselves about. Their property in the island passed from the West-India company, to the Knights of Malta, from them to a second West-

*West-India company*, and was at last taken into the king's own hand. *Colbert* endeavoured to bring them to be good colonists. They were furnished, at the expence of the government, with frames of houses, tools, utensils, and household-furniture ; and at last they began to live far less like the *Carribbeans* than they had done before, though in every respect greatly inferior to the *English*. But indeed, by this time, both parties had lost sight of their original compact, and instead of guarding against the *Spaniards*, they guarded against one another.

ONE Mr. Everard succeeded Mr. Rich in the government of the *English* part of *St. Christopher's*, which, with other islands in the *West-Indies*, refused to acknowledge the authority of the *English* republic, and continued in their allegiance to *Charles the II*. The latter, as we have seen in the case of *Barbados*, was ridiculously persuaded that he might reap great advantages from this resistance ; and about the time he sent over the lord *Willingby* to *Barbados*, he sent over general *Pointz* to be his governor of *St. Christopher's*. Sir *George Ayscue*, after reducing *Barbados* to the power of the parliament, proceeded to *St. Christopher's*, which he soon repossessed of general *Pointz*. That gentleman being in condition to resist the party in the admiralty, was engaged with his friends to retire to *Anguilla*, very probably upon a compromise with *Ayscue*, who does not seem to have inflicted any punishment upon the inhabitants of *St. Christopher's*, or even to have forced them to acknowledge the authority of the parliament, or to have given them ~~any~~ *order*. When *Cromwell* took upon him the reigns of government, and sent *Penn* against *Hispaniola*, he gave it to that admiral in charge to require the *English* of *St. Christopher's* to his obedience. He likewise obtained an order from the *Lambeth court* of his being assisted by their subjects on the island. By virtue of this order, when *Penn* appeared before *St. Christopher's*, he landed on the *French* part of it, and he was permitted to march through their lands against his countrymen, whom he thereby reduced. During the first *Dutch* war under *Charles the II*, the *Dutch* and the *French* lying on one side, both of them joined against the *English* of *St. Christopher's*; but the latter entered into repossession by the treaty of *Breda*, in 1667. We are here to observe, that in the partition of the island, the *English* lying in the middle, had the advantage of a communication with their settlements, by means of a road they had cut out of a mountain ; but the *French* lying at opposite angles of the island, could have no communication from the one extremity to the other, but through the *English* settle- ments ;

ments ; and this disposition of their quarters rendered every  
w<sup>ch</sup> that happened between them upon the island very  
bloody.

IN fact, a great many scuffles arose between some of the Stapleton,  
inhabitants of the two nations, but none of them of consequence enough to engage the whole in a general quarrel.  
The lord Willoughby acted as governor of St. Christopher's,  
which is one of the Leeward Islands, after the Restoration ;  
and he seems to have been succeeded by Sir William Stapleton,  
who held it to the time of his death. Sir Nathaniel Johnson  
was appointed by king James II. governor of the Leeward Islands ; but when the Revolution took place, he chose  
to retire to Carolina, and king William gave his government  
to colonel Collington, who was by far the first English subject in the West Indies to fill it. Mean while, the French,  
who pretended to be the guardians of the house of Stuart,  
during its exile, attacked, without any previous declaration  
of war, the English part of St. Christopher's, and drove them  
a second time from their possessions ; a proceeding so cruel  
and so treacherous, that it was enumerated by king William  
and queen Mary among the causes of their declaring war  
against the French king. The reader, however, from the  
foreign part of this history may perceive, that this cause  
was not confined to the West Indies alone, but that  
it extended to many of their settlements on the continent of  
America. The violent dispossession of the English by the  
French, was owing, in a great measure, to the French papists,  
settled among them, who looked upon the cause of king  
James as their own. Their proceedings against the English  
with fire and sword, were carried on with more fury than  
any of the French ever had been ; so that the English had  
no places of refuge left but in their forts, from whence they  
sent to the government of Barbados for succours. Before those  
could arrive, they were so hard pressed, that they were obliged  
to capitulate, which they did on the 29th of July, 1689. St.  
1689 ; but they could obtain no better terms than their being  
transported to Nevis. Charlton  
p. 120.

THIS dispossession of the English from so valuable an  
island, occasioned infinite confusion among the West-India  
merchants in England as well as in America, and gave rise to  
the commission of a thousand commercial frauds. The state  
of affairs in Barbados and our other Leeward Islands, did not  
admit of their giving the sufferers that speedy relief which  
their circumstances required ; so that the French remained for  
eight months the sole possessors of St. Christopher's. During  
this time, a most dreadful earthquake, which was felt in other

## The History of America.

*Lewward Islands*, happened at St. Christopher's; and the operations of the earth, which attended it, to the extent, in many places, of nine feet, swallowed up sugar-mills, lumber, with other heavy materials, and threw down some of the strongest buildings on the island, and among them the jesuits college. The French being thus in possession of all St. Christopher's, fitted out fifteen vessels, with 4 or 500 men on board; who, as we have already seen, drove the Dutch out of St. Eustatia; and being supported from Old France, it was generally thought they would have attempted Barbadoes itself, and all the other English Caribbee Islands, had not advice come from England, of an armament sailing from thence, under commodore *Wright*, to their relief. Sir *Timothy Thornbill* was then at *Antigua*, and from thence he repaired to *Niris*, where the general rendezvous of the English armament, both by sea and land, was held.

St. Christopher's reconquered by Col. Codrington.

COLONEL *Codrington* took upon him the command of the whole, and on the 17th, of June 1690, he sailed from *Niris* for St. Christopher's, where the fleet arrived the same evening anchored in *Frigate-Bay*. To favour a descent by surprise upon the enemy, eight of the English ships were sent three leagues to the leeward, but *Col. Codrington* where they found the English ship, which was the *Indiaman* *Monk*, upon the French in their trenches, and warmly engaged via a battery of five guns. A general council was being held by the sea as well as the land officers, when it was, that sir *Timothy* (called major-general *Tuggey*) <sup>the old</sup> at the head of 400 of his own regiment, and a detachment of 150, drawn from others, land at the foot of a hill near the salt pits, which the French had left unguarded, as fearing it to be inaccessible. The English were too well acquainted with the island not to attempt to mount this hill, which, after infinite difficulties they did by day-break, and forced some of the French scouts, who had been planted there, and who fired upon them, to retire. *Thornbill*, leaving a sufficient guard upon the pass, led his main body down the hill; but, in his march, he was briskly fired upon by the French, who wounded him and several of his men. His command, consisting chiefly of creoles, most undauntedly ran down the remainder of the hill, and flanked the French in their trenches, while the duke of *Bolton*'s regiment, and the marines landed from *Frigate-Bay*, but with the loss of colonel *Kegwin*, who was mortally wounded. This seemed to animate the English the more, and colonel *Holt*, who commanded the duke of *Bolton*'s regiment, after a very brisk charge, drove the enemy in disorder from their post.

By this time, all the troops were landed, but were under an inexpressible loss from the wound of the brave Sir Timothy Thornhill; who, with several other disabled officers, were sent on board. At last, after some consultation, the general disposition for the conquest of the island was settled as follows; colonel Holt with his regiment was to march nearest to the shore; colonel Thomas, with the *Barbados* regiment, was to advance up the country, but to be supported by the *Antigua* regiment, under colonel Williams; while the other four regiments, of which the expedition consisted, were to remain in their encampment, and to act occasionally. This disposition does not appear to have been extremely judicious. Colonel Holt, indeed, about an hour after beginning his march, drove before him a party of the enemy. But the French made their strong attack upon the *Barbados* regiment, which seems to have advanced too incalculously, and must, after a very sharp dispute have been entirely cut off, had they not been relieved by the reserve under colonel Williams, by which the *Barbadians* taking fresh courage, obliged the enemy a precipitate retreat; some of them flying to the mains, and others to a fort, ready built, at the head of the bay. The latter pretend, that they had only had the advantage of the day, and the number, which may very naturally have been a much smaller number of the French who had been engaged in the encounter, as it is certain, that General Washington altered the plan of his operations; and the four regiments at *Frigate Bay* moving forwards, the whole army was drawn up in one line, and put under proper regulations against straggling for drink or other refreshments.

WHILE such were the dispositions by land, the English ships of war sailing down to *Basse Terre*, began to cannonade it, upon which the French, after firing a round or two, abandoned and set on fire the town, which was saved from destruction by the English sailors, who came on shore from their frigates. When this news was brought to the general, he instantly set out for *Basse Terre*, as thinking it a proper place for refreshing his men, and intending that they should be quartered there that very night. Upon his arrival, he found, that the enemy, either through design or hurry, had left great quantities of wine, and other strong liquors in the fort and the town. He knew the consequences of intoxication to fatigued troops, with the dreadful disorders it always introduces. He concealed the liquors, or removed them to the mass-house, where he ordered his own company of guards to take post under colonel Byam. He then gave out the word for the army to rest all night under arms at the jesuits convent,

vent, which was about a mile from *Basse Terre* fort. All this was effected chiefly by the prudence and spirit of the officers, who bore all the inconveniences of their quarters, especially, those of a very wet night, equally with the meanest soldier. Plenty returned in the morning to the troops, by the good conduct of the general, who found abundance of cattle, and stores of every kind in their camp, and in the convent; only the commissary-general had it in charge to secure the strong liquors, which were distributed so as to refresh but not to intoxicate them. As to the town, the common soldiers had free liberty to plunder it; but the general found it mounted with sixteen guns; which, though they had been spiked, he found means again to render serviceable.

*Operations of the siege of fort Basse Terre,* THE troops continued fort two days at *Basse Terre*, during which time, major *Genthorp*, with a detachment of 150 men, drove the *Piatch* from an important post in the neighbourhood. Next day presented a most dreadful scene; for the *English* negroes, who had lurked in the mountains ever since their masters had been carried off the island, came down, and set all the sugar and other works of the enemy on fire; so that *St. Christopher's* seemed to be but one continued flame; notwithstanding the almost incessant rains which fell, and laid the *English* under unspeakable discouragements and disadvantages. The general, however, continued to advance against the fort of *Basse Terre*, the strongest which the *Piatch* had in the island; but, through the continual rains he was obliged to encamp within three miles of it. At last, he marched within a mile of it, while the men of war sent on shore all their wheel-barrows, shovels, pick-axes, and other utensils for a siege, and fell down to *Basse Terre* road. The reader will, perhaps, be surprised, that unless the *English* have mistaken their journals, all this variety of operations did not take up above four and twenty-hours; for we find the *English* general and his army, on the 20th of June, encamped before the fort, under the covert of a high hill, the summit of which was secured by a detachment.

IT being resolved to batter the fort from this hill, great guns were accordingly landed next day; and, in two days after, captain *Kirby*, in the *Success* man of war, at the head of the marine regiment, cleared a path for the artillery, which was accordingly mounted on a platform, and well secured against the enemy's fire from the fort. On the 30th of June the cannonading began from this eminence with some effect, while the fort was battered at the same time by the frigates from the old road, and the army took place in a deep ravine, or ditch, within musket-shot of its walls. Next day, they began

began their entrenchments with great success; and colonel Pym surprized and made prisoners 50 French, who were in a fort three miles distant. Though the English had conceived great hopes from their hill-cannonading, and though they had mounted more guns, yet it proved but ineffectual, and they were obliged to have recourse to their entrenchments, and the regular finishing of their batteries, which were now advanced within pistol-shot of the fort. Whatever the English may pretend, the defence made by the French on this occasion, seems to have been very spirited and well-judged. But the truth is, their enemies were masters of the sea, and they had no prospect of relief, so that they must submit at last. They had all this while a free communication between the fort and the country, where they roved about in parties, the most considerable of which was headed by one M. Pinello. The English sent out others against them, and Sir Timothy Thornhill, with 200 men, though he could not come up with the enemy, on the 7th of July brought into the English camp some prisoners, negroes, and cattle.

Garrison seems to have been sensible at last of the small prospects of the siege, and pursued a measure which answered his purpose better than arms. He sent proclamations and drums over all the island, offering to take into his protection such of the French subjects as were willing to surrender themselves and to live quietly; and this had so great an effect, that Pinello himself, though he said he could not surrender without the governor's orders, sent in a flag of truce, offering to remain inoffensive, and to give the English no opposition wherever he should meet them. The garrison, at last, thinking they had done enough for their own honour, and that of their country, and seeing the English works very far advanced, sent a parley, and four of their number appeared with a flag of truce, and were conducted to general Cobbinge's tent. The treaty was soon concluded, and the terms were the same which the English had when they delivered up the fort; and thus on the 12th of July, the island of St. Christopher's may be said to have again reverted to the English government. During the siege, and the other operations before the island was reduced, the English lost about a hundred men. Upon their taking possession of the fort, they were soon sensible that it could not have held out much longer. The only well-it had was dried up by the firing of the cannon; and though the walls and other works of the fort were in tolerable condition, and the garrison well stored with provision and powder, yet they wanted bullets. The male white-inhabitants upon the island were in number about

which is taken.

1800; and with their women, and children, and some of their negroes, others being restored as plunder, they were sent partly to Hispaniola, and partly by way of favour, to Martinico. After the English had sufficiently refreshed themselves at St Christopher's, Sir Timothy Thornhill, with the marines and his own regiment sailed to St. Eustatia, which was then in possession of the French, and which he reduced with the loss of no more than eight men.

BEFORE this, the French inhabitants of St. Bartholomew who had been sent prisoners to Nevis, were carried to St. Christopher's; where, meeting with their wives and children, they desired to return to their own island, and live there as subjects of Great Britain. The general granted their request, and he sent them back to their own island, under captain Le Grand, one of its old inhabitants, who held it faithfully, during some years, for the crown of England. But notwithstanding the surrender of St. Christopher's, yet it was found necessary to keep a very strict eye over the French, who, with their slaves, still continued in the mountains, and often surprised the English, of whom they killed at one time, no fewer than fifteen out of a single foot company. We have already mentioned the unsuccessful expedition against Guadalupe, which general Codrington next undertook, the miscarriage of which was very justly attributed to commodore Wright. Soon after, general Codrington died with great reputation, and was succeeded in his government and large estates by his son the colonel, who was one of the finest gentlemen, and best scholars, notwithstanding his profession of arms, and colonizing, which those times, though fertile in great men, produced.

St. Christopher's島 was continued in the hands of the English till the peace of Ryswick, without any material occurrence happening. In 1697, colonel Collingwood being sent over to the Leeward Islands with his regiment, settled at St. Christopher's with his wife and family, to whom the climate proved mortal. The peace of Ryswick restored de Rywick. Geunes, who had been governor of St. Christopher's at the time it was last taken by the English, to the same government. This gentleman had a daughter-in-law, who had been bred up under her mother, a protestant; and he employed a young jesuit to pervert her in her religion. The lady's charms proved too strong for the jesuit's faith. He won her to compliance, carried her to an English island, turned protestant, and married her. In 1702, when war was declared between England and France, colonel Codrington attacked the French part of St. Christopher's, and reduced its chief fort after firing.

a single round. In 1704, brigadier-general Sir William Mathews, was appointed to succeed colonel Codrington in his government of the Leeward-Islands. About this time the court of England had undoubted intelligence of the French having adopted a very extensive plan of conquering all the English islands in the West-Indies. To prevent any surprize, six men of war, with twelve transports for land-forces, were fitted out under commodore Waller. On board this squadron Mathews embarked ; but he, and 200 land-forces died in the passage. After this, colonel Park, whom we have already mentioned, was made governor of the Leeward-Islands, <sup>and Park's governors.</sup> which, at this time, were in a sorry situation, owing to the peace of Ryswick.

THE truth is, neither king William, nor his government, had true notions of the English West-India trade, nor did he think he could sacrifice enough to the Spaniards, who were much better pleased to see the French than the English powerful in America. Too little care, therefore, had been taken of St. Christopher's at the peace of Ryswick. In the year 1705, when the French began to carry their grand scheme of agitation under Iberville, whom we have so often mentioned in the American history, they landed on St. Christopher's, their armament consisting of five men of war, and twenty sloops. Being unprovided before the English fort, they wreaked their vengeance on the defenceless inhabitants, whose plantations and houses they burned and plundered. It is hard to say, how far so enterprising an officer as Iberville was, might have carried matters against the whole island; had not the governor of Barbadoes sent intelligence to governor Park of a powerful squadron of men of war that were to be sent to his assistance. This taking air, Iberville, the primary object of whose instructions was Nevis, re-embarked his men, but carried off with him about 6 or 700 English negroes, whom he sold to the Spaniards at Vera Cruz.

IN 1710, Park, under whose government a great many abuses had crept in, endeavoured to redress them, by holding a general assembly of all the Leeward Islands at St. Christopher's. This expedient might have proved very healing, the island having, for some time, known no other government, than that of the governor, and a council of militia-officers. But when the assembly met at Old Road, the governor and they differed in every particular. The first point was, his refusing them the privilege of nominating their own clerk, and his sending messages to them by the deputy-marshall, who is not of so high a rank there, as a tipstaff is in England. The assembly wanted to appoint one of their own members

*Treaty of  
Utrecht  
vindicated.*

for their clerk ; but the governor ridiculously gave a negative to this likewise, because the clerks of the house of commons in *England*, which, according to him, resembled in its constitution the assembly of *St. Christopher's*, never were appointed out of their own body ; and so stiffly did he adhere to all his whims, that he even rejected an offer made by the council, to carry his messages to the assembly. Soon after this contest *Park* was murdered, and general *Hamilton* succeeded him. Nothing of any importance happened after this, till the cession of this island to the crown of *Creat Britain*, by the treaty of *Utrecht* ; by which it was provided in the twelfth article, that the island of *St. Christopher's* is to be possessed ~~since~~ by the *British* subjects. This article was brought as a charge against the ministers who concluded that treaty, as if the *French* had thereby got rid of an island, which is to the ~~is~~ of very little significance, and strengthened their greater and far more important settlement at *Domingo*. But this objection is false and frivolous ; the *French* having been settled, at *Domingo* ten years before the conclusion of this treaty ; and, indeed, nothing can be more absurd than to imagine, if the *French* government had thought it their interest that *St. Christopher's* should have been evacuated, they could not have easily brought about such a measure. In short, the entire cession of this island was a great and solid acquisition to *Creat Britain*, especially as the soil of the *French* part of it was by far the richest ; but indeed the number of *French* settled upon it at the time of its cession, was but inconsiderable, being no more than 2000 whites, and 12,000 slaves, of whom many of the richest families remained still upon the island, and became *British* subjects.

*Hamilton,  
go-  
vernor.*

GENERAL *Hamilton* proceeded in the measures of his government upon his predecessor's principles ; and, to say the truth, the administration at home seems to have been very remiss in the affairs of this island, and to have left the inhabitants too much under the power of their governors. They had represented this often, by petitions and memorials sent to *England*, especially after the death of colonel *Park* ; but they were discouraged in all such applications by their new governor *Hamilton*. After the *French* had been driven off the island, the governors exercised a power of letting the *French* unoccupied lands at arbitrary rates. This was considered by the *English* inhabitants as an oppressive privilege, especially as they had suffered greatly by the *French* depredations during the war ; (though their losses were afterwards made good by debenture granted by parliament) and thought it at least reasonable that they should enjoy somewhat of that property, which

which their enemies still claimed to be theirs. All those representations were disregarded, and Mr. Hamilton is said to have stretched the abuse of his power so far, as to turn out of their estates, so granted by lease, many chief inhabitants of the island, after they had laid out vast sums in improving them, and even to have displaced justices, who had offered to oppose his oppressions. In the year 1711, an act of parliament passed for raising two millions by a lottery, in which was the following clause : " And whereas the proprietors and inhabitants of the islands of *Nevis* and *St. Christopher's in America*, did sustain very great losses by a late invasion of the French, and it became necessary to give some encouragement to the sufferers, for resettling their plantations, the sum therefore of 103,003*l.* 7*s.* 7*d.* shall be distributed amongst such proprietors only, as have been settled, or shall re-settle in those two islands, in proportion to their losses, by debentures to be issued by the commissioners for trade, at six per cent. interest." By an act of the fifth of *George I.* for relief of such sufferers in those two islands, as had re-settled in either of them, " the distribution of the abovenamed sum is farther regulated ; and by one of the eighth of that king, their principal sum unpaid, and the large arrears of interest thereon, joined together, is an interest of three per cent. settled the 20th of June 1715."

IN 1715, the government of *St. Christopher's* committed a most flagrant breach of the royal proclamation, by raising <sup>The people of St.</sup> the *French* crown, which was the current coin of that island, Christo- from six to seven shillings, and two minutes for that purpose Christopher's were accordingly entered in the council-books, as well as an *raise their order* to the same effect, affixed in the lieutenant-general's coin. name, to the general towns of the island. This measure opened the mouths of all the enemies of the lieutenant-general and his council, who were publicly accused of having hoarded up *French* crowns at the rate of six shillings each, and obliging the inhabitants to receive them for a shilling more. This iniquitous proceeding was so glaring, that next year it startled the lieutenant-general himself, and he consulted his council, whether it was regular. Their answer was, " that *French* crowns having been current several years, in the other islands, for seven shillings, it could not be said that he altered the coin, but only followed the practice of the other islands." The secretary of state at last took up the matter, and wrote to the lieutenant-general, in the following terms ; " that your

<sup>c</sup> Historical and chronological deduction of the origin of commerce, Vol. II. p. 252.

*Governor's  
salary  
settled.*

excellency will be pleased to issue your proclamation, requiring obedience to be paid to her late majesty's proclamation, relating to the coin, enforced by an act of parliament, that myself, as well as others of his majesty's subjects, may be no longer defrauded of the sixth part of their due, nor the royal proclamation, nor the act of parliament, suffer any longer that indignity they have hitherto been treated with in these parts." As the thing itself was indefensible, the lieutenant-general thought proper to make no answer to this letter, but repaired to England in person. Governor *Matthews*, Mr. *Hart*, and lord *Londonderry*, were severally lieutenant-governors of *St. Christopher's* and the *Leeward Islands*. Under the first, the council and the assembly settled upon him 800*l.* a year currency in money, which was to be raised by a capitation on slaves, at that time estimated about 17,000 in the *Leeward Islands*. A duty of three shillings a hogshead was laid as an additional salary to the succeeding governors. This tax was vigorously opposed by the planters, who urged, that the governor of the island, in imitation of those of the *French islands*, ought to be paid by the crown alone.

*Order  
against  
his re-  
ceiving  
bribes.*

To speak the truth, very great inconveniences had arisen from the smallness, or rather the unsettled state, of the governor's appointments, which had often rendered them liable to great temptations from presents, as we perceive from the following royal instruction. "Whereas several inconveniences have arisen to our governors in the plantations by gifts and presents made our governors by the assemblies, It is our will and pleasure, that neither you, nor any governor or commander in chief of our *Leeward Islands* for the time being, respectively, do give your or their consent to the passing any law or act, for any gift or present to be made to you or any of them by the assembly or assemblies of all or any of our said islands, and that neither you nor they do receive any gift or present from any of the said assemblies, on any account or in any manner whatsoever, on pain of being recalled from that our government." The other parts of the civil and political history of *St. Christopher's*, to prevent repetition, will fall under the other *Leeward Islands*. We shall therefore proceed, as usual, to its natural history.

THE first planters of *St. Christopher's*, both *English* and *French*, applied themselves chiefly to the cultivation of tobacco; but the large quantities they raised defeated the intention of their labour, by reducing the price of the commodity. They found their account much better in planting sugar, ginger, indigo, and cotton; for all which the soil is peculiarly adapted. The prospect from the mountains over

this

this island, however dreadful the mountains themselves are, is extremely beautiful. The island is stored with sulphureous springs towards its south-west part; and though its air in general is very salubrious, yet it is subject to violent hurricanes. The ridge of mountains that run along the island, and which, in many places, is interspersed by forests and thickets, is almost impassable, and must always continue so, till the industry of the inhabitants shall have cleared them. The parishes upon the island are five, and each has a handsome church, three on the south side, and two on the north side, being finished within with a variety of curious and beautiful woods. The French, while they held part of the island, resided mostly at *Basse Terre*, where they built a handsome town, town-house, church, and hospital, of brick, freestone, and carpenter's work. But all this, together with the fine house of their governor, was done at the expence of the French king. The English, on the other hand, lived on detached spots, as the conveniency of their planting and commerce directed; and though they fell far short of the French in the magnificence of their public buildings, yet their houses, which were all raised at their own expence, were far more elegant, comfortable, and convenient; and to this day St. Christopher's boasts of better private houses, than are to be met with on any island in the West-Indies.

On a mountain that lies about three miles north of *Fort A silver Chables*, tradition informs us, there is a silver mine; but tho' mine, many of the inhabitants are convinced of its jealitie, yet they, wisely desist from working it, on account of its certain expense and precarious returns. All the improvable land lies at the feet of the mountains and the skirts of the island. Since St. Christopher's came into the sole possession of the English, they have added to it several forts. The chief is *Forts.* that upon *Brimstone-Hill*, which mounts 49 pieces of cannon, and has a magazine, containing 18,000 pounds of powder, 800 muskets, 600 bayonets, and other military stores in proportion. *Charles Fort* mounts 40 cannon, and has likewise a well-provided magazine. Besides those two forts, the town of *Basse Terre* is secured by *Londonderry Fort*, towards the east, and by six batteries, raised at different landing-places, and mounting 43 cannon. It is supposed that all the cultivable land of St. Christopher's does not exceed 24,000 acres, and those of a light sandy soil. About the year 1731, when an enquiry was set on foot by the British parliament concerning the state of sugar islands, the sugar trade upon St. Christopher's was estimated at 3000 hogheads yearly; but when the dispute about the preference between the French islands and

and *Canada* came to be agitated before the conclusion of the late peace, the produce of the island of *St. Christopher's* in sugar, was, by those who reduced it the lowest, admitted to be about 14,000 hogsheads yearly. Some parts of *St. Christopher's* are ill-served with water. The island produces large quantities of maiz, pine-apples, tamarinds, prickly-pears, peas, apples, and the quality of its sugar is reckoned superior to that of *Barbados* itself. Two different kinds of pepper, and two of cotton, grow here, and the wild sugar-canæ shoot up to four or five feet. Their gourds, water-melons, lettuce, parsley, and purslane, are said to be excellent, as is their pau tree, with many others of the vegetable kind, too numerous to be inserted here, but unknown to the inhabitants of Europe.

**Dominica.** THE island of *Dominica*, which is now unmercifully ceded to the crown of Great Britain, lies about half way between *Guadalupe* on the north-west, and *Martinico* on the south-east, being about eight leagues distant from each; and therefore we may consider it as being in the bosom of the French islands. It stretches in the form of a bow, from south east to north-west, and is in length twenty-eight English miles, and in breadth about thirteen, its whole circumference being about thirty leagues. The soil of *Dominica* not being intersected by the sea, as many other West-Indian islands are, it contains a great deal of improveable ground; some say double the quantity of *Barbadoes*; and the French suppose it to be half as large as *Martinico*. *Dominica* was discovered by the great Columbus on a Sunday, November the 3d, 1593, from whence it takes its name, which was all that the Spaniards bestowed upon it, excepting a few wild hogs. From a manuscript history before us of the house of Clifford, we perceive that on Monday the 22d of May, 1598<sup>4</sup>, the famous navigator the earl of Cumberland, who was the head of that house, in pursuance of a commission granted him by queen Elizabeth against the Spaniards, came to anchor at the harbour of *Dominica*; upon which, the 4th of June following, being Whitsunday, he mustered his men upon the island, and left it, so far as we can perceive, without meeting with the least opposition from the inhabitants. After this, Mr. George Percy, who was brother to the earl of Northumberland, touched at *Dominica*, with some recruits, which he was conducting to *Virginia*. Those facts seem to establish the preoccupancy of this island entirely in favour of the English, at least preferably to the

<sup>4</sup> Our printed accounts say 1596; but the earl's commission is dated in 1597; nor did he sail till next year.

French; and if the earl of Cumberland did not actually make a settlement here, it was owing to an oversight in his commission, into which, no clause for that purpose was inserted. Charles I. however, as the reader has seen, made no scruple to insert *Dominica* in the earl of *Carlisle's* original patent; and it has ever since stood as one of the islands included in the commission of the governor of *Barbados*.

It has been generally allowed that the island of *Dominica* ~~and iaba-~~ was the rendezvous or fortress of the *Caribbeans*, when ex-~~bitants~~ pelled from their other islands; and that the natives of this excelled all the other *Caribbeans*, not only in strength, courage, and activity, but in a form of government which they retained, introduced, (as the French pretend) by one *Baron*, a Frenchman, who lived upon the island, and conformed himself to the manners and customs of the natives. It is certain that the French were sensible of the value of *Dominica*, that they endeavoured to mingle their accounts of the inhabitants with many strains of the marvellous, particularly, of its containing a most immense pit, which was stored with all kinds of poisonous animals, and was the residence of a most monstrous dragon. Those foolish reports, perhaps, had their effect, and the rather, as the *English*, who had been upon the island, appear to have neglected it, because they could find no harbour on its coast. It must not, however, be denied, that many of the *English* free-booters, and even some planters, of no inconsiderable rank, used to decoy those natives, and carry them into captivity; and that this gave them an invincible hatred to all the *English*, which was, on every occasion, improved by the French. The latter are said to have concluded a peace with those islanders in 1640; about which time, *Baron* made several expeditions at the head of the *Dominican Caribbean* against the *English* upon the other islands. When lord *Willoughby* was appointed governor of *Barbados* by *Charles II.* he paid no regard to the French proceedings, and sent a number of men to settle *Dominica*, under the authority of a lieutenant-governor, of his own nomination. The French upon the island pretended that this settlement ought not to take effect, because it was in prejudice to their allies the *Caribbeans*; and they produced a *tam* treaty with them in 1640. The *English* produced other treaties, perhaps of the same kind, in support of their settlement; and matters remained pretty quiet for some years between the two nations, till in 1668, lord *Willoughby* was obliged to support his settlement by an armed force from *Barbados* against the injuries done it by the French. This vigorous measure had so good an effect, that the natives, by a solemn

*Submit to  
the Eng-  
lish.*

solemn instrument made a surrender of their island to the English, and according to a well-informed author,<sup>c</sup> the instrument was lodged in the hands of Mr. Littleton, his lordship's secretary. In 1672, the French, under the title of the above sham treaty, disputed with the English, the possession of this island; but the council of trade and plantations at London, on the 11th of December that same year, informed the governor of Barbados, that no such treaty ever existed. Colonel Thomas Warner, the son of Sir Thomas Warner, by a Caribbean lady, whom *Lafat* saw alive in 1700, aged above 100 years, was then the English lieutenant-governor of Dominica, and died in 1674.

AFTER this, little or no mention is made of Dominica, till the time of the shameful treaty of *Maastricht*, which we have already mentioned between James II. and the French king. Colonel Stede, (afterwards Sir Edward) was then lieutenant-governor of Barbados; but he was so far from considering Dominica even as a neutral island, that he ordered the said treaty to be proclaimed in it, as comprehended within his commission. Next year, he set fire to some French huts that had been run up upon the coast, and seized one of their ships for having presumed to wood and water upon the island, without permission from himself. Another commission, for settling all debateable matters in the West Indies, was afterwards signed by James II. and in consequence of the same, colonel Stede had orders from London to transmit to the ministry all the documents and proofs in favour of the English right to the island. This order was complied with, but so late as the 23d of September, 1688, when the Revolution was on the point of taking place. In this report, however, colonel Stede is said to have made out, beyond all dispute, the right of the English not only to Dominica, but to all the islands in his commission as governor of Barbados. During the war between the French and English which succeeded, this island could not properly have been said to be settled by either nation; but when the English resumed their claim after the peace of *Ryswick*, they burnt the French huts, and obliged them to leave the island.

*Reflexions on its new  
trial phase.* **THUS**, by an unaccountable concurrence of causes, this island, through its great value, remained of no consequence to any European power. In times of war, between the French and English, both were driven from it in their turns, and upon the conclusion of a peace, each people knew the importance

<sup>c</sup> *Candid and impartial Considerations on the nature of the Sugar-Trad.*, p. 83.

of it too well to suffer the other to become masters of it; and both agreed in thinking, that it was of too little consequence to be made the object of a new war. In this state of neutrality it continued, by a kind of a tacit consent on both sides, till by the treaty of *Aix la Chapelle* in 1648, it was formally declared to be neutral. The French, however, observed a most insidious neutrality; for when towards the close of the late war, it was reduced by lord *Rollo* for the crown of Great Britain, he found almost the whole *Windward Coast* settled by the French. The definitive treaty of 1763, fixed the property of *Dominica* alterably in his majesty and his successors, and next to the cession of *Canada* and *Louisiana*, it is by many considered as one of the most valuable acquisitions we have obtained by that peace.

WHEN all circumstances are considered, especially the industry of the French in settling *Dominica*, the cession of it may be deemed as an actual conquest from them. The essays which they made here sufficiently prove, that there is no commodity, or vegetable produced by the richest of our other islands, that may not be raised here in great abundance; and the planters of this island, notwithstanding its situation, never can be destitute of a British force to support them. The *Indians*, either by years of mortality, epidemical distempers, or quarrels with their neighbours, or among themselves, (fomented no doubt by the French) are dwindled down to 3 or 400; and if properly employed, and a sufficient quarter allotted to them, may be of vast use to the English settlers. As to this island being destitute of a port, it is a rumour propagated by the French to discredit it in the eyes of the English. No regular port has indeed been yet discovered, but at the north-west end of the island, *Prince Rupert's-Bay* is deep, sandy, and spacious, and well secured from the winds by the mountains on all sides. Here the armament under lord *Cathcart*, destined against *Carthagena*, lay securely for some time, as did *Moore's* squadron, during great part of the siege of *Guadalupe*; and during the whole war, the anchoring ground not only there, but all along the leeward coast of the island, was of the utmost convenience to our men of war, merchantmen, and privateers.

THE salubrity of the island may be guessed at from the first age to which the above Mrs. *Warner* lived upon it, and from its being far better peopled, when first discovered, than any other of the *Caribbees* were. In the mean while, it is allowed, that this island towards the sea, presents no inviting prospect, being rough and mountainous. Towards the land, the declivities of the hills may be cultivated to the very top, so

so gentle are their rise; and they often terminate in beautiful well-watered fruitful vallies. The soil is of a black mould, and remarkably rich. It contains about thirty rivers; one of them navigable up the country for some miles, and all of them well-fitted for the purpose of colonizing and improvement. In *Dominica*, as well as others of the *Caribbees*, there is a sulphur-mountain, and hot springs, equal in salubrity to those of *Bath* in *England*; and the more exalted kinds of fruits here, particularly the pine-apples, are superior to any that grow upon the *French islands*, and the *French* have often owned, that no better timber of every kind is to be found than what grows in *Dominica*.

*Nevis settled by Sir Thomas Warner.* FROM the island of *Nevis*, in a clear day, may be discerned the islands of *St. Eustatia*, *Saba*, *St. Bartholomew*, *Antigua*, *Guadaloupe*, and *Montserrat*; and it is but three or four miles due south east from *St. Christopher's*; so that both islands, probably, were discovered at the same time. *Nevis* lies in 17° deg. 19 min. north lat. and its whole circumference is not above six leagues. Sir *Thomas Warner*, whom we have mentioned as being the founder of the colony of *St. Christopher's*, founded that of *Nevis* likewise in 1628. Next year, as we have already seen, the *Spaniards* drove the inhabitants of *St. Christopher's* from that island, and that they put the *English* there on board the ships they had seized at *Nevis*, which are said to have been fifteen in number. The progress which the colony of *Nevis* made in population and improvements of all kinds is incredible; for though it was but a subordinate colony, and we cannot suppose it originally consisted of above an hundred whites, yet in twenty years it contained near 4000, who subsisted genteelly upon making sugar. One Mr. *Lake* succeeded Sir *Thomas Warner*, and he is still held in remembrance for his piety and regularity of government; so that under him those excesses which in other colonies were but too common, were either unknown at *Nevis*, or if committed, severely punished. The inhabitants had three decent churches for divine service, and increasing in riches and number they built *Charles-Town*, which consisted of good houses and capacious warehouses, well furnished and well-stored. Here they likewise built a fort, which mounted nineteen guns; and, during the infancy of their colony, they submitted to many regulations, which when it grew more extended, were laid aside as being inconvenient. *Nevis* was among the other *Caribbeo-Islands*, which, after the death of *Charles I.* refused to acknowledge the parliament's authority; but, after the reduction of *Barbados*, it submitted to Sir *George Ayscue*.

NEITHER

NEITHER the parliament nor Cromwell seem to have infested by given much attention or encouragement to those islands, the Caribbs whm, in general, they looked upon to be disaffected to their beans. cause ; and the navigation-a<sup>c</sup>t itself, which was passed in the times of the usurpation, and was productive of so much good to *England*, was meant as a kind of a punishment to those planters, as it put an end to their gainful trade with the *Dutch*. We do not even find, that they regularly appointed governors for several of their *Caribbes*, the administration being left to their assemblies, whose choice was generally approved of, as few of the parliamentarian party from *England* were fond of trusting their persons in those islands. At the same time, their affairs seem to have been well-administered; for at the time of the Restoration, *Nevis* was in a most flourishing condition ; but according to some accounts, during the infancy of the colony, it had been pestered with several ruinous visits from the wild *Caribbeans*. In 1667, one *Langford*, the captain of a merchant-ship, trading in those parts, had learned from a *Caribbean* the certain prognostics of a hurricane, a calamity to which the island of *Nevis* is greatly subject, and informed captain *Barry*, of the *Coronation* man of war, and the other masters of the merchant-ships, that a hurricane or tornado would certainly happen in a few hours. As they had great dependence on his intelligence, they immediately put to sea, and had the good fortune to ride the hurricane out, while *Langford* himself, who had a considerable estate upon the island, incurred his effects in such a manner, that he lost but one h<sup>s</sup>ead of sugar, while many of the other planters were almost ruined. This incident is mentioned to shew, that it is not impossible to guard, by proper natural observations, even against that most impetuous of all natural calamities, a hurricane.

• *NEVIS*, then called *Algevis*, as the reader may have seen, *Stapleton* was one of the islands comprehended in the earl of *Gally*'s governor's patent granted by *Charles I.* and though that, with the *Leeward Islands*, was, upon the death of lord *Willinghby*, put under a separate general government, yet each particular island has its lieutenant-governor, council, and assembly ; so that, upon the whole, their government is very regular. Sir *William Stapleton* was the first governor of the *Leeward Island*'s who, after the death of lord *Willinghby*, chose *Nevis* as the place of his residence and government ; and under him *Nevis* seems to have been at the highest pitch of its prosperity. Upon the discovery of the *Rye-house* plot, under *Charles II.* this island sent over, by colonel *Netherway* and colonel *Jefferson*, a very loyal address ; and upon the accession of his brother

to the throne, he was proclaimed here by Sir *William Stapleton* with all the solemnity and pomp which the island could furnish out. When *Stapleton* left his government, he nominated Sir *James Ruffel* to be lieutenant-governor of *Nevis*; but this nomination was superseded by the arrival of Sir *Nathaniel Johnson*, who resided upon *Nevis* likewise, and was nominated to the general government of the *Leeward-Islands*, of which *Nevis* was, at that time, computed to be by far the most flourishing. It is said, to have been then able to bring into the field 2000 fighting white men, and that this little spot did not contain a smaller number, negroes included, than 35000 souls. The mortality which broke out in 1689, and which so greatly affected the other *Caribbee-Islands*, swept off half the inhabitants of *Nevis*, and left the remainder, who were but sickly, in a most dreadful situation, on account of the neighbourhood of the *French*, who were at that time masters of *S. Christopher's*. During their danger, they implored the assistance of Sir *Timothy Thornhill*, who was then at *Antigua* with the *Barbados* regiment. Sir *Timothy's* strongest objection to his moving to their relief was, the danger of the infection; but understanding that it was in a great measure abated, he went in November with his regiment to *Nevis*, where he encamped upon a healthful spot, and his remaining there intimidated the *French* from making any attempts upon the island. Being joined about the beginning of December by general *Codrington*, a council of war was held, at which assisted the Colonels *Pym* and *Earl*, who commanded two regiments that had been raised by the *St. Neust. Ass't*; and it was resolved, that Sir *Timothy*, with a detachment of 300 *Barbadians* and 250 *Nevisians*, should attack *S. Martin's* and *S. Bartholomew's*. This detachment was on the 15th of December put on board a brigantine and sloops, and they bore away for *S. Bartholomew's*, which island they determined first to attack.

*Major Stanley*, an Englishman, on the 20th, landed eighty men, beat the enemy from their breast-works, and took a battery of two guns. Soon after, major-general *Thornhill* landed at the head of the rest of the detachment, which being formed, advanced into the island; where, after marching about a mile, they drove the enemy from a strong stockaded quadrangular fortification, well provided, and capable of having made a good defence. He likewise took another small battery of two guns without resistance. Having left some of his men in this fortification, he advanced farther up the island, colonel *Pym*, with the *Nevisians*, leading the van; but soon returning to the fortification he had taken, a flag of truce

truce arrived to him from the governor with proposals for a capitulation, which were rejected by Sir Timothy, and he would grant them no terms but those of surrendering with their arms in two days time; which if not complied with, they were to expect no quarter. This answer was communicated to the French governor by two English officers who spoke French; and he required four days to deliberate on it, as, he said, his people being dispersed through the woods, he could not sooner get them together. Mean-while, the English continued ravaging the island, but on the 4th day, the flag of truce appeared, and the governor with a friar, some of his officers, and between 6 and 700 of the inhabitants, was received by Sir Timothy in the French fortification. All that the Frenchman could obtain from Sir Timothy was, a permission to keep his own horse, arms, and apparel, with some of his negroes: but as to the other inhabitants, the men were sent prisoners to Nevis with their negroes, live stock, and effects, and their women and children transported to St. Christopher's. Sir Timothy had but about ten men killed and wounded in this expedition.

BEFORE Sir Timothy left St. Bartholomew, he sent captain ~~Hamilton~~ and St. ~~Hamilton~~ with the brigantine and some sloops, to give a false Martin's alarm to the windward part of St. Martin's on the 19th of January, while he himself having received a reinforcement of other sloops that same day, landed without opposition on the leeward-side, the enemy's attention being employed to the windward. The enemy on this island was much better provided than Sir Timothy had foreseen: they burnt all the houses that could serve the English for shelter; and they did all they could to spoil or poison the springs of the island, by mixing in them large quantities of salt and tobacco. They lost no opportunity of laying ambyses for the English, and firing upon them; so that Sir Timothy found the reduction of this island a sharp service, though no enemy appeared; but the French at last abandoned all their works, and the English made some prisoners with a considerable booty in cattle. On the 23d of January, Sir Timothy having destroyed the chief fortification of the island, which mounted six great guns, understood that the governor and the inhabitants had fled to the mountains. This obstinacy of the inhabitants was owing to the intelligence they had received that Mons. *du Caffé*, the French admiral, had embarked at St. Christopher's with 700 men, in three great ships, a brigantine, and a sloop, for the relief of the island of St. Martin. This armament accordingly appeared off that island, and *Thornhill*, from some prisoners, immediately understood that it was French.

*He is attacked by the French,* **T**HIS alarming intelligence was far from discouraging the English general. He immediately made such a disposition of his forces, as to oppose the enemies landing wherever they should attempt it; and sent off a sloop to inform general Codrington, who was still at Antigua, of what had happened. Notwithstanding all those precautions, it was, perhaps, very lucky for him and his detachment that *Du Caffé*, instead of immediately attempting to land, gave chase to the English shipping upon the island, who all of them escaped, excepting one sloop, which was so hard pressed, that the seamen abandoned it, and left it in the hands of the enemy. This was on the 25th of January; and on the morrow *Du Caffé*, who had fired several guns during the night-time, to give the inhabitants of St. Martin intelligence of his arrival about noon, next day, anchored, and hung out what are called bloody colours, before the windward part of the island, upon which the inhabitants returned from the mountains, and retook possession of the works from which they had been driven by the English, and refitted their artillery, which still remained upon them, while *Du Caffé* landed all his soldiers in the night, of whom he had received a fresh reinforcement from St. Christopher's.

*but makes a gallant retreat.* **S**I R Timothy Thornhill was now obliged to leave his quarters; and, after placing strong guards at the chief passes of the island, he encamped on a plain with his artillery on his flanks. In this situation he lay the 27th, 28th, and 29th of January, and on the 30th, three ships from Antigua appeared in view. These had been sent under colonel Ileweyson, to assist, or bring off, Sir Timothy and his detachment, and after engaging and beating the French squadron, took on board all the plunder made by the English, with their field pieces; and then Sir Timothy ordered his tents to be struck, and his men to march down to the place of their embarkment. The enemy took this opportunity of attacking them upon their march; but after a sharp dispute, in which they were very severely handled, they were beat back to the mountains and woods in great confusion, and Sir Timothy with the loss of no more than ten men in the engagement making a noble retreat, re-imbarcked his men, and arrived safe at Nevis on the 2d of February. Those two expeditions were conducted with so much courage and address, and founded upon such disinterested principles, that they did vast honour to the West-Indians in general, but in particular to general Codrington and Sir Timothy Thornhill.

*The English and their fleet protect Nevis.*

**T**HE people of Nevis were, at this time, more than ever apprehensive of a descent from the French at St. Christopher's, where

where five more of their men of war had arrived from Europe, and where they were assembling all the troops they could muster, with a declared intention to attack Nevis, which, indeed, was the only object they could then have in those parts. The public spirit of general Codrington and his officers alone saved that island; for they declared themselves willing to continue upon it, and to serve for its defence against the French. The people of Nevis, as a mark of their gratitude, in the month of April 1690, allowed them six months' pay extraordinary, which they were to receive till the arrival of the English fleet, and one month's pay after its arrival. The vigilance of Codrington was such, that he was at the head of 1200 men, excellently well armed, and well appointed; and all the fortifications, breast-works, and mines of the island were in fine order; so that the English there seemed rather to desire than to dread a descent from the French, against whom they swore an incessant animosity. It was not long before the English were in a condition to act offensively; for their fleet arrived in June following. On the 16th of that month, the general being now appointed by a commission from king William and queen Mary, to the government and captain-general of all the Leeward Islands, ordered a muster to be held in Nevis of all the troops intended for the expedition against St Christopher's; and we shall insert the numbers, as it may give our readers some idea of the state of our Leeward-Islands, this time, viz.

	Men.	Strength of Codrington, ton's expen- dition.
In the duke of Bolton's regiment, commanded by lieut.-tenant-general Holt,	700	
In major-general Thathabill's, commanded by Sir Timo- thy Thathabill himself,	500	
In the Antigua regiment, commanded by colonel Wil- liams, governor of that island,	400	
In the Montserrat regiment, commanded by colonel Blackstone, governor of that island,	300	
In the two Nevis regiments, commanded by colonel Pym and colonel Earl,	600	
In the marine regiment, being a detachment out of the men of war, under the command of colonel Kettwix, captain of the Assurance,	400	
In the captain-general's life-guard, under the com- mand of colonel Byam,	100	
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	3000	<hr/>
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	ABOVE	

*Hurricane in Nevis.* ABOUT the same time, the inhabitants of *Nevis* were alarmed with a most dreadful noise, which seemed to proceed from the mountain which forms the middle of their island ; and soon after, it was followed by a violent shock of an earthquake, which threw down all the brick and stone houses in *Charles-Town* in an instant, but those of timber stood the shock better. Large apertures broke out in several parts of the streets, and emitted hot gurgling water. The sea retreated for above a quarter of a mile, and left fishes gasping on its shore, but soon returned ; and the tremblings of the earth re-commenced, though not ~~so~~ so violent a degree as before. Large plots of earth, with trees upon them, were turned topsy-turvy, and the trees seen no more ; and the shocks of the earthquake even emptied the cisterns, that in this island every private house keeps as reservoirs for drinking water. This earthquake was felt by ships in all the neighbouring seas, attended with the most dreadful appearances ; so that the consequences, for some time, retarded the expedition against *St. Christopher's*, which sailed on the 19th of *June*, under the convoy of commodore *Wright*, who commanded the English squadron. Having already given an account of this expedition in the history of *St. Christopher's*, we shall not repeat it here, but return to that of *Nevis*.

*Admiral Bembow arrives in Nevis.* IN 1689, the famous rear-admiral *Bembow* arrived at *Nevis* on the 12th of *January*, with a squadron of ships under his command ; and here he left part of colonel *Collingwood's* regiment of foot, which was thought proper to remain there, on account of the late sickly state of the island. Upon the death of king *William*, colonel *Cadrington*, who succeeded his father, now dead, in the lame government, proclaimed queen *Marie* under discharge of artillery and musketry, which resounded from island to island, and from ship to ship, for several leagues, in a manner never before known in America. Upon the breaking out of the war between *France* and *England* soon after, the people of *Nevis* distinguished themselves by fitting out privateers, who cruized to excellent purpose upon the enemy. This spirit procured them the honour of bringing the first object of the *French* fury under *Iberville* in 1705, during that famous expedition planned for the destruction of all the English *West Indian* islands. The squadron to be employed for this momentous purpose, consisted of twelve or fourteen men of war, with 3000 land-troops on board.

*Nevis reduced by the French.* *IBERVILLE*, as we have already seen, landed at *St. Christopher's*, from whence he proceeded to *Nevis* on the 21st of *March*, where he landed his troops in the night-time. It is more than suspected that the *French* from *St. Christopher's* (nothing

(nothing being more easy) had tampered with some of the English negroes upon Nevis, and made them believe that their servitude under the French would be far more delightful than under the English. This notion was propagated, and prevailed among the whole body; so that the inhabitants soon perceived that they could not trust arms in the hands of their slaves. The enemy's landing being effected, the inhabitants, • not able to cope with so formidable an armed power of regulars, retired to the mountains, while the slaves submitted to the invaders. On the 2<sup>d</sup> of the month the inhabitants sent out a flag of truce, and a capitulation was concluded; but they were to remain prisoners of war upon the island, till they could be exchanged for an equal number of French prisoners, either in America or Europe. In the mean time, it was stipulated that they should be well treated, and that their houses, sugar-works, and c<sup>r</sup>. &c. should remain unviolated. The French most intemately broke this part of the capitulation, by the barbarous usage they inflicted upon the inhabitants, and burning both their houses and sugar works. They afterwards obliged them to sign an agreement on the 6<sup>th</sup> of April, 1706, by which they promised to furnish *Martinique* with a number of negroes, or with money to purchase them. As to the negroes, to whom they had promised such mighty matters, they no sooner got 3 or 4000 of them into their vessels, than they clapped them under their hatches, and bore away with them to the Spanish West Indies, where they forced them to work in the mines, the most painful of all services. We are told that one of them, who escaped from his chains, returned afterwards to Nevis, where he apprized his countrymen of the French treachery; upon which they took arms, and cut the throats of all the French who remained upon the island.

IN 1707, another hurricane attacked Nevis, and brought Park, <sup>co-</sup> it to the verge of ruin. Colonel Park, whom we cannot <sup>now</sup> look upon in a much better light than that of a commissioned madman, was then governor of the *Leeward Islands*, and entered upon his administration by no means to the satisfaction of the Nevisians, who seem to have had then a good interest at home on account of their suffering, and where the representation of their losses had been very favourably received. The lieutenant-governor of Nevis at that time was *Walter Harlter, Esq;* *William Burt, Esq;* president of the council, and *Samuel Brown, Esq;* speaker of the assembly. Though the agreement between Park and the people of Nevis had been but very indifferent, yet no sooner was he killed (as he was in a popular assembly at *Antigua*) than the

*Nevisians*, recollecting the great claim they had depending before the government of *England* by their addresses to the queen, exculpated themselves from having any hand in his death, and expressed their abhorrence and detestation, in general terms, of all violent proceedings, murders, and rebellions.

*Hamilton, colonel Hamilton*, who had married Sir *William Stapleton's* widow, and who, no doubt, expected the government of the *Leeward Islands* for himself, was pressed hard to sign this address. He had his reasons for declining this, and he even reproved the framers of it for their officiousness. The history of Mr. *Hamilton's* administration of the *Leeward Islands* will be found in that of *Antigua*, which island has of late years been the residence of the governor of the *Leeward Islands*. When governor *Mather* touched at *Nevis* upon his being appointed to that government; the assembly, at his recommendation, took the affair of his salary into their consideration; and, after various debates, it was at last settled at 300*l.* a year, to be paid in money, or at the country-produce, currency. His salary was to be raised on slaves, of whom they reckoned 7000 upon the island, and the surplus was to go to other public purposes, particularly, in defraying the expence of a house for the governor during one year, at 100*l.* The government of *Nevis*, which some pretend is the most ancient of the *English Caribbees*, is vested in the governor, council, and assembly. They are directed by the common statute-law of *England*; but in cases of emergency, they can make a law, which continues in force for twelve months, but no longer, unless confirmed by the privy-council of *Great Britain*. The residence of the governor of the *Leeward Islands* is generally upon *Nevis*, *Antigua*, *Montserrat*, or *St. Christopher's*; but each of the three islands where he does not reside, has, as we have already mentioned, a deputy-governor of its own, who is appointed by the crown likewise, and who presides both over the assembly and the council. In case of his death, or absence through sickness, or any other cause, his place is supplied by the eldest member of the council, with the title of president: but the functions of this particular governor are superseded by the presence of the governor-general. Within the term of about twenty years, there commonly is a general assembly from the councils and assemblies, or their deputies, of all the four islands, for the common good of the whole. The council of each island is nominated by the governor-general; but the assembly consists of the representatives of the parishes, each sending two, chosen by its freeholders.

*Salary of  
the gover-  
nor.*

*Govern-  
ment of  
Nevis.*

THE soil of *Nevis*, towards the vallies, is said to exceed *Soil*.  
in fertility that of *St. Christopher's*. The whole of the island  
that is cultivable, can be considered only as the skirts of a  
vast mountain, which the higher it is ascended becomes the  
more barren. Sugar, as in the other *Caribbees*, is the staple  
commodity of the island; and it is said that *Nevis* sends to  
*Europe*, freighted with it, fifty or sixty ships yearly; so that  
though the island is capable of producing tobacco, cotton,  
and ginger, yet little of them is now cultivated there. This  
island naturally produces purple and other plants, with  
which it is said to have been formerly over-run; and also  
oranges, limes, and lemons. Though *Nevis* has several fresh Water.  
water as well as mineral springs, the last of which are of  
great use in scorbutic distempers, yet the fresh water, it is  
said, does not keep, and is unfit for sea. The island is sub-  
ject to violent tornadoes and rains. This island abounds Animals.  
with lizards, some of them of a monstrous largeness, being Lizards,  
about five feet long from the head to the tail, which is five  
feet likewise, and their bodies about a foot round. Their ap-  
pearance is so varied, that they have been taken for a species  
of the *ameleon*. Some of them are very beautiful, though  
none that are venomous, and they are very easily  
shot. It is said that the female lays her eggs in the sand, and  
that they are hatched by the sun. There is on the island an-  
other sort of lizard, smaller, and of the *European* kind, and  
but seldom seen till it is dark.

THE ~~Land-pike~~, which is found here, is, so called from Land-pikes  
its resemblance to the fish of that name, and has been mis-  
taken for a salamander by some virtuosos, who have reared  
them in their closets. Their length is about sixteen inches;  
their skin is of a silver-grey, and beautifully spangled, but  
in the night-time they make a most hideous noise in the Soldier-  
rocks. The history of the snail called the soldier, from its *Snail*.  
taking up its quarters in any empty shell it can find, and *Snail*.  
there making them good against all accidents, is very curi-  
ous, but too minute to have a place here; and, indeed, too  
whimsical to be believed. We may say pretty much the *Fleas*.  
same of the flying-tyger, the horn-fly, and the fly-catcher,  
which are all of them creatures of wonderful contexts  
and extraordinary properties; but it is said that those species  
of insects are now far from being common on the island; and  
therefore it is probable, that great part of the marvellous,  
which is related concerning them, is owing to the invention of  
*English* writers. Perhaps we are indebted to the same gentle-  
men for other wonderful particulars of the like kind. Mr.  
*Smith*, an *English* divine, who resided on the island, and  
wrote

wrote the natural history of the Caribbees, tells us of a wood, called dog-wood, that is to be found here, the juice of which, when properly prepared by the negroes, intoxicates the fish, and makes them swim on the surface of the water, where they are caught by those slaves, who are very expert in swimming, to the great diversion of their masters and their guests.

*Foods.*

THE Nevis wilk, which is said not to be found in the other Caribbees, is a rich and delicious food, as is the cavally, which is of the mackarel-kind, and weighs about four or five pounds; but the mud-fish is reported to be most in request. We are told that the lobsters at the east end of the island are rank poison, while those at the west end are fine eating. The land crabs burrow in the mountain, but are caught in the night in coming down to the sea to shed their shells. Other crabs are likewise found here. Of turtle it is said that Nevis produces seven or eight kinds, but that the green alone is eatable, and that of two kinds of rats which the island produces, one species is poisonous, probably from the same cause that the lobsters are so, their subsisting upon veins of copperas at the bottom of the water.

*Garden-  
stuff.*

NEVIS produces asparagus, but of a small kind; also Jessamine and sage, with other trees and shrubs not common in Europe. The liquorice-bush grows here like the vine. The butter of Nevis is very indifferent, and the inhabitants are obliged to supply themselves, at dear rates, from the Bermudas, England, and Ireland, with that commixt well as with cheese. They rear sheep, rams, and pigs, which are fine eating, with turkeys and other fowls; as also rabbits, veal, and other fresh food; and we are told, that of late they have begun to cultivate cucumbers, lettuce, and all kinds of fallading: so that they can furnish, out of their own product, a genteel table in the English way. They have horses for draught, burden, diversion, and grandeur. When Sir Hans Sloane was on the island, they were imported from Barbuda; but the inhabitants have now very good ones from Old England, Rhode-Island, and New England. As they make no hay upon the island, the chief subsistence of their cavalry is upon the grass, which is weeded out from among the sugar-canæs, the tops of those sugar-canæs themselves, and the skinnings of the coppers; but the more valuable cattle are indulged with the green blades of Indian-corn, Guinea-corn, and New England oats. The dogs upon this island, especially the bull and the cur-kind, are very fierce, and apt to fly upon the negroes, who make no scruple of eating their flesh.

THE inhabitants of this island, are subject to fevers, especially in *October*, when the wind changes from east to north; of Nevis but, indeed, the greatest calamities arise from hurricanes, which are now but too frequent. By the latest accounts, about 6000 white persons live upon the island, with about 16,000 negroes, besides a few regular troops, who are maintained at his majesty's expence; nor do we know of any insults offered to our chief *Caribbee Islands* during our two last wars with *France* and *Spain*. The governor's commission is worth about 3,500*l.* a year, and the number of militia which the island raises, is casual, according to that of whites upon it, and the necessity of the occasion. The island is at a great loss in its not having a good harbour belonging to it; and the best riding for shipping is between rocks and shoals, where they are pretty safe; but in case of a hurricane, they are happy if they can get to sea. *Nevis* has likewise been subject to earthquakes, one of which threw down great part of the mountain that composes the island. The perpendicular height of this mountain, from the bay of *Charles-Town*, is said to be a mile and a half; but we apprehend this calculation to be greatly exaggerated, though it is pretended to be taken by a quadrant. In the east part of the island there is a river, which, they say, affords very fine mullets, and other excellent fish.

THE care and choice of their negroes are main articles *Negroes*; with the *Nevisians*. They are generally brought from *Congo*, *Angola*, ~~and *Senegal*~~; but those from the *Gold Coast*, next to the negroes born upon the island, are most esteemed for their strength and hardiness. Great art is employed by the slave-merchants in setting them out for sale. A boy or girl of sixteen years of age, if healthy, commonly brings 20*l.* and women and men from 30 to 50*l.* and above, according to their strength and hardiness. Their food is salt-herrings, maize, and *Spanish* potatoes. They love to work in large companies, and the industry of some of them is incredible, especially when the product of it is to go into their own pockets. According to the authorities before us, some barbarous laws, with regard to negroes, prevail in *Nevis* and our other *Caribbee Islands*, which we wish, for the honour of the *British* government, were altered. It is said, that if a white man should kill a black there, he cannot be tried for his life for the murder, and all that he suffers, is the forfeiture of 30*l.* currency to the master for the loss of his slave. This is a barbarity which we think no human institution has a right to authorize, though undoubtedly great management and precaution are to be observed in a colony, where the nunci-

*Height of  
its moun-  
tain.*

*Treatment  
of the ne-  
groes.*

numbers between the whites and the blacks, that is, between the masters and their slaves, are so disproportioned. It is therefore, perhaps, not unreasonable to punish a negro with the loss of his hand, if he strike a white man; and, as is the case here, with death itself, if he should draw blood from him. A negro cannot be evidence against a white man; but we apprehend that the ~~sabbath~~<sup>negro</sup> is too general; because it is well known, that many negroes have discovered a true sense of religion, and have, in all other respects, acted as good Christians, as well as with a strict discernment of what is right and wrong in judicial proceedings (U). The Nevisians are said to have three public annual fairs in the three first weeks of July, August, and September, to implore the Divine protection against hurricanes; and if none happen during those months, they have a public thanksgiving in October. We have already mentioned the relief given by the parliament of Great Britain to the Nevisians, on account of their losses by the French and the hurricane. This relief, however, was not granted till the return of a clerk or agent who was sent over by the board of trade and plantations to enquire into the losses both of this island and that of St. Christopher's, which he reported to amount to about 300,000*l.* and the parliament granted 103,203*l.* 1*r.* 4*d.* for their indemnification. The only town in the island is Charles Town, which is defended by a fort of the same name, and has a regular weekly market every Sunday morning, which day, we suppose, is fixed upon for the benefit and convenience of the negroes. One of the greatest disadvantages Nevis labours under, is, that the inhabitants are obliged to purchase from the neighbouring islands their iron-wood and lignum vita, for the construction of their sugar-houses, mills, and other works.

*Antigua  
peopled by  
the Eng-  
lish.*

*ANTIGUA* was early planted by the English, though at this distance of time, the history of those private adventurers is dark and uncertain. Were we to hazard a conjecture, we should be of opinion, that the ancient natives of the Caribbees were far from being an inhospitable people to the Europeans, when they had nothing with regard to their own liberties, or the possession of their own country to apprehend.

(U) Though we cannot, as historians, enter into any moral disquisition here, yet we must be of opinion, that if negroes are disqualified from giving evidence for want of knowledge, capacity, or information, that

ought to be one of the strongest motives for mitigating, instead of aggravating their punishment; as, for the same reason, they cannot be supposed to be sensible of the nature of the crime they commit.

from

## The History of America;

from them ; and this conjecture may be strengthened by many instances. It is therefore, at all improbable, that those savages received the straggling English into their protection, and while they were but few in number, even suffered them to settle and plant upon their islands, and that too, long before any violent effort, in large bodies of Europeans or English, were made to dispossess them. *Antigua* itself lies about twenty leagues east from St. Christopher's, and ten north-east of Monferrat ; and being above fifty miles in circumference, is reckoned the largest of all our Leeward-Islands. It is certain that while Sir Thomas Warner was governor of St. Christopher's, Englishmen were settled on *Antigua* ; but the property of the island was so far from being ascertained, that the French who had been driven from St. Christopher's, had thoughts of making a settlement upon *Antigua*. The reasons why they did not, probably, were the vast difficulty of access to the island, and the general bad character it was under of having no fresh water. Notwithstanding this, several English families removed thither in Sir Thomas Warner's time ; and lord Willoughby, governor of Barbadoes, was so sensible of the value of *Antigua*, and so clear as to the English right to the same, that he had his name inserted in his commission as governor of the English Leeward-Islands ; and about the year 1663, he sent thither his brother, or rather his kinsman, Mr. Henry Willoughby, with proper people and accommodations for effecting a regular settlement upon it. According to *la Tergre*, and other French writers, so far back as the year 1640, the English were so numerous here as to become obnoxious to the savage natives, who killed fifty of them, and carried off the governor's lady ; by which we suppose he means the wife of the chief Englishman upon the island. This barbarity appears to have been committed by the savages alone ; for, long after this, both French and English lived in *Antigua* with great cordiality. Lord Willoughby, however, being resolved to make *Antigua* an English settlement, gave orders to Mr. Willoughby to oblige the French either to remove from the island, or to swear allegiance to the English government ; and, upon their not immediately complying, he treated them with a severity that was, perhaps, both unjust and impolitic, for he obliged most of the French to retire to *Guadalupe* or *Martinico*.

THOSE exiles (as might naturally have been supposed) dis- closed to their countrymen the weakness of the English settle- ment upon *Antigua*, and with what ease it might be dislodged. An expedition was accordingly fitted out by the French ; the English were attacked in form, their forts were taken, their gover-

governor made prisoner, and they themselves obliged to accept of a capitulation for surrendering the island. Before this capitulation could be carried into execution, a reinforcement came which prevented its taking place. The French governors of their Caribbees understanding this, mustered a large force from all their islands, and landing upon ~~the coast of~~ in 1667, the English governor, Fish, found himself obliged to ratify the former capitulation. Notwithstanding this, it nowhere appears that the English made a full cession of the island to their antagonists; and it seems as if de la Barre, the French lieutenant-general of their islands, had suffered many of them to retain the possession of their estates, though, possibly, under the French protection and allegiance. We are informed, that about this time a son of Sir Thomas Warner's wife, the Caribbean lady we have already mentioned, having learned English from his mother, and imagining that upon her account he was neglected by his English relations, made an eloquent speech from *Antigua* to the *Indians*, where he erected himself into a kind of a chief of his countrymen the Caribbeans, and headed several expeditions against the English. This tradition is strongly countenanced by Dampier, the famous English voyager, who was in those parts in 1674; and gives us the following particulars. "About this time the Caribbees had done much spoil on our English plantations of Antego, and therefore Governor Warner's son, by his wife, took a party of men, and went to suppress these Indians, and came to a place where his brother the Indian Warner lived. Great seeming joy there was at this meeting, but how far it was real, the event showed; for the English Warner providing plenty of liquors and inviting his half-brother to be merry with him, in the midst of his entertainment, ordered his men, upon a signal given, to murder him and all his Indians, which was accordingly performed. The reason of this inhuman action is diversely reported: some say, that this Indian Warner committed all the spoil that was done to the English, and for that reason his brother killed him and his men. Others, that he was a mortal friend to the English, and would not suffer his men to fight them, but did all that lay in his power to draw them to an amicable commerce; and that his brother killed him, because he was ashamed to be related to an Indian. But be it how it will, he was called in question for the murder, and forced to come home and take his trial in England. Such perfidious doings as these, constitutes Dampier, besides the baseness of them, are great hindrances of our gaining interest among the Indians."

Dampier's account.

NOTWITHSTANDING this plausible story from Dampier, Observations on it. who was a very candid and sensible voyager, we are somewhat suspicious that he has been misinformed with regard to the affinity between the two *Warner*s; because, though the English *Warner* was indeed sent home to take his trial, yet a finding charge of murder lying against him; and all he was accused of, was a crime but too common in those times and places, both among the French and English, which was that of kidnapping the Caribbeans under the shew of friendship, and making them slaves, thereby rendering the whole nation unconcileable enemies to all Europeans. The French, properly speaking, after this, were masters of Antigua till the year 1668, when it was restored to the English by the twelfth article of the Treaty of Breda. The colony then began to flourish exceedingly, though their happiness was too often interrupted by several hurricanes which visited the island. Its chief proprietor was now to the genius and care of that great English L. g. and hero, colonel Christopher Codrington, who had been appointed captain-general and general governor of the Leeward-Islands, removed from Barbadoes to Antigua, which he made the seat of his government; and there he had great experience and knowledge of West-Indian plantations. He introduced a new and a better system of managing and improving. The effect was, that the sugars of Antigua, which were before but little esteemed, bore as good a price as those of our other West-Indian islands, in a few years whereof it increased double and treble its value. It was not, however, in his power to prevent the visits of those dreadful hurricanes, which more than once rendered Antigua in his time a scene of desolation, particularly in the year 1681; and nine years after it was almost ruined by an earthquake.

THE French, instigated by the French, never failed to assail French islands themselves of those natural calamities, by sudden descents upon the island in their periagua; but after plundering some of the planters nearest the sea, they were generally driven off with loss. Another gentleman, one major Byam, whose descendants are said still to live upon Antigua, deserves likewise to have his name transmitted here. He was one of those deputies whom lord Willoughby appointed to treat with Sir George Ayscue about the pacification of Barbadoes; and, in lord Willoughby's time, he became an eminent planter in Antigua. Sir Nathaniel Johnson was governor-general of the Leeward-Islands, at the time of the Revolution; but not conforming to that government, he was succeeded by colonel Codrington, who appointed colonel Rawland Williams to be

deputy-governor of *Antigua*. When the war broke out between *England* and *France*, the people of *Antigua*, though they were but just recovering from the dreadful calamity of the earthquake we have already mentioned, shewed a becoming spirit against the *French*. They joined with the other inhabitants of the *Leeward-Islands* in their applications for protection from the government of *Barbados*; and accordingly, Sir *Timothy Thlenbill*, after raising his *Barbados* regiment, landed on the 5th of *August* with it at *Antigua*, where he received the disagreeable news of the *French* having become masters of *St. Christopher's*. Being too weak immediately to attempt the reduction of the island, he quartered his regiment, or rather part of it, in the town of *Falmouth* upon *Antigua*, till the fleet for the relief of the *English Leeward-Islands* in general, which was every day expected, should arrive.

In the mean while, the active colonel, whom we are now to call general *Codrington*, gave the command of these sloops, manned with 80 men of Sir *Timothy's* regiment, to captain *Thorn*, who sailed from *Falmouth* to the island of *Anguilla*, from whence he brought off the English remains of that small colony, which had suffered extremely from the barbarity of the *French* and *Irish*. The general, at the same time, fitted out several sloops, by way of guarda costas, against the *French* and their *Caribbean* allies, who continued to pester the island in their periagias, and to murder the defenceless inhabitants lying near the sea. But this precaution proving ineffectual through the great skill of the savages in managing their little vessels, proper towers and watch-houses were erected all along the coast to give notice of such descents. Sometimes, however, the *French* made those descents with a greater force, and carried off negroes and other prey. One of their privateers, particularly about the middle of *September* this year, after plundering the coast, took an *English* ship, and gave chase to another, but was taken by two sloops, manned with a party of *Thornhill's* regiment, under the command of colonel *Hamilton*. On board this privateer were discovered no fewer than six *Irish* sailors, of whom four were hanged by order of a court-martial. This act of justice was judged to be the more necessary, as the *French* could not have manned their privateers without the *Irish* Roman Catholics, whom the *English* found the most barbarous enemies they had to deal with. The people of *Antigua*, to make themselves in some measure atends for the depredations they suffered from the *French*, raised 300 men under the command of one colonel *Hewson*, who made a descent upon the *French* island

at Margelante, where they took and burnt the chief town, Marigalante ~~con-~~, demolished the fort, spiked up its guns, drove the inhabitants ~~con-~~ <sup>quered by</sup> into their woods, and returned to Antigua with the plunder <sup>of Anti-</sup> ~~con-~~ <sup>the people</sup> of the island.

Upon Sir Timothy Thornhill's returning to Nevis, general <sup>of Anti-</sup> ~~con-~~ <sup>the people</sup> Coughington repaid him at Antigua; where he received an express from Thornhill, who was then on his expedition against St. Barths, St. Eustatius, and St. Martin, acquainting him with the arrival of du Caffe upon the latter island, with 700 men. The general immediately ordered colonel Heweson to embark, with about 200 men in three sloops, and under the convoy of one sloop of war of 40, and two of 20 guns, to bear away to St. Martin's. This little armament was opposed by the French ships lying off the same island; but they were obliged to bear away, after a dispute of four hours, and Heweson landed his men, to the great relief of Thornhill. Upon the arrival of admiral Wright, whom we have several times before mentioned, with a strong squadron of men of war for the relief of the English Leeward Islands, and the recovery of St. Christopher's, the people of Antigua raised a regiment of 400 men, commanded by colonel Rowland Williams, who, under Coughington, was deputy-governor of the island. Besides this force, many of the inhabitants served both as sailors and volunteers in the expeditions under Codrington; an account of which we have already given in the former parts of this work, and in the histories of the islands to which they were made. It is likewise mentioned for the honour of Antigua, that no part of the English dominions exceeded the zeal of its inhabitants; or, proportionable to its strength, contributed more to this and the succeeding war against France.

NOTWITHSTANDING the gross mismanagements of the Antigua English marine in the West-Indies, the trade of Antigua still flourishes; and that island in 1696, sent, at one time, eleven ships laden to England, under convoy of the Hastings frigate. Upon the death of general Codrington, in 1696, his son, colonel Christopher Codrington, succeeded him as captain-general and commander in chief of the Leeward Islands. He chose Antigua for the place of his residence, as being the most commodious spot for his government, and equally convenient for himself, by having the greatest property of any man upon the island. This colonel Codrington, before he received his commission, had distinguished himself equally in arms and the polite arts. He had his education at All-Soul's-College in Oxford, and was chosen by the University to return its publick thanks to king William for the honour of paying it

a visit. He was the friend and patron of several English ingenious poets, and having served with great distinction at the siege of Namur, he was made colonel of his ~~old~~ <sup>new</sup> foot-guards, in which rank he served till he was raised to his government.

*Codrington's descent upon Guadalupe,*

He had early formed the design of attacking the French West-India-Islands, and most of Collingwood's regiment, who arrived at Antigua with Admiral Boscawen, being of it; he was indefatigable in procuring others in their room from England. He, at the same time, encouraged the merchants and planters of Antigua to fit up privateers, to which he himself contributed largely likewise; and he raised a fifth regiment of soldiers in Antigua, the command of which was given to colonel Byam. We have already taken notice of colonel Codrington's descent upon Guadalupe, where the *Antigua* men, with colonel Byam at their head, were the first who secured a post called *Les petits Habitans*, from whence they dislodged the enemy. About 800 more English landing under colonel Wetham, they boldly marched up to a town called the *Bassilife*, where the French had manned a breast-work, which they vigorously defended, and killed three English captains at the head of their grenadiers; but the English soldiers, tho' so furiously plied from the breast-work, kept up their fire till they laid the muzzles of their pieces across its top, and gave the enemy so smart a fire, that they soon became masters of it. This was followed by the conquest of all the enemy's other breast-works of the town of Bassilife itself, or the *Jacobine* church and plantation, both which the French had strongly fortified, and at last of the fort in town of Basse-Terre, the French retiring to the fort, and leaving all the open part of their island to be plundered and destroyed by the English. Nothing now remained to reduce the island, but the conquest of Basse-Terre fort and castle, to which the inhabitants had retired with their chief effects. The English had already advanced their works within pistol-shot of the fort, and musket-shot of the castle, against both which a battery of sixteen pieces of cannon was ready to be opened. In short, nothing could have prevented the entire reduction of the island, but a disagreement which arose between the sea and land-officers, the particulars of which were so little to the credit of either, that the public has never yet been acquainted with a true state of them. To save appearances, it was given out, that the reduction of the island was a matter of far greater difficulty than had been foreseen; and that, considering the vigorous defence made by the French, the English army, which was now both weak and sickly, was unable to do

*which proves un-successful.*

No duty longer, for which reason the men were re-imbarked, and the conquest of Guadalupe abandoned.

COLONEL ~~Coddington~~ was succeeded, as governor of the ~~Seaward Islands~~, by Sir William Matthews, in the year 1704, and he likewise made Antigua the place of his residence. This gentleman, during the short time he lived in the West-Indies, gave universal satisfaction by his mild, moderate behaviour; and upon his death he was, as we have already mentioned, succeeded by colonel Park, who received the government from the hands of John Yeomans, Esq; the president of the plantations and the council. All this notwithstanding the repeated attacks of the French upon the other English <sup>History of Col. Park's government of</sup> West-India-Islands, Antigua remained unmolested, and the inhabitants grew rich by their privateeering; in which they became so expert, that a vessel with no more than nine men and six boys on board, being attacked by a French sloop with 50 men, killed 40 of them, and brought the sloop itself a prize into Antigua. Colonel Park, upon his arrival on the island, began his administration in a manner the most unpopular and disagreeable that can be well imagined. He appointed a common foot-soldier to act as provost-marshal of the island, and that without obliging him to give any security, though it is a post that in the West-Indies, in some particulars, resembles that of an English sheriff of a county, by his having the power of impanelling juries. When he was talked to on that head, he refused to give any other answer, than that a foot-soldier was a gentleman.

BUT the most exceptionable part of Park's conduct was, his wantonly provoking his predecessor colonel Codrington, and a merchant, one Mr. Chester, to oppose him. Park made so unmerciful a use of his power, as governor, that he obliged colonel Codrington, whom he took all occasions personally to affront, to retire to Barbados. Mr. Chester happened to have a quarrel with one Sawyer, a Virginian, Park's countryman; and some blows having passed, Sawyer in a short time, died, and Chester soon after, chiefly by the instigation of Park, must have undergone a severe prosecution for murder, had not the coroner's inquest returned their verdict, that the deceased died a natural death. Some motives which have been assigned for Park's keenness in this affair were most infamous, particularly his having a criminal correspondence with Chester's wife; a charge, which his lead, scandalous way of living upon the island too much countenanced. He was, however, supported at home by the heads of the whig-administration, who affected to despise all the charges brought against him by the people of his government.

*His tyranny and insuperable behaviour could have provoked them into this opposition.* The people of the island had, upon his arrival among them, voted him an appointment of 1000*l.* a year; but he soon gave himself liberties, which sufficiently declared, that he was to be under no controul of law or justice; for he boasted, on all occasions, the great and unshaken interest he had with the government of *England*, and that, let him do what he would, he was sure of being protected by the lord-treasurer *G. Colpin*, and the dutchess of *A.borough*. Park acted in a manner as if he dursted to push his interest with any great personage, so far as it could go. The *Codrington* family had, for above thirty years before, been possessed in property of the whole island of *Berbuda*, which it had deedly earned by being at the expences of peopling, planting, and improving the island, for which they had obtained a proprietary patent, the validity of it, till the time of Park's government, never having been questioned. The foundation of this groundless attack, was a clause in his commission as governor, comprehending all the *B. Fish* *Leward*, *Mayes*, of which he pretended *Berbuda* was; he and he ordered Sir *William Codrington*, the colonel's representative, to produce his right to that island, before his council, as governor and captain-general. Codrington very properly refused to satisfy either the general or his council, as to his right to the island, and his council advised him to drop his claim; but all was to no purpose, for he prosecuted it with more vigour than ever, and with great personal scurillities, against the *Codrington* family, which was, deservedly one of the most popular, as well as wealthy, in the *English West-Indies*.

PARK's behaviour continued to be so intemperate, that at last, the whole island of *Antigua*, in a manner, became a party against him; and above eighty of the principal inhabitants transmitted to *England* an impeachment of his conduct, consisting of thirty articles; some of which were of a felonious nature. In those articles he was charged with altering the method of electing the members of the assembly, and with sending armed men to enter the houses of private gentlemen, on pretence of their holding meetings and cabals against his government, and afterwards committing them to jail, and all this in the most outrageous ruffian-like manner. He was farther charged with neglects in his government, and for suffering no assembly to be called for eleven months time, though the island was threatened with a *French* invasion; and that he often gave out in discourse, that he expected large pecuniary presents from the people of his government, against whom,

whom he took all kinds of advantages; by even turning a private spy for himself, and strolling about the streets incognito. The governor would willingly have evaded taking any notice at all of those charges; but when they were carried home, he was obliged to defend himself under the extent of his commission, and his discretionary powers under the royal authority, which, as he pretended, justified him in all he had done, imputing the whole of the impeachment against him to be true.

~~This defence had greater weight than could have been A party well expected in a country governed by law; and this pro-formed voked some of the islanders to send him private challenges as against a gentleman, but he evaded them all, by pretending, that it bim. was incompatible with his dignity to accept of them.~~ At last, he was wounded by a negro from a musket; and this, with several other pretended attempts against his life, was, by him, charged upon some of the chief planters of the island. His antagonists, on the other hand, grew every day more and more sensible of the necessity they were under of carrying on their impeachment; and, for that purpose, they subscribed a large sum of money, which was lodged in the hands of their agent and solicitor at London, for carrying on the prosecution. The principal parties in the prosecution were, colonel Christopher Codrington, late general; Barry Tankard, Esq; William Thomas, Esq; Edward Perry, Esq; the reverend Mr. James Field; Samuel Watts, Esq; chief-justice; Nathaniel Crump, Esq; speaker of the assembly; and Dr. Daniel Mackenzie. Besides those gentlemen, all the assembly, excepting one member, were his enemies; nor had he for a friend a single planter or merchant of any note upon the island. All those untoward circumstances made no impression upon Park, who still screened himself under the royal authority, and treated all his opponents as rebels and mutineers. This behaviour, in an English governor, was thought the more extraordinary, as about this time, the French inhabitants of Martinico had seized upon their governor and intendant, and sent them prisoners to Old France, where, though the insurgents were declared rebels, yet they met with no other punishment.

NOTWITHSTANDING the apparent unanimity of the island against Park, so great was the reverence paid to a royal commission, that he had still creatures and friends upon the island; and the inhabitants, in general, confined all their resentment to the legal regular method of complaining at the court of England. Their agents there had no great reason to encourage their constituents; for they found but very poor

*He is ordered home.*

encouragement at the council-table, where prerogative doctrines, about this time, began to be in great vogue. Park and his friends had interest enough, for a long time, to ward off an examination into his conduct, on pretence that all the opposition against him was merely the effect of a seditious tumultuous spirit. But the facts brought by his opponents were so flagrant, and urged with so much precision, that at last, Mr. Newin, who was solicitor at London, & the complainants, brought to *Antigua* her majesty's letter, directing the witnesses against ~~going~~ <sup>to</sup> Park to be examined upon the spot ; and that the governor should ~~go to~~ <sup>return to</sup> *England* by the first man of war bound from *Antigua*.

PERHAPS the people of that island did not bear with proper moderation their success against their governor ; so that, for some time, he did not appear in public. Notwithstanding this, he still continued, as heretofore, the exercise of his government, and charged the inhabitants with rebellion, and conspiracies against his life. They still proceeded with great coolness, and though the governor did not chuse to be present, the depositions of the witnesses, in support of the charge against him, were taken before Edward Byam, Esq; one of the council, and Nathani<sup>el</sup> Crum, Esq; speaker of the assembly, and transmitted to *England*, under the seal of the island. The governor, on his part, refused to send any thing in his own vindication, pretending that the examination of his witnesses were delayed by the justices, and suffered a ship, which was to have carried him to *England*, to sail without him ; still justifying himself, by the necessity he was under of going through his evidence for his own vindication. But this had no influence upon the commissioners, to whom the queen's letter was delivered ; for they sent to *England*, by their agent, all the affidavits and papers that were under their cognizance, without paying any regard to the governor's defence.

THE people of *Antigua* now looked upon themselves as being, in some measure, in a state of anarchy ; and they were but too ready to adopt a notion, that their governor, by not returning, as he was ordered, to *England*, by the first ship that sailed from *Antigua*, was become an usurper ; and that no regard was to be paid to his person or authority. The assembly itself was of this opinion ; for it continued sitting, under pretence of taking measures against the French invasion, notwithstanding he had dissolved them. The governor, and such of the council, as still stuck by him, were then assembled at the court-house in St. John's ; and Park, thinking himself sure of the military force that was on the island, continued to carry matters

matters with a very high hand. Thus the principle of government became a disputed point; it being doubtful, whether ~~was the~~ the governor resided in the governor, or with the council and assembly. The latter thought themselves unsafe in suffering the governor to act longer as such; and its members, attended by a good number of planters, and other inhabitants, resorting to the town-house, where they roundly questioned the governor's right to the legality of his proceeding. His best defence was, to send one *Worthington*, an officer of the troops, then lying on the island, to the guard-house, from whence he immediately brought a party, in every appearance of which instantly unseated the assembly, who adjourned themselves, and publicly gave out among all their constituents, that they were laid under terror and restraint by the army.

SOME of the leading men upon the island, particularly colonel *Bryant*, thought it now high time that matters should come to a crisis; and written notices were sent to the inhabitants of the island, to come armed to *St. John's*, on the seventh of September, 1710, to protect their representatives in the assembly, who declared, that they had no design against the person or life of the governor, but to take him prisoner, and send him off the island. *Park* was, all this while, preparing for his defence against the islanders, who appeared early in the morning in arms, in the number of near 400 men. He had garrisoned his house with all the regulars he found upon the island, and was attended by four or five of his worthless creatures, whom he had raised to places of power and trust. After this, the proceedings on both sides were pretty regular, *Park* still in the character of governor, sent his provost-marshal with a proclamation, requiring the inhabitants to disperse: but they treated it with the utmost contempt, their numbers being now 500; and they declared, that the governor's troops should not protect him from being seized and sent prisoner off the island. The cooler part of the assembly were still for compromising matters; and Mr. *Crump*, its speaker, with one Mr. *Gamble*, a counsellor, carried their demands to the governor, requiring him to dismiss his guard, and to quit the government. *Park*, now for the first time, seemed to act as a rational creature; he pleaded, he was still their governor, and that he only waited for an opportunity of complying with the queen's letter, in returning to *England*; that if the assembly chose to sit at *Parham*, seven miles distant from *St. John's*, he was ready to pass any acts they should make for the good of the island, and that he was even ready to dismiss his soldiers, provided six of the

principal inhabitants would remain with him as hostages for his safety.

*The islanders rise upon him, and put him to death.*

THOSE proposals carried with them such an appearance of moderation, that they startled many of the islanders, who had declared against the governor; and the two deputies themselves, upon their return, thought them so reasonable, that they offered to become two of the hostages. The insurgents thought that they had gone too far to say where they were, and began to be apprehensive, that if they did not strike some bold stroke, in which the whole of their party should be involved, they might be deserted by numbers, and a few of them left to answer for all that had been done. They therefore divided themselves into two parties, in which all the members of the assembly served, commanded by two captains, one *Pigget*, and one *Painter*, and marched to attack an out-work upon an eminence that commanded the governor's house, where a party of the troops had taken post. According to our best information, neither colonel *Jones*, who was the commandant upon the island, nor captain *Rokesby*, whose company were in duty, were clear as to the propriety of their obeying either party, and both of them refused to command in person, leaving the whole to the conduct of their subalterns. The out-post was not defended, and the party retired to the governor's house, which was attacked by the insurgents with great fury. For some time their fire was returned with equal briskness; but the house being, in a manner defenceless, the assailants at last broke into it, but were received with great bravery by the governor, who, as is said, killed captain *Dodd* with his own hand, but he himself received a shot in the thigh, which disabling him from farther resistance, the enraged populace put him to death, in a manner too shocking to be related; especially, as he fell into the hands of several of the islanders, who thought that the injuries he had done to their beds, warranted them in the most unmanly expressions of their resentment. On the governor's side, one ensign *Lyndon*, and about thirteen or fourteen soldiers, were killed; and captain *Newell*, lieutenant *Worthington*, and twenty-six soldiers, were wounded; besides many of his private friends, who were beaten and bruised. On the side of the assembly, besides captain *Pigget*, and two other gentlemen, about thirty were killed or wounded. By colonel *Park's* death, the government of *Antigua* devolved upon *Walter Hamilton*, Esq.; who was then lieutenant-governor of *Nevis*, and lieutenant-general of the *Leeward Islands*. The people of *England* heard with astonishment of *Park's* untimely fate; but the public were divided in their

their sentiments, some looking upon his death as an act of rebellion against the crown, and others considering it only as a sacrifice to liberty. The flagrancy of the perpetration, and compassion for the then, at last got the better, even before the sentiments of the English government were known. Mr. Hamilton was cautious either of approving or disproving what had been done. Mr. Yeoman, who was lieutenant-governor of Antigua, sent a deputation to invite Mr. Hamilton to repair to that island, and take upon him the government, which he accordingly did; and immediately upon his arrival, he summoned a general council, consisting of deputies from all the islands within his government, to examine into the murder of colonel Park. Those deputies were in their private opinions enemies to the deceased and his conduct, and drew up a kind of vindication of his death, while the opponents signed an address, detesting the murder, and informing the queen, that they were in danger of their lives. Mr. Hamilton, the new governor, sided with neither party; but, as his commission had not been confirmed in England, he was superseded by Walter Douglas, Esq; in 1712. This exasperated Douglas, raised Hamilton, who then threw himself upon the faction governor. He had put Park to death, and bade defiance to Douglas; upon which, the latter superseded him from all his offices in the Leeward Islands.

MAMILTON then embarked for England to seek his remedy; and though Douglas had himself brought over a proclamation for a general pardon, yet he issued his warrant against Watkins, the chief-justice, and one doctor Mackennen, who had been active against Park, upon pretext of their being guilty of rebellious practices since his death. Watkins and Mackennen escaped to England, where they were apprehended, but discharged upon their pleading the proclamation, as no grounds appeared to justify their fresh commitment. One Smith, a militia-officer, was tried at the Old Bailey, but acquitted upon the same plea. Those proceedings soon rendered Douglas so unpopular, that he lost all authority in his government; and many complaints were sent over against him: nay, he was insulted upon the island itself in a most outrageous manner, but generously protected by the very gentlemen whom he had prosecuted for Park's death. Hamilton, the late governor, succeeded so well in England, that he was replaced. Restored to the government of the Leeward Islands; and in 1715, he had interest enough to procure the dismission of all whom he suspected to be his enemies, from their places and honours in the island; and introduced Mackennen and Crump, who had distinguished themselves against Park, to seats

seats at the council-board. In return, the council voted him £1000*l.* a year for his house-rent, in order to elude the royal instruction, by which he was tied up from receiving any gratuity or present. But, at this time many abuses had crept into the government of Antigua and the Leeward Islands. The money-jobbers continued, in a manner, to monopolize the coin, upon which they set what value they pleased, in direct violation of the royal authority and instructions from Great Britain. The laws were likewise found to be greatly deficient with regard to the power of compelling debtors to do justice to their creditors, which introduced a kind of bankruptcy amongst the merchants of the island, through their inability to recover their debts; and at last, about twenty-six of them were forced to have recourse to present the following petition, the words of which will give the reader a better idea, than any others can, of the hardness under which they lay:

*Petition  
for recovering  
debts.*

"YOUR petitioners being disabled by the ill-compliance of debtors to answer their correspondents expectations at home, in making their returns according to their respective promises and compacts, are, without any fault of their own, not only suspected of injustice, but wounded in their reputations, upon supposition, that they are paid here by the persons who deal with them; and that your petitioners detain their effects, or that at least, they are highly to be blamed for not prosecuting their debtors at law, and by that means, enable themselves to make better and more punctual remittances, and are deprived of making or improving their own private fortunes, the proceedings at law being so very dilatory." This petition tended in a prayer for an act for the more speedy recovering of debts upon the island; but though several acts for that purpose passed, yet the evil is to this day far from being remedied.

MR. HAMILTON's government seems to have been so wise and moderate, that he extinguished the violence of parties, and in the year 1721, he was succeeded in the government

*Hart, go.* of the Leeward Islands by John Hart, Esq; late governor of *Maryland*, whose person and administration were so agreeable to the inhabitants of the Leeward Islands, and of Antigua in particular, that they made a very plentiful provision for his support. Mr. Hart distinguished his government by the humane reception he gave to captain Vring, and the settlers, whom the duke of Montague had sent to people the islands of St. Lucia and St. Vincent; in which he was greatly assisted by colonel Matthews, the lieutenant-governor. He was suc-

*Lord Londonderry,* followed in his administration by lord Londonderry, who died

in that government, which was next conferred upon *William Mathews*, Esq. This gentleman arrived at *Antigua* in October, 1733, and took the first opportunity to present to the *governor*, council and assembly of the island, the following additional royal instruction: "Whereas it has been represented to us, that the salary of 1200*l.* sterling *per annum*, which we have hitherto thought fit to allow out of the duty of four and a half per cent. arising in our *Leeward Islands*, for our governor in chief of those islands, is not at present sufficient for his support, and the dignity of that our government, we have taken the same into our consideration, and are graciously pleased to permit and allow, that the respective assemblies of our said islands, may by any act or acts, settle upon you such sum or sums, in addition to your salary of 1200*l.* *per annum*, as they shall see proper; and you are hereby allowed to give your assent to any act or acts of assembly to that purpose. Provided sum or sums be settled on you and your successors in that government, at least on you during the whole time of your government there, and that the same be done by the first respective assemblies of our said islands after your arrival there." This instruction was not without its effect; for it procured to the governor from the council and the assembly a settlement of 1000*l.* a year *Antigua currency*.

We have forbore to mention the prodigious losses which this island sustained by earthquakes and hurricanes; which were too frequent to be particularized here. But, notwithstanding those dreadful calamities, the island still flourished in riches and commerce, and continues, to this day, to be the residence of the governor-general and his courts. In October 1736, all the commerce and business of the island was suddenly suspended by the discovery of a plot formed by the *Plot of the negroes*, to murder all the white inhabitants of the island, and to make themselves masters of it. The 11th of October, which was the anniversary of the coronation of *George II.* was pitched upon for the execution of this detestable design. The death of the governor's son happening at that time, postponed the ball and the other rejoicings, which were usually made upon that occasion, and this accident obliged the conspirators to defer the execution of their plot to the 30th, on which day the ball was to be held, and all the principal people of the island were to assemble. The intention of the conspirators was of the same kind with the gunpowder plot in *England*, in the reign of *James I.* which was to convey powder under the ball-room, and by one explosion to blow up the whole company. The contrivers of this infernal plot were, *Court*, *Tembay*, and *Hercules*, three negroes belonging

longing to different planters. Court was to be king of the island; and the other two his generals; and during the con-  
fusion which was expected to attend the explosion, Court and his two generals were to have headed three parties of 400 negroes each, from the east end of St. John's town, and two other places of rendezvous, called Otter's and Morgan's pastures; who were to be armed with cutlasses, and to cut in pieces, without distinction; all the whites they met with. Having proceeded thus far, they were, upon the explosion of the house, to light up beacons all over the island, as so many signals for the negroes to assemble, and to finish the destruction of the rest of the white inhabitants: but this conspiracy was too general, and too far extended to be kept long a secret; and the behaviour of the three principals giving great room for suspicion, they were secured and convicted on the 19th of the same month. After condemnation, they confessed the whole of the conspiracy as we have related it. The king and his two generals were broke upon the wheel, and four of the ringleaders were burnt alive at the same time, & were seven others the next day. Six were hung alive in chains and gibbets, and starved to death, and fifty-eight others were at several times burnt alive.

*discovered,  
and the  
ring-  
leaders  
punished.*

**GEORGE Thomas, Esq;** succeeded Mr. Matthews in the government of the Leeward Islands. His lieutenant-governor of Antigua and Montserrat was lord Hawley, as Gilbert Fleming, Esq; was of St. Christopher's, and likewise lieutenants-governors of all the Leeward Islands; the governor of Nevis being major Story. As to the topographical history of this island, it differs in some respect from that of the other Leeward Islands. It was long thought to be uninhabitable, because no fresh springs were found upon the island; but this loss was supplied by the industry of the inhabitants, who discovered some springs, and provided proper reservoirs for saving the rain-water. Antigua is the best provided with harbours of all the English Leeward Islands; but the approach to it is very dangerous to any but very skilful pilots, on account of the vast number of rocks that surround it. One of those harbours is called Five-Isle-Harbour, and, though difficult of access, it is of great service to ships in distress. St. John's-Harbour, which lies due north, would be the best in the island, were it not for an incommodeous sandy-bar that runs across it. At the mouth of St. John's-River is a fort, which is mounted with 14 cannon; and several batteries, mounting in the whole 26 guns, are raised for the defence of as many landing-places. Nonsuch-Harbour lies on the west-end of the island, and in a spacious bay. Willoughby Bay is almost a league

a league over at the mouth, but is above two-thirds blocked up with a shoal, stretching from the north to the south-point; from whence lies Sandy Point with an island in it; but between the north and south-point there is an open channel, where ships may enter, and where entered have good riding. But the most convenient harbour in *Antigua*, or perhaps, in the West-Indies, is *English-Harbour*, which is proper for carying ships of war, and may be improved in such a manner, as to admit those of the largest burden. At the bottom of *Falmouth Harbour* lies *Falmouth Town*, which is defended by *Fort-Charles* and *Monk's-Hill-Fort*. The latter contains a magazine of 410 muskets and 800 bayonets, and is mounted with 30 pieces of cannon.

THE climate of *Antigua* is hotter than that of *Barbados*, *Naturalis* and is so subject to hurricanes, that were it not for the vast *history of convenience* of situation and harbours, it must have lain *Antigua* a mere desert. Sugar and tobacco are its chief commodities; but the inhabitants formerly likewise cultivated indigo and ginger. *Antigua* formerly lay under great disadvantages through the want of skill in the planters to prepare their sugar; but present they have the art of claying it, and the island produces as good muscovado sugar as any in the West-Indies. It is generally computed that the exports from the island amount to about 16,000 hogsheads of sugar annually; but that the planters do not make rum in proportion, though it is universally allowed that both commodities, with proper encouragement, might be greatly increased and improved. White cinnamon grows in the low lands of *Antigua*; and this island is generally said to have greater plenty of venison upon it, than any other of the Caribbees besides its affording abundance of fowl and black cattle.

THE number of white inhabitants on *Antigua* is uncertain, but thought to be about ten thousand; fifteen hundred of whom are able to bear arms; and the island in general has been unmolested during all the late wars with *France*. It is divided into five parishes, that of *St. John's-Town*, which is reckoned the capital of the north-west part, and consists of above 200 houses; and those of *Falmouth*, *Parham*, and *Bridget-Town* on the south-side; and *St. Peter's*, which is no town, but lies almost in the center of the island.

### MONTSERRAT.

*MONTSERRAT* was discovered by *Columbus*: in 1493. It lies Montserat. 25 miles almost S.S. E. from *Nevis*, and 20 W. S. W. from *Antigua*, 40 N. W. from *Guanadoupe*, and 240 from *Barbados*, and *bifury*.

bados. It is of an oval figure, and about three leagues in length, and the same in breadth, and about 18 miles in compass. This island receives its name from the superstition of the Spaniards, who imagined that there was a resemblance between its appearance and that of a mountain of the same name in Catalonia, near Barcelona in Old Spain, where there is a famous chapel dedicated to the Blest Virgin. We know of no settlement made upon this land till the year 1632, when Sir Thomas Warner, who was then governor of St. Christopher's, sent a small colony of English to inhabit it. When lord Willoughby became governor of the Leeward-Islands, Montserrat was a particular object of his attention, and he sent people to settle it in a regular manner, which had so good an effect, that for several years this island prospered more than that of Antigua; and sixty years after its first settlement, its militia consisted of 300 white men. Though no regular history of the island has been preserved, yet it is certain, that it flourished in proportion as the other English West India islands did, and exported sugar, ginger, cotton, and indigo. In a short time, the inhabitants were wealthy enough to build a very handsome church, and after that another, so that the island is divided into two parishes, and the number of militia which at this time it can raise, exclusive of negroes, is said to amount to above 500 men. In 1668, after the French had made themselves masters of Antigua, one M. de la Burre fell upon Montserrat; and, as is said, by the treachery of the savages became master of the island, and sixteen pieces of cannon, and a great number of negroes and cattle. This conquest is said to have cost the French so dear, by the loss of their best officers and men, that they set fire to all the principal buildings on the island, excepting those belonging to the Irish Roman Catholics, who readily submitted to their power, and took the oaths to their government. It is thought that on this occasion forty sugar-houses, besides several rich warehouses were destroyed, and so many of the Irish multiplied upon the island, that it was looked upon to be an Irish colony; but it afterwards reverted to the crown of England. This island (by means which are improper here to be enquired into) was a favourite settlement in the reigns of Charles and James II. and was chiefly planted by Irish Roman Catholics, several of whom got large estates. Under colonel Codrington, when he was governor of the Leeward-Islands, colonel Blackstone was governor of Montserrat, which was almost destroyed by the earthquake that happened in 1692. When general Codrington undertook his expedition against St. Christopher's, this island furnished

*It is almost destroyed by an earthquake.*

slished him with 300 men, who were commanded by colonel Blackstone. Colonel Hill succeeded Blackstone as deputy-governor of Montserrat; but his health obliging him to remove to England, he died at Pembroke on the 21st of August, 1697.

It is thought that about this time the island of Montserrat contained between 4 and 5000 white inhabitants, and by the 3000 negroes, which discouraged the French from attempting to reduce it at the time they fell upon Nevis. During Park's government of the Leeward-Islands, Anthony Hodges, Esq; was lieutenant-governor of Montserrat, and, like the other lieutenant-governors, he was assisted by a council and an assembly regularly appointed and chosen, as well as by other officers civil and military. After Park's arrival in the West-Indies, intelligence being received that the French had a design upon Montserrat, a sloop was immediately sent to Mr. Hodges the lieutenant-governor, to put him upon his guard, and to inform him that upon the first appearance of the French, he should be assisted by the men of war, and the regiment that was then lying at Antigua. This sloop was intercepted by the French, who, upon reading the dispatches, did not think proper to proceed in their attempt against Montserrat at that time. Two years after, it was attacked by Mons. Cossart at the head of 3500 men, whom he landed in Carib-Bay. This was a force more than sufficient for such a conquest, and the inhabitants retired with their best effects to Dodon's Fort, which was very strongly situated, leaving Montserrat for ten days in the possession of the rest of the land. They took and burnt all the shipping in the road, excepting one vessel, which made its escape, and then they returned to Guadalupe. This violence happening at a time when the negotiations for peace were in dependence, the British plenipotentiaries at the treaty of Utrecht insisted upon the sufferers receiving an indemnification; and some stipulations of that kind were insisted in the eleventh article of that treaty: but the sufferers never received any satisfaction, but what they afterwards obtained from the British parliament.

The people of Montserrat seem by no means to have been so much exasperated, as those of Antigua were, against colonel Park's government; for they even drew up addresses in vindication of it; and Park's friends have indignitously represented all the opposition he met with, to his discouraging the pernicious practice of smuggling in the islands under his government. Nothing remarkable happened relating to Montserrat, till general Matthews was governor of the Leeward Islands; when, on the 30th of June, 1733, Montserrat was almost desolated by one of the most dreadful hurricanes ever

ever known in the West-India. The effects of this storm, as transmitted to England, are next to incredible; and the loss which the island sustained, exclusive of lives and the shipping, was, by a moderate computation, reckoned to be about 50,000*l.* Soon after this, the people of Montserrat, and some others of the British Leeward Islands, began to look with an evil eye upon the illicit trade carried on between some of their neighbours, the people of Barbados especially, and the French and Spaniards. As this trade was pernicious to all government, both the British and French courts, as well as that of Spain, had issued very severe orders for suppressing it; and Mr. Matthews, when in Montserrat, passed an act for the more effectual preventing all trade in these parts between his majesty's subjects and the French. The people of Montserrat exerted themselves with a laudable zeal, and to the great benefit of their mother-country, in carrying this act into execution; for they seized several French smuggling vessels, which were condemned in their courts of admiralty.

*Its natural history.* THE island of Montserrat, as to its climate, soil, animals, commerce, and other particulars of that kind, is pretty much the same with the other English Caribbee Islands. The mountains upon it produce cedars, cypress-tree, the iron-tree, with other woods, and some odiferous shrubs. It is well-watered and fruitful, and the planters here formerly raised a great deal of indigo. The seas surrounding this island produce some hideous monsters, particularly two, which, from their remarkable ugliness, as well as the poisonous quality of their flesh, are called sea-devils. The lamantine, by some called the sea-cow, is found in this island, and generally at the entrance of fresh-water rivers. According to the accounts we have of it, it is an amphibious creature, and lives mostly upon herbage. Its flesh is reckoned very wholesome food when salted, and they are so large, that two or three of them loads a canoe. Some of the West-Indians are very fond of certain small stones, which are sometimes found in the head of this animal, and which they pretend, when powdered, dissolve stones in the kidneys.

### T A B A G O.

*Tabago, its situation.* TABAGO lies near forty leagues south by west from Barbadoes, about thirty-five leagues south-east from St. Vincent, forty leagues east from Grandee, twelve leagues north-east from Trinidad, and between thirty and forty leagues north-east from the Spanish Main. It is thirty-two miles in length, from south-east to north-west, and about nine

nine broad from east to west ; the whole being above seventy miles in circumference ; so that it is rather larger than *Beragdo*, or indeed any of our *Leward Islands* ; and near the north-east extremity there lies a small island, called *Little Tabago*, which is two miles in length, and the half in breadth. *Tabago* was first discovered by *Columbus*, in 1498, but we know of no settlement that he or any of his countrymen made upon the island. When an adventurous spirit for discoveries of every kind prevailed in *England* under queen *Elizabeth*, Sir *Robert Dudley*, the lawful son of the famous earl of *Leicester*, in an expedition he made against *Trinidad*, gave the English government the first hint of peopling *Tabago*, which was then uninhabited by any European nation : but this proposal met with but small encouragement. *William earl of Pembroke*, in the year 1628, obtained a grant of this island, with that of *Berbuda* and *St. Bernard*. Being a great patron of new settlements, and considerably engaged in the discoveries and undertakings that were then on foot in *America*, there is little reason to doubt that he intended to people *Tabago* ; but his death happening in less than two years after, the design came to nothing. About the year 1632, planted some *Zealanders* having fitted out a small squadron for trading to those islands, took so great a liking to this island, that upon their return home, the company of merchants to which they belonged, undertook to settle it, and gave it the name of *New Walcheren*, one of the most considerable islands in *Zealand* ; and from the information of this company, that excellent Dutch geographer *de Luet*, has been enabled to give us *and the* better account of *Tabago* than of any of the other *Caribbee Courland Islands*. The new colony in a short time increased to about 100, who, finding themselves pestered by the visits of the *Caribbean Indians*, which they were unable to prevent, they began to erect a fort for their preservation. The barbarians, upon this, applied themselves for assistance to the *Spaniards*, who readily granted it ; for they sent a force upon the island, which demolished the rising fort, and exterminated the new colony.

IT was probably from the resort of some *Dutch* merchants to *Courland*, that first gave the hint to *James* duke of *Courland* for settling *Tabago*. He was a prince of a stirring, active disposition, and finding that there was room for such a settlement, he sent over a colony of his own subjects, who settled upon what has been since called *Great Courland-Bay*, and erected a small regular fort, with a town, in the neighbourhood. To the fort they gave the name of *James*, in honour of their own sovereign, who was named after *James I.*

I. of Great Britain. Here they lived so inoffensively, that they remained unmolested, either by the *Caribbeans* or the *Spaniards*; and they found its soil so kindly, that the colony in a short time had an excellent appearance. They were supplied, from their own country, with all kinds of utensils, and they flourished to such a degree, as to awaken the jealousy of the *Dutch*, who revived their claim upon the island. In 1654, two wealthy *Dutch* merchants, Mess. *Adrian*, and *Cornelius Lampfius*, of *Flushing*, fitted out some ships, who landed a considerable number of their countrymen upon *Tabago*; but found the *Courlanders* in no disposition to yield them possession of the island, which, they said, they held under the authority of their own sovereign. The *Courlanders* were too powerful to be dispossessed; but the *Dutch* took possession of a different part of the island, which is now called *Rockley-Bay*, acknowledging themselves to be under the protection of the duke of *Courland*, who suffered a melancholy reverse of fortune in *Europe*.

*The former obtain Poland and Sweden*; but having given *shelter* to *Charles the island. Gustavus of Sweden*, he was taken prisoner in 1638, and carried first to *Riga*, and next to *Ivanagorod*. The news of the duke's disaster, who had been indefatigable in improving his country and its marine, reaching *Tabago*, the *Dutch* immediately besieged *Fort James*, which by the mutiny of the garrison was given up to them, and thereby they claimed possession of the whole island; but still promising to release *Fort James* as soon as the duke should recover his liberty. By this time, the court of *France*, by one of those arbitrary deeds which is founded on ambition only, had inserted *Tabago* among the other islands that were granted to their *West-India company*; and the *Dutch* planters of *Tabago* thought that to be a good opportunity for establishing themselves under so powerful a protection. *Lampfius*, accordingly, in August 1662, had so much interest at the court of *France*, as to procure letters patent from *Lewis XIV.* creating him baron of *Tabago*, and they were registered the year following in the parliament of *Paris*. *Lampfius*, soon after, prevailed upon the *Dutch West-India company* to resign to him all their right in *Tabago*, and becoming thus the proprietor of the island, under the crown of *France*, he sent over Mr. *Hubert de Beveren* as his governor of the same. The new governor projected many public works and buildings to put the island upon a respectable footing. He called the town which his countrymen had built *Lampfiusburgh*, and he gave the same name to the harbour, as also to a regular fortress which he erected at the

same time. He likewise built Fort Beueren, and laid the foundation of a new town, which he intended to call New-~~Hilling~~ & besides raising several other forts for the security of the colony. As to the planters, they proceeded with great spirit. They laid out fine cacao-walks, which served equally the purposes of beauty and profit ; they erected indigo-works and sugar-mills ; and in short, Tabago then seemed in a condition to rival the most flourishing of the English West-Indian settlements.

The treaty of Oliva having restored the duke of Courland to his liberty, he demanded of the States-General the restitution of Fort James and his establishment at Tabago. This demand re-application was treated with great neglect, and the Lampins sumes his right orders to the governor in Tabago to be upon his guard, ~~upon it.~~ The duke finding himself thus injured, applied himself in 1664 to Charles II. of England : who, on November the 17th, that year, granted to him in property, the island of Tabago, on consideration of certain services reserved to the crown of Great Britain ; and upon condition, that none shall inhabit the said island, save only the subjects of the king of England, and the duke of Courland, their heirs and successors. This grant was duly intimated to the States-General ; but this intimation had no other effect than putting the Dutch of Tobago still more upon their guard ; especially, as a war between them and England appeared at that time to be unavoidable. We are destitute of any regular information concerning the operations of the two powers in the West-Indies, because most of them were undertaken by private adventurers, either English, French, or Dutch, who have given us no account of their proceedings. All we know is in general, that in the first Dutch war, the English privateers destroyed the Dutch forts and colony upon Tabago. In the succeeding war, which the French and the Dutch carried on against England, the English were dispossessed in their turn of this island, and the Dutch reinstated in it by the French governor of Grenada. It afterwards served as a rendezvous for the combined fleets of the two nations, who thereby did prodigious damage to the English trade ; insomuch, that it was thought our West-Indian possessions must have been ruined, had not the English admiral, Sir John Harman, before the end of the war, attacked and defeated their joint squadrons, and totally destroyed the remains of that of France, which he pursued to St. Christopher's.

We are not here critically to examine the right which Charles II. had to grant the property of this island to the *It is conquered by  
duke of French.*

duke of Courland; but it appears to have been more valid than the French grant, because it was founded upon prior rights, and particularly upon the deed made to the earl of Pembroke. Notwithstanding this, the Dutch, even after the defeat of their allies, and that of their allies, not only kept possession of Tabago, but fortified it, in five years time, with three strong forts, and a numerous artillery, so that it was considered to be impregnable to all the force the English could bring against it. Sir Tobias Bridges, however, in 1672, made a descent upon Tabago, and not only plundered it, but carried off 400 of the inhabitants prisoners. The peace which succeeded between the English and the Dutch next year, left the latter once more in possession of Tabago, and they even conquered from the French the island of Cayenne. Lewis XIV. was then in the height of his glory, and the vice-admiral of France the count D'Etrees, sailing to the West-Indies with a large armament, reconquered Cayenne, and appeared before Tabago. James Binkes, the admiral of Zetland, was then lying in Great Rockley-Harbour with a stout squadron of Dutch ships, which were attacked by sea and land by the count on the 3d of March, 1677. The engagement was desultory, and the count's ship, called the Glorieux, of seventy guns, with several others being blown up, he was obliged to retire, but not before he had destroyed great part of the Dutch squadron in port. This action gave the count so much credit with his own court, that he was reinforced with a stronger squadron towards the end of the year, to complete the reduction of the island. Having landed his men, he regularly invested the chief fort of the island, which he found to be so strong, that he was obliged to bombard it. The French bomb-ship threw in fell upon a magazine of powder, which blew up the fortress, together with admiral Binkes, and the greatest part of the officers and garrison. The count then completed the reduction of the island, and on the 27th of December the same year, utterly destroyed the Dutch colony upon it; an event which was celebrated by his master on a pompous medal struck upon the occasion.

*Captain Poyntz undertakes to settle it under the duke of Courland.* We are at a loss to know what measures the court of England and the duke of Courland were taking all this time towards settling the island in terms of the duke's grant; but it is certain that the duke was not idle, and that about the year 1682, he covenanted with one captain John Poyntz, for settling 120,000 acres of land with the subjects of England and Courland upon the following terms, the publication of which, as that island is now entirely ceded to Great Britain, cannot fail of being agreeable to our readers: "Imprimis, That

That £20,000 acres of land, in the said island of Tabago, is given and granted to myself and company, and our heirs for ever; and seven years to be free from the payment of any rent; and after the expiration of seven years, each of himself is to pay two-pence per acre every year, to the duke, his lawful heirs and successors. Secondly, That myself and company, and all the inhabitants, shall enjoy liberty of conscience without interruption, Romah catholics only excepted. Thirdly, That myself and company, &c. are to be governed by a governor, deputy-governor, and assembly, to be yearly chosen by the majority of freeholder's votes of the people in the island, to make good and wholesome laws for the good government and defence of the said island; and all controversies in the premises, to be decided by the majority of voices."

Mr. Poyntz afterwards published other proposals for the *and further encouragement* of the intended colony, by which, *other proposals.* every one who intended to become a planter might have as much land as he pleased, either by lease or purchase, provided he put out white than to every fifteen acres of land, and so improportionately to other quantities. Mr. Poyntz next proposed to give better encouragement to all servants upon the island than any that had yet been given in any English settlement in America. All planters, and others concerned, were to have credit given them from crop to crop for what they should stand in need of; for which purpose, the company was to erect a bank, or factory, of credit in the island, the debtor only allowing two and a half per cent. The fourth article of encouragement was as follows: "All merchants and others, that shall import any negroes, or other merchandize, into the said island, shall have their goods and debts insured, and disposed of for two and a half per cent. with factorage, storage, and wharfage; and exported again for two and a half per cent. more. And all tradesmen and others, that contract any debts against themselves, shall have credit given them out of the bank or factory, from crop to crop, for two and a half per cent: and the proprietors to engage their whole interest for the true performance of the forelaid premises." By the fifth article, such persons as contracted with the proprietors before the first shipping departed out of the river Thames, to ship off goods or people for the island, but had not ready money to purchase land, or to pay for their own and their servants passage, their goods were to be received as money.

ALL the mighty expectations of profit and advantage from *become ineffectual* this island, was built upon the fertility of its soil in producing tobacco and cacao-nuts; and the vast profit which the Spaniards

niards at *Trinidad*, notwithstanding the heavy imposts they paid, made of those commodities. It was particularly asserted, that an *Englishman*, staved upon *Tabago*, could purchase, for fifteen pounds, a *nigroe*, who must cost a *Spaniard* an hundred; and that a *Spaniard* pays sixpence or more, for every thing that an *Englishman* could have bought for a penny. All those, and many other considerations, even at this time, require attention. It is certain, that the proposals being published under the authority of the duke of *Courland's* grant from the crown of *England*, the same was quietly submitted to at that time by all the powers of *Europe*; and even the *French king* refused to give a new grant of the island, though he had conquered it; because, as he said, it belonged to a neutral prince who had given him no provocation: nor do we perceive, that the *States-General* themselves had any thing to object to Mr. *Poyntz's* proposal, having republished them, under the patronage of king *William*. The truth is, that monarch, as we have had occasion more than once to observe, was not fond of encouraging any commercial-schemes that clashed with the interest of *Spain*.

*Tabago  
reverts to  
the crown  
of Eng-  
land,*

UPON the extinction of the *Kettler* family, duke of *Courland*, in the person of *Ferdinand*, son to duke *James*, the fief of the island of *Tabago* reverted to the crown of *England* in 1737, and our government asserted its right to it. The *Dutch*, however, revived their claim to the island, and even suffered their *West-India* company to grant to one of their subjects a commission for the government of *Tabago*. At the court of *France*, its conduct was unaccountable to absurdity; for though by the peace of *Aix la Chapelle*, *Tabago* was one of the four islands that were declared to be neutral, yet the marquis de *Caylus*, then governor of the *French* island, maintained that it belonged to that crown, and even sent troops and men to fortify and settle it. The governor of *Barbados* receiving undoubted intelligence of this breach of the treaty, sent captain, now admiral, *Tyrrel*, in his majesty's ship the *Chesterfield*, to oppose so manifest a violation of all good faith; while the duke of *Bedford*, who was then secretary of state, and the earl of *Albemarle* the *British* ambassador at *Paris*, made such strenuous remonstrances on the same head, that the *French* court disavowed the proceedings of *Caylus*, whom they ordered home, and commanded their settlement of the island to be discontinued. In this state it remained till the definitive treaty concluded at *Paris*, by its ninth article, gave *Tabago* in full right to *Great Britain*, after which the government of it was bestowed upon colonel *Melainbleau*. *vil.*

HAVING thus exhibited the civil and military history of Tabago, the reader will easily perceive from the various contests which it has occasioned, that it must in itself be of uncommon value, which renders it ~~more necessary~~ for us to give a description of its natural and other advantages. A few Indians, while it was in its state of neutrality, were *Natives*, its only settled inhabitants, and they lived in huts on the sea-coast, toward the northern extremity of the island. Those Indians are by nature far more tractable than the other Caribbeans; and though they are distractedly fond of liberty, there is no doubt, but that very passion might prevail with them to enjoy it, under the mild protection of a British government. A short time, and good usage, will reconcile them to the more polished habits of life, and as they are delighted with toys and utensils, a few presents of that kind might in time render them extremely serviceable to the first British planters of the ~~island~~. The climate of Tabago is far more temperate than could be expected in an island that is but 11 deg. 10 min. north from the equator; for the force of the sun is diminished by the sea-breezes. The Dutch, when they first entered the island, thought that it was unwholesome; but as they proceeded in clearing it, its salubrity increased, and this they partly attributed to the aromatic exhalations of the spice and gum-trees, with which the soil every where abounds. Tabago has another favourable circumstance to recommend it, by its lying out of the tract of those hurricanes that prove so fatal to the other West-India islands; and consequently, it is not liable to those blasts that sometimes destroy the most promising harvests upon them.

THE surface of the island is unequal, and agreeably diversified with risings and fallings; but no part of it is rugged or impassable, though its northwest extremity is mountainous. Its soil is of different kinds, but in general its mould is rich and black, and proper for producing in the greatest plenty, whatever is raised in other parts of the West-Indies. The abundance of springs upon the island contributes to its healthfulness, and its bays and creeks are so disposed as to be very commodious for all kind of shipping. It is, however, to be remarked, that its situation requires fortifications to render the island secure against the visits of savages and enemies. This is a most important consideration for the government of Great-Britain, as, without such fortifications, the natural richnesses of the island serve but to render it the more inviting to invaders. But the valuable timber which grows on Tabago, is, perhaps, the greatest riches; for, besides its producing the different kinds of wood that are to be found in

Trees.

the other *West-Indian* islands, the Dutch affirm, that both the true nutmeg-tree, and the cinnamon-tree, with that which produces the real gum-sabal, grows upon this island. Though the Dutch can scarcely be supposed to be deceived in the natural properties of those trees, which they acknowledge to be different in some respects from those in their *East Indies*, and their other *Asiatic* plantations; yet a great doubt remains whether they are the original productions of *Tabago*, or whether they had not been imported and planted there from the *East-Indies*. Though the latter is the most probable opinion, yet, as the fact itself, which is undisputed, evinces, that those rich spices may be cultivated upon the island, it renders it an object highly deserving the attention of the public; especially, as sugar itself was imported into the *West-Indies* from *Europe*; and the same may be said of other commodities that now become staple ones in *America*.

Mr. Blome, who in the year 1625, wrote the present state of our *American* islands, says, that the island naturally produces *Indian* corn, such as grows in *Virginia*, *New-York*, and *Carolina*; but that no *English* grain, except *wheat*, *barley*, and *pulse*, can be raised there; and that the island produces *Guinea* corn, *French* beans, and various kind of peas. He mentions the *cushen* apple, which, he says, is both meat and drink, and that an excellent lamp-oil may be made out of its rind when green. The fig-trees upon *Tabago* are reckoned equal to those in *Spain* and *Portugal*. The prickle-apple, the banana, the pomegranate, the pine-apple, and several other rich fruits, grow here. The oranges which grow here are said, by our author, to be of three kinds, or rather to serve three purposes, the sour or bitter one for sauces, their flowers for essences, and their sweet-ones, which here are excellent, for eating. Lemons, and limes of both kinds, viz. sour and sweet, are found in plenty upon this island; and the marmalade, which is made of its guavas, yields to none.

*Plantanes.* Plantanes, that food which is so useful in supporting the negroes, to whom it is very agreeable, grow here of an excellent kind, as do tamarinds. Though the island produces great quantities of grapes, which are very delicious when eaten off the cluster, yet we know of no wine that ever was made here, and yet it is very probable, that a little culture and perseverance might raise wine equal to any in *Europe*. The custard-apple, the sour-apple, the papaw-apple, the mämme-apple, and the yellow plum are plentiful here. The cherries that grow upon the island are but indifferent. The cocoa-

nut tree grows here to such perfection, that the Indians call it God's-tree, as producing both meat, drink, and cloathing. Musk, cucumbers, and water-melons thrive here, as do pomkins and gourds. The inhabitants make bread. They likewise have yams, carrots, turnips, parsnips, onions, and cassada-root. The author last quoted<sup>1</sup>, though he wrote almost half a score years ago, bears an ample testimony of all that is said at present in favour of this island; for he tells us, that besides cinnamon, it naturally produces tea, with five different sorts of pepper, the long, the cod, the bell, the round, and the Jamaica; all which grow upon the island, without culture. Notwithstanding this, we cannot think that those are natives of Tabago; but they sufficiently prove, that all the products of the East-Indies may be cultivated there.

ACCORDING to the same author, wild hogs abounded so Tabago much upon Tabago, that the people cut off at least 20,000 wild hogs of them every year, without their being sensibly diminished. The pickery of Tabago resembles a hog, and it contains numbers of arm, sillocks, guanoes, which are of the alligator-kind; monkeys, coyotes, and badgers, which are particularly fond of and familiar with men. Horses, cows, asses, sheep, deer, goats, and rabbits, were probably introduced by the Dutch, and their breeds are still to be found upon the island. Its shores are stored with excellent fish, particularly with turtle of every kind, and mullets of a most delicious taste, with other kinds unknown in England. In short, no island, perhaps, in the world, can boast of such variety of fishes, both the land others, as Tabago can; so that it would be too tedious to particularize them. The same may be said of their fowl, and, according to the above author, the "commodities and other which the country doth or may produce, are, cacao-nut, commodi-sugar, tobacco, indico, ginger, sarsaparilla, semper-vivum, ties, bees-wax, vinillioes, natural balsam, balm, silk-grass, green tar, soap-earth, with many curious shells, stones, markalites, and minerals, found up and down the island of Tabago, whose virtue and worth are yet unknown."

<sup>1</sup> Ibid. p. 249

## The BAHAMA ISLANDS.

*Discovery  
of the  
Bahama  
Islands,*

THESE islands lie the most easterly of all the *Antilles*, and to the north of the isle of *Cuba*, and east and south-east from the *Spanish Florida*, stretching from north-east to south-west, between the 21st and 28<sup>th</sup> degree of north-latitude, and between 72. and 81. of western longitude. By this situation, it is plain, they lie out of the course of ships bound for the *American* continent, which most probably was the reason why they were so lately taken notice of by the *English*. They were first discovered by the famous *Columbus*; and the island of *Guanahani*, now called the *Isle of Providence*, is laid down in *Bry's map of the West Indies*, published in 1594, as are likewise *Bahama* and *Lucaya*; but they are mentioned in such a hasty manner, that it is plain the geographers had but very imperfect notions either of the situation of that, or any other of those islands. *Benzoni*, one of the first navigators to *America*, says, that the sailor who first discovered land, and called out that he saw land, denied the reward that was promised to the first discovery; and that he afterwards went to *Africa*, where he turned Mahometan (X). Whatever may be in this, it is pretty certain, that *Guanahani* was the first *American* land that was discovered by *Columbus*; who no sooner approached it, than he went into his boat, and landing<sup>k</sup>, he fell upon his knees, and most devoutly thanked God for making him the instrument of publishing his gospel in the New World. He then ordered a tree to be cut down, and erected a cross in its place, and gave it the name of *San Salvador*, taking possession of it in the name of his Catholic majesty.

*By Columbus.* *COLUMBUS* perceiving that the island was small, and the islanders (who appeared to have no sensation but amazement

<sup>l</sup> System of Geography, Vol. II. p. 692.

(X) The pretext for this injustice, was, that *Salcedo*, a domestic of *Columbus*, affirmed, that his master, two hours before, had declared he had seen the same fire. As this declaration was not public, but communicated to a *Spanish* gentleman on board, the poor sailor

had a right to complain; so that we must conclude, it was either not in the power of *Columbus* (on account of the opposition he met with) to reward him, or that he himself was immeasurably fond of the honour of being the first discoverer.

<sup>k</sup> *BENZONI*, p. 34. apud *DE BRY*. *PETER MARTYR*, ibid.

at the sight of the ships and their new guests) were but poor, and gathering from their signs, that the little gold they had among them, came from the westward, or the southward, he carried off with him some of the natives, which in his future discoveries; but it is certain, that he made no settlement upon St. Salvadore, or as it is now called, Providence, or any of the Bahama Islands. Though we cannot suppose those to have been long unknown to the English, yet one captain Sayle, who was bound for Carolina, in the year 1667, is the first Englishman mentioned to have landed upon it, which he was obliged to do by stress of weather. Upon his return to England that same year, he made so favourable a report of the Bahama Islands in general to his employers, the proprietaries of Carolina, that six of them applied for, and obtained, a grant for that of Providence, or as it is sometimes called, New Providence, and of the Bahama Islands in general, between the latitudes of 22 and 27 degrees. The names of their first proprietaries were George duke of Albemarle, William lord Craven, Sir George Carteret, John lord Antrim, and Ashley, and Sir Peter Colliton. But though this was the first legal settlement made of the Bahamas, it appears from many evidences, that they had long before been (the island of Providence particularly) a shelter for pirates, and a disorderly set of people, who lived either upon the wrecks of the ships driven upon those dangerous coasts, or by supplying the mariners, who approached them, with liquors and other necessaries.

CAPTAIN Sayle, in a second visit he paid, or was obliged to pay, to the island of Providence, discovred the vast advantage the possession of those islands would be of to the people of England, and made the government so sensible of it, that they resolved, about the year 1672, to send a governor and some settlers thither; and the first governor pitched upon was one Mr. Chillingworth, a gentleman of character and capacity. By this time, the natives of the Bahamas, though they were reckoned to be by far the most harmless of any in the West-Indies, had been either barbarously butchered or carried off by the Spaniards and pirates; but Mr. Chillingworth found a far more unruly set of men to deal with. England was at that time over-run by dissolute people of both sexes, many of whom embraced the encouragement given by the government, by shipping themselves for New Providence, which was represented as a perfect paradise. Those meeting with the pirates and coasters already settled there, the whole formed so ungovernable a colony, that Mr. Chillingworth, in endeavouring to reclaim them, was himself shipped off for Jamaica <sup>is forcibly sent to</sup> in Jamaica:

Settled by  
English  
proprietaries.

## The History of America:

in a forcible tumultuous manner, and an unrestrained Knarchy ensued among the settlers.

THOSE disorders continued for some years, neither the government nor the proprietaries being at the expence of cheching them. At last, one Mr. Clark accepted of a proprietary commission to be governor. The Spaniards, who had fomented all the disorders of the former colony, no sooner understood that the English intended to settle the islands than they invaded it, destroyed all the Rock, and burnt the cottages of the inhabitants ; and it is said, that having carried off the governor in chains, they afterwards cruelly put him to death. After this depopulation, this island, and all the other Bahamas, which are supposed to consist of near 500, but most of them barren rocks, were abandoned, the English removing to Carolina and other settlements. At the time this disaster happened, the chief town of the island, which has been since called Nassau, consisted of 150 houses. Nothing could have prevailed upon the English government to have been at any farther expence about the Bahamas, but the vast consequence of their situation, especially in war-times, which was so evident, that before the Revolution, a great many people, both from England and the continent of America, removed thither ; and by the year 1690, New Providence became so populous, that the proprietaries thought it worth their while to appoint one Cadwallader Jones to be their governor ; and he accordingly arrived there on the 19th of June.

Jones,  
governor,

THERE is one reason for believing that the new colonists retained the spirit of their predecessors. Jones, by all accounts, was of a rough, arbitrary disposition ; and probably for that reason was made choice of by the proprietaries to manage so mutinous a set ; and indeed it seems to be chiefly owing to him, that the government of the Bahamas was reduced into any form ; for in his time, mention is made of counsellors and assembly-men, though we can say little as to their qualifications. If we are to believe the enemies of Jones, (especially one Bulkley) the whole of his government was oppressive, treasonable, and even sometimes frantic (Y). But, indeed, great allowances are to be made for the genius of the people he had to govern, which might oblige him to follow measures that were not strictly warrantable, and render him not very fond of assemblies. At first he was treated with great respect, but every day producing new quarrels between

(Y) This Bulkley wrote and published a most shocking account of his sufferings under

Jones, which he entitled, An Appeal to Cæsar.

him and the people of the islands, Mr. Bulkley, who was his capital enemy, exhibited (before the council we suppose) a charge of high-treason against him, upon which he was arrested, and thrown into prison. The ~~governor~~ upon this published a proclamation, informing the inhabitants of the Bahamas Islands, that the government was devolved upon them, and their president, Mr. Gilbert Ashley, whom they were required to look upon as their governor. This proclamation, which was dated the 24th of January, was signed by two deputies of the proprietaries, and five of the assembly-men. Jones, who perhaps, knew his cause to be none of the best, applied to compromise matters with Bulkley, who, notwithstanding all the offers made him, remained inexorable, and entered into a recognizance of 500*l.* to prosecute him. Jones, upon this, acted as a man of spirit; for he assembled the people of the island, and they delivered him by main force from his imprisonment, where they placed his accuser Bulkley in his room. It was no wonder if the latter, as he most grievously complains, met with very severe usage under his confinement; especially as it does not appear that he was ~~ba~~ by the ~~governor~~. He, however, at last, obtained his ~~imprisonment~~, upon his delivering up his books; but on the ~~somed~~; but arrival of one Mr. Graves, with a proper commission from ~~England~~, he was put in irons, under a charge of high-treason, for his proceedings against the governor. If we are to believe his own representation, several designs were laid to murder him, but those charges most probably were false or aggravated, for he remained in custody all the remaining time of Jones' government.

The proprietaries by this time were sensible, that it would be highly improper to continue Jones longer in the government, and one Mr. Trott was appointed to succeed him. Under him Mr. Bulkley took his trial, and was acquitted; and, at the same time, Jones was suffered to depart without any censure. Bulkley afterwards applied to the English government for damages, which he laid at 4000*l.* but though his papers were referred to the secretary of state, we do not find that he obtained any compensation. Under Mr. Trott the town of Nassau recovered its former figure, and its houses amounted to about 160, provided with a church, and a fort to protect the town, mounted with 28 guns, besides culverins. Before this fort could be built, the ship of the famous pirate Avery, which carried 46 guns, and 100 stout men, arrived at Providence; and though, if he had landed, the governor could not have opposed him with more than 70 men, yet his crew paid for all the refreshments they called for,

for, as most of them very possibly were themselves *Bahamians*. Soon after his leaving the island, both it and the other of the *Bahamas*, *Harbour Island*, and *Eleuthera*, with a few other smaller ones, ~~were~~ so populous, that they could muster above 250 men ; and though the *French* paid them several unexpected visits, yet, by the help of their fort, they made so good a countenance, that they suffered little, or none.

**Webb, governor.** IN 1697, the lords-proprietaries, with the approbation of his majesty king *William*, appointed *Nicholas Webb*, Esq; to the government of the *Bahama Islands*. *New Providence*, in this gentleman's time, enjoyed, for some time, a tolerable state of tranquillity ; and it was reckoned to contain about 400 negroes. One Mr. *Lightwood*, who was afterwards governor, endeavoured to set up a sugar work upon *New Providence*, the soil of the island being very proper for that commodity ; but the very means employed by a good governor to improve this colony, served to weaken it. As the pirates, finding now no harbour in the *Bahamas*, no longer spent their money with the inhabitants, w<sup>t</sup> & G being, at the same time, refrained from the cruel practice of plundering wrecks, their restless spirit grew with their poverty. Perpetual dissensions happening between them and their governors, their differences were by the lords-proprietors generally referred to the government of *South-Carolina*, which gave matter of discontent equally to the people and the governor ; for they complained, that they were treated only as a dependent province of that colony.

**Hasket, governor.** ABOUT the year 1700, while matters were in this un-  
wardly state, one *Elias Hasket*, Esq; succeeded Mr. *Webb* in the government of the *Bahamas* ; but he was scarcely settled in his government, when disagreeing with the inhabitants, they put him in irons, and sent him off the island ; and by their own authority they chose *Ellis Lightwood*, Esq. We know of no resentment shewn on this occasion by the proprietaries. Mr. *Lightwood* seems to have remained in possession of the government till the year 1703, when the dissensions, that still prevailed on the island, encouraged the *French* and *Spaniards*, who were then at war with *Great Britain*, to make a descent upon it from *Petit Guaves*. The island was

**Light- wood, governor.** then completely ruined. The town of *Nassau* and its church were burnt down, the fort dismantled, its guns nailed up, and the governor, with half the negroes, were carried off prisoners. As to the white inhabitants, their enemies seem to have taken very little concern about them, and they retired to the woods till the danger was over. Returning from thence, and finding the island entirely ruined, they found means to remove themselves to other settlements. The proprietaries

prietaries had taken so little concern in the affairs of New Providence, that they did not even know of the catastrophe which had happened; and they charged one Birch to the government of New Providence; but when he went thither, he found it entirely abandoned; so he was obliged to take up his habitation in the woods, and he returned home without fulfilling his commission. The Isle of Providence after this became once more a residence for pirates and free-booters of all kinds and nations, especially English and Irish, who committed more depredations upon the British trade than both the French and Spaniards. The intelligent part of the nation saw and bewailed this; but the little care which was taken during queen Anne's time, to protect our West-Indian commerce, prevented any remedy being applied. At last, the house of lords in March, 1714, addressed the queen, to put the Island of Providence in a posture of defence, observing, at the same time, that "it would be of fatal consequence, if the Bahama Islands should fall into the hands of an enemy; and beseeching her majesty to take the said islands into her own hands, and give such order for their security, as to her royal wisdom she should think fit." No regard was paid to the address by the then tory ministry, on pretence of the proprietary right, though that right certainly was extinguished by the inattention of the proprietaries to the affairs of the colony. After the accession of king George I. the neglected state of the Bahama Islands, and the vast increase of piracies in the West-Indies, became again matters of very serious consideration; and the lords, in another address, complained, that "there were not any the least means used in compliance with their advice, for securing the Bahama Islands; and that then the pirates had a lodgment with a battery on Harbour-Island, and that the usual retreat, and general receptacle for the pirates are at Providence." Upon this address, his majesty gave orders for fortifying and settling the island, and for dislodging the pirates.

THE execution of this plan was committed to captain Wood Rogers. Rogers, a celebrated navigator, who in the year 1718, sailed as governor, governor of Providence with a force sufficient to reduce the pirates. Before his arrival, governor Bennet of Ber-mudas had sent a sloop to Providence, requiring the pirates to surrender themselves, by which they were entitled to the benefit of a late proclamation for pardon. About an hundred and fifty of the pirates, among whom were several of their captains, gladly accepted of this summons, and surrendered themselves. Upon the arrival of Rogers at Providence in July 1718, Vane one of the outstanding captains of the pirates, converted one of his prizes

## The History of America.

prizes into a fire-ship; by which he attempted to burn the *Rose* frigate which narrowly escaped, while *Vane* and fifty of his men got off in a sloop. When *Rogers* landed, he found upon the island about 200 men capable of bearing arms; many of whom had been pirates themselves, and none of them under any apprehensions from that wicked fraternity; but all of them very determined to defend themselves against the French and Spaniards, which, by the assistance of an hundred regulars *Rogers* brought along with him, they were soon in a condition to do. The first measure of *Rogers's* government was to take possession of the ruined fort, and to read his majesty's commission to him, as governor, in the presence of all the inhabitants of the island. It must be acknowledged, that the plan upon which he acted was as moderate as it was wise; for he admitted to the benefit of the proclamation about 200 of the remaining pirates who surrendered themselves. In settling his council, that he might restore a form of government to the island, he nominated six adventurers who attended him from *England*, and had the good fortune to meet with six inhabitants of the island who pretended they never had been pirates, with whom he filled up the remaining number. He himself had been appointed captain of the independent company which came with him; and the judge of the admiralty, the collector of the customs, the chief justice, the secretary, the register, the provost-marshal, and the naval officers, had their commissions from *England*; and the colony thrived so well that it soon amounted to about 1500 whites.

claimed by  
the Spaniards.

As the Spaniards had but two years before delivered a memorial to the governor and council of *Jamaica*, claiming the property of the *Bahama Islands* as belonging to his catholic majesty; the chief care of the inhabitants was to prepare against a Spanish invasion, and this led them to work incessantly upon the new fortifications of the island, and to form themselves into three militia companies, who regularly did duty at *Nassau* guard-house. Another fort was erected at the harbour-mouth, a good guard-ship was provided for the road, and the ground all about *Nassau-Town* perfectly cleared. *Eleuthera* and *Harbour-Islands* were likewise peopled, and put in a posture of defence; and in a short time, the town of *Nassau* consisted of about 300 houses, the materials for building being there very plentiful. But the industry of the inhabitants was chiefly confined to military matters; for being bred up in habits of idleness, they paid too little attention to the cultivation of the excellent soil of their island, and were obliged to bring many of the necessaries of life from

England, or the American continent. Mr. Rogers, about the year 1711, returned to England, to solicit some fresh supplies that had been promised him, but never had arrived. Having a thorough knowledge of the interests and importance of the islands he governed; the com... i... owners of trade received his representations very favourably, and the master being brought before the privy-council, his majesty was pleased to give him a new commission as governor of the Bahama-Islands, with a salary of 400*l.* a year, and to appoint him to the command of a free company in the island of Providence.

THE representations he gave in to the board of trade very *Memorial* justly observed, that the Bahama-Islands lying near to Hispaniola, and to the noted port of Havana, in the island of Cuba, where the Spanish galleons and flota always rendezvous before they return to Europe; having the gulph of Florida to the west, and the *W<sup>n</sup>. and Passage* to the east of them; their situation in time of peace is capable of great improvement in trade, and has always been a good retreat for disabled ships, blown from various parts of the continent of America. It was farther observed, that in time of war, the British cruisers and privateers, stationed at the Bahama Islands, are more capable to obstruct and annoy the Spanish trade home-ward-bound in time of war, than all that are stationed at the rest of the British colonies in America; and that they were very proper for the reception of small ciuizers, not exceeding forty guns, while the harbour of Port Royal, which was then the southermost frontier of the British possessions on the continent, and lying on the other side of the gulph of Florida, was capable of receiving the largest ships; and those two stations were much more proper than that of Jamaica, either for annoying the enemy, or protecting our northern colonies and our sugar-islands.

THE Spaniards seemed to be fully sensible of all the truths Fitzwillit contained in this representation; for according to the account ams, given us by Mr. Rogers himself, who suffered greatly in his *com...* private affairs, by exerting himself, as he did, for the interest of his government, they fitted out two expeditions against the Bahamas at the expence of 100,000*l.* and attacked the Bahamas with 2000 men, whom Mr. Rogers defeated, and burnt two of their ships of war in their retreat, without having any support from the other colonies, but what he engaged on his own personal credit. He died within two or three years after his return to his government. He was succeeded by one captain Fitzwilliams; but in the year 1736, the independent company quartered at fort Nassau mutinied on

account of the smallness of their pay, they having no augmentation as the companies at *Jamaica* have. The mutineers at first were formidable, for they seized the fort, fired upon the governor and his attendants, broke open and plundered the storehouse, and would have made themselves masters of the magazine, had they not been prevented by the activity of the governor. At last they seized a small sloop in the harbour, and releasing a French sailor from prison to be their pilot, they set sail; but next morning, being pursued, they were all taken and brought back to *Providence*, where they were tried and convicted, and twelve of their leaders, with the Frenchman, were hanged. Since that time, the history of *New Providence* affords us nothing remarkable, only that it continues still on the thriving hand, and was of great benefit to the British trade, during the late war between France and Spain. We shall now proceed to give some farther account of the *Bahama-Islands*, which is more necessary, because it is universally agreed that a sufficient attention has not been paid to their importance and value.

MR. *Tinney* superseded captain *Rogers* in the government of the *Bahama-Islands*; but he being replaced upon *Tinney's* death, *Rogers* succeeded him, but he died in 1733; and upon the resignation of *Fitzwilliams*, his successor, *John Tinker*, Esq; was appointed governor.

*Natural history of the Bahama-Islands.* THE largest of those islands is *Bahama*, which gives name to all the others. It is seated in lat. 26° 45' north, and is distant above fifteen leagues from the peninsula of *Florida*. According to the best accounts it is fifty miles in length, and in some parts sixteen in breadth. Though the island is well-watered, the soil fruitful, and the air serene, yet it was inhabited only by a few stragglers, who subsist by selling necessaries to the ships which the currents drive upon their coast. This island formerly produced guaiacum, salsaparilla, and red wood; all which are said to have been entirely destroyed by the *Spaniards*; and the inhabitants are obliged to bring all their subsistence and necessaries from *Carolina*, excepting some white fowl, and a particular kind of rabbit which they rear. The straits of *Bahama*, which the British fleet so happily cleared in the last expedition against the *Havannah*, are well known to navigators for the dangers and difficulties that attend the passing them. We have already mentioned *Eleuthera* and *Harbord Island*, and can say nothing particular as to the rest of them, though many of them are said to be large, fruitful, and well watered, especially those of *Lucayonqua*, *Andros*, *Cigato*, *Yumeta*, *Samana*, *Mayaguana*, *Yuma*, or *Exuma*, *Ynagua*, *Caicos*, and *Triangulo*. Those islands, through the dangers

dangers attending the navigation to them, are so little known, that it is uncertain whether they are inhabited; some navigators affirming, that several of them are still peopled by the Spaniards; and others, that the descendants of the original natives are yet to be found upon them. We have little to add to the natural history of those islands, only that it appears from some papers in the Philosophical Transactions, that whales have been found dead on the shore here, with sperm all over their bodies; but the writer says, that he never heard of one of those whales being killed, so fierce and active are they when alive. A sperm whale when dead is computed to be worth several hundred pounds. Some ambergrise, of which our forefathers made so great account, has been found on the coast of the Bahama, but many of the fish taken on the same coast, are either hurtful to the health or poisonous in themselves.

### The BERMUDAS, or SUMMER ISLANDS.

IT is uncertain, nor is it indeed material, whether one John Discoverer Bermudas a Spaniard, or one Henry May an Englishman, or the latter was the first European discoverer of those islands, which, according to our best information, lay at such a distance from the continent of America, that they were out of the reach of the Indian navigation, and therefore, at that first discovery, they were found to be entirely uninhabited. It is certain, that the Spaniards never took possession of them, though the catholic king gave in 1572, a gift of them to one of his subjects. As to May, he was shipwrecked upon St George's, one of the most considerable of those islands, and with the cedar which they felled there, assisted by the wreck of their own ship, he and his companions built a new one, which carried them to Europe, where they published their observations and accounts of the Bermudas Islands. When lord Delaware was by the made governor of Virginia, Sir Thomas Gates, Sir George Sommers, English, and captain Newport were appointed to be his deputy-governors; but the ship in which they were being separated from the rest of their squadron, was wrecked on the Bermudas, and the governors disagreeing among themselves, built each of them a new ship of the cedar growing upon the islands, in which they severally sailed to Virginia, where they arrived in about fourteen days, the crews of all the three ships consisting of about an hundred and fifty men. When they arrived at Virginia, that colony was in so great distress, that the lord Delaware, upon the report which his deputy-governors made of

the plenty they found in the *Bermudas*, dispatched Sir *George Summers* to bring provisions from thence to *Virginia* in the same ship which carried him from *Bermudas*; and which had not one ounce of iron about it, excepting one bolt in its keel. Sir *George*, after a painful voyage, at last reached the *Bermudas*, where, soon after his arrival, he died, leaving his name to the islands, and his orders for his attendants to return with black hogs to the colony of *Virginia*. The crew neglected to fulfil this part of his will, and set sail in their ships for *England*, where they landed at *Whitchurch* in *Dorsetshire*.

*They are re-included.*

NOTWITHSTANDING this dereliction of the *Bermudas*, it was not without English inhabitants. Two Englishmen, *Carter* and *Waters*, being apprehensive of punishment for their crimes, had secreted themselves in the woods from their fellows, when Sir *George* and his company were first shipwrecked on the island; and had lived upon the productions of the soil of *St. George's* island, where they had likewise built a hut. Upon the second arrival of Sir *George*, they enticed one *Chard* to remain with them; but differing about the sovereignty of the island, *Chard* and *Waters* were on the point of cutting one another's throats, when they were prevented by the prudence of *Carter*. Soon after, they had the good fortune to find on the coast the greatest piece of ambergrise ever known, weighing about eighty pounds, besides other pieces, which, in those days, were sufficient, if properly disposed of, to have made each of them master of a large estate. Where they were, this ambergrise was useless, and therefore they came to the desperate resolution of carrying themselves and it, in a boat, to *Virginia*, or to *Newfoundland*, in hopes of being able to sell it.

*and their property given to the Virginia company.*

We know not by what right the property of *Bermudas* was transmitted to the *Virginia* company; but it is certain that they claimed it, and sold it to 120 persons of their own society, who obtained a charter from king *James* for their possessing it. This new *Bermudas* company, as it was called, fitted out a ship with sixty planters on board, to settle upon the *Bermudas*, under the government of one Mr. *Richard Moor*, who was a plain sensible man, and by profession a carpenter, by which he was very well qualified for his trust. The new colony arrived upon *St. George's* island just at the time when the three mariners were ready to set sail in their boat with their ambergrise, which *Moor* having discovered, he immediately seized and disposed of it for the benefit of the company, though we cannot see what right they could have

to the governor's fortunate acquisition. So valuable a boot gave vast spirit to the new company, and the adventurers settled themselves upon St. George's island, where they raised cabins. As to Mr. Moor, he was indefatigable in his duty, and carried on the fortifying and planting the island with incredible diligence; for we are told, that he not only built eight or nine forts, or rather blockhouses, but enured the settlers to martial discipline.

BEFORE the first year of his government was expired, Mr. Moore received a new supply of provisions and planters from England; and he planned out the town of St. George as it now stands. In a short time, the plantation, by the reasonable supplies it received from England, was enabled to answer the company's expences, by returns in several sorts of drugs, amber-grease, cedar, tobacco, and other commodities. The fame of the settlement awarered the jealousy of the Spaniards, who appeared off St. George's with some vessels, which being fired upon by the English, they shone off, though the English, at that time, were so unprovided for a defence, that they had not above one barrel of powder on the whole island. During Moor's government, the Bermudas Islands were visited w th the loathsome plague of rats; which had been imported into it in European ships. This vermin multiplied so much in St. George's, that they even covered the ground, and had nests in the trees. They destroyed all the fruits and corn within doors; and they increased to such a degree, that St. George's at last was unable to maintain them, and they swam over to the neighbouring islands, where they committed the like havock. This calamity lasted, but we suppose not in the same degree, for five years, and at last it ceased all of a sudden.

UPON the expiration of Moor's term of government, Tucker, which was but for three years, he was succeeded by captain Daniel Tucker, who improved all Moor's schemes for the benefit of the island, and particularly encouraged the culture of tobacco. Being a severe disciplinarian, he held those under him to such duty, that five of them planned the boldest enterprize that perhaps ever was carried into execution. Their names were, Barker, who is said to have been a gentleman; another Barker, a joiner; Goodwin, a ship-carpenter; Paul, a sailor, and Saunders, who planned the enterprize. Their management was as artful as their design was bold. Under-standing that the governor was deterred from taking the pleasure of fishing in an open boat, on account of the dangers attending it, they proposed building for him one of a parti-

*Wonderful  
escape of  
five Eng-  
lishmen in  
an open  
boat.*

cular construction (Z), which they accordingly did, in a secret part of the island ; but when the governor came to view his boat, he understood that the builders had put to sea in it. The intelligence was true ; for the adventurers having provided themselves with the few necessaries they wanted, sailed for *England* ; and, notwithstanding the storms they encountered, their being plundered by a *French privateer*, and the incredible miseries they underwent, they landed in forty-two days time, at *Cork*, in *Ireland*, where they were generally welcomed and entertained by the earl of *Thomond*.

**Butler, governor.** IN 1669, captain *Tucker*, whose administration was of infinite service to those islands, resigned his government to captain *Butler*. By this time, the high character which the *Summer Islands* bore in *England*, rendered it fashionable for men of the highest rank to encourage their settlement ; and several of the first nobility of *England* had purchased plantations among them. Captain *Butler* brought over with him 500 passengers, who became planters on the islands, and raised a monument to the memory of Sir *George Sommers*. The island was now so populous, (for it contained above 1000 whites) that captain *Butler* applied himself to give it a new constitution of government, by introducing an assembly ; the government, till this time, being administered only in the name of the governor and council. A body of laws were likewise drawn up, as agreeable to the laws of *England*, as the situation of the island would admit of. One Mr. *Barnard* succeeded captain *Butler* as governor, but died six weeks after his arrival upon the island ; upon which, the council made choice of Mr. *Harrison* to be governor, till a new one should be appointed. No fewer than 3000 *English* were now settled in the *Bermudas*, and several persons of distinction had curiosity enough to take short trips from *England* to visit it. Among those was Mr. *Waller*, the poet, a man of fortune, who being embroiled with the parliament, and the commonwealth of *England*, spent some months in the *Summer Islands*, which he has celebrated in one of his poems, as being the most delicious spot in the creation. Some have doubted, whether the poet ever was in the *Summer Islands* ; but the fact seems now to be ascertained, and indeed the picture he gives of them, though none of the best of his works, is too characteristic not to be drawn from an original. The

(Z) In a Latin inscription upon *Blome's* map of the *Bermudas*, the boat is said to have been open above, and about

three tons burden, for so we understand the words, *Trium  
dolorum majorum capacitatis.*

dangers attending the navigation, notwithstanding the un-  
wary situation of the islands, through their distance from the  
*American* continent, seems to have been the chief, if not the  
only reason, why the Bermudas did not become the best  
peopled islands belonging to England; and we are told, that  
some years ago, they contained no fewer than 10,000 whites.

THE chief adventurers of distinction in settling the *Ber- Prosperity  
mudas Islands*, were, the marquis of Hamilton, Sir Thomas of the  
Smith, the earls of Devonshire, Pembroke, Warwick, and  
Southampton, and Sir Edwin Sands. One Mr. Norwood,  
surveyor, was sent from *England* to partition out the islands,  
which he did into eight districts, or, as he called them, tribes;  
each tribe bearing the name of one of those proprietors, and  
was divided into fifty shares; every share, one with another,  
consisted of about twenty-five acres, and the value of each  
share<sup>1</sup>, is said to have been from 300 to 500*l.* proclamation-  
money; but no beauty, or fertility of climate or soil, can  
compensate the want of trade. The *Summer Islands* dwindled •  
in their population so much, that it is reckoned they do not  
now contain above 5000 whites; nor, indeed, did the inhab-  
bitants ever discover any great spirit of commerce. Some  
years after the Revolution took place, they sent over to king  
*William* a very loyal *Addres*, which was presented to him by  
Sir *William Trumbal*, one of his principal secretaries of state,  
together with the association, for the support of his govern-  
ment, signed by the governor, council, assembly and principal  
inhabitants. In 1698, *Samuel Day*, Esq; was, by the same *Day*, go-  
king, appointed lieutenant-governor of the *Summer Islands*, *governor*.  
where he arrived in the *Maidstone* man of war. Two years  
after, he was succeeded by captain *Bennet*. *Alured Popple*, *Bennet*,  
Esq; formerly secretary to the board of trade and plantations, *governor*.  
was appointed lieutenant-governor in 1737; and in 1747, he  
was succeeded by his brother, *William Popple*, Esq; who died  
in his passage to *England*, 1764.

IN the reign of king *George I.* the famous dean *Berkley*, *Account of*  
as afterwards bishop of *Cloyne*, the greatest metaphysical genius *dean Berk-*  
of his age, formed a plan for founding in *Bermudas* a college *ley's ins-*  
or seminary, for the education of the *British American* youth, *factual*  
which he himself proposed to superintend. As the neglect *project*.  
of education in *America* had been long complained of, and  
the dean's abilities, as well as virtues, were universally re-  
spected, his plan was espoused by the society for the propa-  
gation of the gospel; and they assisted him in obtaining a  
patent for it from the crown. In consequence of this patent,

<sup>1</sup> DOUGLAS's Summary, Vol. I. p. 147.

*The History of America.*

the dean engaged three fellows of *Trinity College*, in *Dublin*, to accompany him, as did several other public-spirited persons of distinction, and at a very considerable expence of his private fortune, he purchased a noble library, and hired a ship, which was to carry him and his friends to the *Bermudas*. Nothing can give us a stronger proof than this project does, of the fallibility of human genius, when depending upon reading and information alone, without the assistance of experience, for the execution of a great project. The dean and his friends were enamoured with the Elysian descriptions of the *Summer Islands*, from which all luxury was debarred; where the air was pure; the manners of the inhabitants untainted, and where no objects could present themselves to divert the attention from study. After a tedious winter passage, he was obliged to put in at *Rhode-Island*, in *New England*; where, upon a little cool reflection, he was convinced how impracticable his project was. People of great weight in *England* were, at the bottom, no friends to a plan, which they thought might engross too much of that time, and too many of those abilities, that ought to be dedicated to the pursuits of commerce. Besides this, he learned upon better information, that the island was often inaccessible through storms, and destitute of most of those good qualities for which it had been celebrated by the authors he consulted. Those, and a variety of other considerations, determined him to drop his plan; and, after generously bestowing a large part of his library upon the colleges of *Massachusetts-Bay* and *Connecticut*, he and his friends returned to *England*.

*Natural history of the Summer-Islands.*

*BERMUDAS* is in 32 deg. 30 min. north latitude, about 65 deg. west from *London*, lies 200 to 300 leagues distance from the nearest lands, viz. *New England*, *Virginia*, *South Carolina*, and *Providence*, or the *Bahama Islands*. The tide flows five feet, in narrow channels and turnings, requiring a good pilot<sup>m</sup>. The whole number of the islands, called the *Bermudas*, are said to be near 400, a few of which only are habitable. The principal is *St. George's*, which is not above sixteen miles in length, and three at most in breadth. It is universally agreed, that the nature of this and the other *Bermudas Islands* has undergone a most surprising alteration for the worse since they were first discovered, the air being now much more inclement, and the soil much more barren than formerly. This is ascribed to the cutting down those fine spreading cedar-trees, for which those islands were famous, and which sheltered them from the blasts of the north wind,

<sup>n</sup> Ibid.

and at the same time protected the under-growth of the delicate plants and herbs. In short, the *Summer Islands* are now far from being desirable spots, and their natural productions are but just sufficient for the subsistence of the inhabitants, who chiefly, perhaps for that reason, are deemed to be temperate and lively, even to a proverb. The tobacco they raised was, upon experience, found to be inferior to that growing in the other *American Islands*, and therefore that trade is now almost at an end in the *Bermudas*. The whale-grease trade has decreased in proportion, as likewise has their whale trade; though the perquisites upon it form part of the governor's revenue, he having about 10*l.* for every whale that is caught.

The *Bermudas Islands*, however, might still produce some valuable commodities, were they properly cultivated. There is here found, about three or four feet below the surface, a white chalk-stone, which they export, and is easily chiselled, for building gentlemen's houses in the *West Indies*. Their palmetto-leaves, if properly manufactured, might turn to excellent account in making hats for women, and their oranges are still valuable; but the chief resource of the inhabitants for subsistence, consists in their remains of the cedar-wood, of which they fabricate small sloops, with the assistance of *New England* white-pine; and they sell many of them in our *American* plantations, where they are highly prized. Their turtle-catching trade is of vast service for the subsistence of the inhabitants, and they are still able to rear great variety of tame-fowl; wild ones abounding in vast plenty. All the attempts to establish a regular whale-fishery in the *Summer Islands* have hitherto proved ineffectual; and even the black hog breed, which probably was left here by the *Spaniards*, is greatly diminished. The water on the island (excepting that which falls from the clouds, and is preserved in cisterns) is brackish; and at present the same diseases reign there as in the other *Antilles Islands*; so that an inhabitant of the *Bermudas* will find difficulty in bringing himself to believe that he is living upon the spot that *Waller* celebrates.

### *J A M A I C A.*

WHEN Columbus returned to Spain from his first voyage, *Discovery* in which he discovered *America*, he was greatly ca-  
res sed by that king, who gave him the command of a con-  
siderable squadron, on board of which, besides sailors, were  
1500 men, most of them artizans, and proper for settling co-  
lonies.

longes. He likewise carried along with him a full European  
quadrupeds of all kinds for breeding, with all manner of uten-  
tials. In his voyage he stopt at no island till he came to *Hispaniola*, where he found all the *Spaniards* he had left  
there dead; but, upon enquiry, he has reason for believing,  
that they had drawn their fates upon themselves from the na-  
tives, whom they most cruelly oppressed, even to the viola-  
tion of their beds, and putting them to death when they  
offered to complain. Some of his attendants were for taking  
a severe revenge; but *Columbus*, who was naturally just and  
humane, suffered the master to rest. *Columbus*, leaving his  
brother *Bartholomew* to command in *Hispaniola*, went on  
board three of his ships to make new discoveries; and among  
other islands, he landed upon *Jamaica*, which lies between  
the 75th and 79th degrees of west longitude from *London*,  
and is between 17 and 19 degrees distant from the equinoctial.  
In this navigation, he found the natives to be of so  
different dispositions, some receiving him friendly, and others  
opposing his landing, which was the case when he approach-  
ed to *Jamaica*; but, upon a discharge of the *Spanish* cross-  
bows among them, they became tractable, and even brought  
th m goods to barter. It does not appear, that at his first  
discovering *Jamaica*, he made any settlement upon it, because  
he was obliged to return to *Hispaniola*, where the *Spaniards*  
he had left on that island were guilty of the most abomi-  
nable excesses; but we are told, that a young inhabitant of  
*Jamaica* became so fond of the *Spaniards*, that he accompa-  
nied *Columbus* when he first departed from the island, not-  
withstanding all the remonstrances of his relations.

As to the word *Jamaica*, it is probably *Indian*, because  
*Oviedo* mentions a river in *Hispaniola* of that name: but  
the *Spanish*, as well as the *French* writers of voyages and  
*American* histories, are very inaccurate as to the etymologies.  
It is pretty certain that *Columbus* entertained so favourable an  
opinion of *Jamaica*, that he marked it out as an estate to  
his family. In 1504, as *Columbus* was returning from *Spain*  
to *America*, he found his ships in such distress, that he was  
obliged to run them into the island, after having been debar-  
red by *Bobadilla*, whom he had left governor of *Hispaniola*,  
from landing on that island. When he arrived at *Jamaica*,  
he had but two ships remaining of four; and their crews were  
thin and sickly. To add to his misfortunes, one *Francisco*  
*Perez*, who commanded one of his ships, formed a party  
against him; and having purchased some canoes of the na-

*His dif-  
ficulties  
upon the  
island,  
from  
which he  
escapes.*

tives, and agreed to sail for Hispaniola. Benzon<sup>i</sup> says, P<sup>r</sup>ez finding the Indian canoes he had provided too slight to carry him to Hispaniola, was obliged to return to Jamaica, where a battle ensued between him and Columbus, in which the latter was victorious, and Porez was made prisoner. From the whole complication of this affair, it is most likely, that the difference was compromised, and that Columbus suffered Porez and his friends to remove to Hispaniola. It is on all hands agreed, that Columbus was in the utmost distress; his ships were so worm eaten, and so leaky, that they were full with water to their very decks, so that he was obliged to lodge his men in sheds on their prows and forecastles. The natives hearing that he had been abandoned by the greatest part of his men, became very shy, so that Columbus was cautious of suffering any of the Spaniards to go on shore. Famine, however, obliged him to invite the Indians by all means to traffick, being utterly unable, through his weakness to force them. Benzon<sup>i</sup> gives us, on this occasion<sup>q</sup>, an instance of that admirable presence of mind which attended Columbus in all his undertakings: he says, that the natives having built a hut in the neighbourhood of the Spanish ships, Columbus called to them from on board, and informed them, that unless they furnished him and his men with provisions, they would be soon visited with a pestilence, that would destroy every soul of them; and as a sign of the truth of his declaration, which he pretended came from heaven, he told them, that in two days time, the moon (which he knew was then to suffer an eclipse) would wear a bloody visage, naming the very hour when this would happen. The thing fell out exactly as Columbus had foretold, and the Indians were so much astonished at the truth of the prediction, that they not only furnished him with all the provisions he wanted, but implored his pardon, and begged that he would not leave them with any marks of his resentment. The great difficulty, however, still remained, how to transport himself and his men to Hispaniola, none of his own ships being in a condition to undertake such a voyage. At last, he engaged Diego Mendez, his steward, to embark on board an Indian canoe, with ten of the natives, whom he hired for the service, by exorbitant rewards. Those savages, who were well acquainted with that navigation, carried Mendez to Hispaniola, where he bought one ship for the use of Columbus; and Ovando, the governor of the island, ordered another to be fitted out, to bring Columbus and his men from Jamaica, which

they accordingly did. His Catholic majesty rewarded Alonso de Ojeda for his difficult and dangerous expedition, very nobly, and gave him leave to carry, in his armorial bearing, the canoe in which he sailed.

Jamaica  
peopled by  
the Span-  
iards,

AFTER Columbus had refreshed himself and his men for some days at Hispaniola, he set sail for Spain, where he died soon after his arrival. Some authors, particularly *de Laet*, are of opinion, that while Columbus resided upon Jamaica, he built, or rather planned out, the town of Metilla, which by no means unlikely, when we consider, that the natives were fully reconciled to him, before he left the island. It is certain, that his son and family considering Jamaica as their own property, built upon it St. Jago de la Vega, and several other towns, which were abandoned, on account of the advantages attending the situation of St. Jago, which increased in buildings and people so greatly, that it is said, in a short time, to have contained 1700 houses, 2 churches, 2 chapels, and an abbey. The court of Spain, notwithstanding its ingratitude to the father, granted both the government and property of Jamaica to his family, and his son *Diego Columbus* was its first European governor, with the magnificent title of duke of la Vega. But the descendants of the great Columbus degenerated from his virtues, and fell into all the vices and indolence of their countrymen. Having no idea of any West Indian acquisition that did not produce gold and silver, they neglected all improvements upon Jamaica, and studied only to raise their rents, and oppress the planters. Columbus himself had preferred this island, on account of its situation, and its being the most populous of any he had met with in America; but his descendants, or their substitutes, murdered 60,000 of those natives, under tortures so exquisite, that the relation of them is unfit for Christian ears.

WE know little of the particulars of the Spanish traffick, while they held Jamaica. Some wealth, however, must have been among them, because, in 1596, Sir Anthony Shirley, who had the command of a squadron off the continent of America, landed upon Jamaica, where he took and plundered the town of St. Jago. In 1635, colonel Jackson, in his passage from the Leeward Islands, landed 500 men upon Jamaica: and after driving, as is said, 2000 Spaniards from their works at Passage-Fort, he took the town of St. Jago, with the loss of forty men, and divided its plunder with his soldiers. He received, at the same time, a considerable sum, to ransom it from being burnt down.

therefore considerable revolution that *Jamaica* under-invaded ~~was~~, was during *Cromwell's* usurpation in *England*. He had to the wrong and narrow notions concerning the interest ~~of~~ <sup>of</sup> *Europe*, *English*; and he fell in with the vulgar way of thinking (to which he was indeed partly impelled by the necessities of his government) that the acquisition of treasure ought to be his great object; and as none was so ready as that of the *Spanish West-Indies*, he lived in a kind of perpetual warfare with that crown. But by this time, the object of the *English* national jealousy ought to have been changed from the house of *Austria* to that of *Bourbon*, which last, under the administrations of the cardinals *Richelieu* and *Mazarine*, had been attempting to lay, for many years, the foundations of universal monarchy. *Cromwell*, not attentive to this momentous consideration, was persuaded by *Mazarine*, to fit out, from *England*, an expedition, for the conquest of *Hispaniola*. This expedition was the more to his liking, as it was extremely popular in *England*; and even many of the royal party, who were disgusted at the treatment their king had received from the court of *Mud: id*, embarked in it, to the number, some say, of 2000. The command of the expedition was given to colonel *Venables* and admiral *Penn*; and they sailed from *England* with at least 7000 land troops on board, great part of whom was composed of *Cromwell's* veterans. This force was greatly augmented by the people of *Barbados*, and the other *Leeward Islands*; and on the 13th of April, the fleet landed upon *Hispaniola*, in sight of the town of *St. Domingo*. The numbers who landed under *Venables*, (who was suspected of a warm side towards the royal party) are said to have been 7000, besides a troop of horse; but by means of misfortunes, which are foreign to this part of our history, they were repulsed; and *Venables* re-imbarked his men. The shame of returning unsuccessful to *England*, rather than any regular plan that had been formed, put into the thoughts of the *English* officers, who still commanded 10,000 men, an expedition against *Jamaica*, which was instantaneously resolved in, before the *Spaniards* there could have any intelligence of the repulse of the *English* at *Hispaniola*.

On the 2d of May the *English* landed on *Jamaica*, and it being determined immediately to attack *St. Jago*, proclamation was made that every man should shoot his neighbour dead, if he should see him attempt to fly. The *Spaniards* at *St. Jago*, being in no condition to oppose the force that was advancing against them, after a very slight resistance, proposed to capitulate and to deliver up the city; and in the mean

mean time, they furnished the English with ~~with~~<sup>the</sup> privy bags, & the choicest productions of the island. Venables has been blamed for suffering the people of St. Jago to amuse him as they did, but we think, without foundation, considering the precariousness of the conquest, and how necessary it was for him to save his men; to omit mentioning that, as he had no commission to attack *Jamaica*, he must have answered with his head any ill success he met with. Those considerations more than probably determined him to treat with the Spaniards; and it is not at all unlikely, that the latter, during the time of the negotiation, secured, in no more inland parts, their best effects; so that when the English came to take possession of St. Jago, they found nothing there but bare walls.

NOTWITHSTANDING this disappointment, they were in possession of the capital of the island, and in fact of the island itself; for tho' the Spaniards in parties sometimes attempted to surprize them from the woods, yet they never appeared in a body, and at last found means to transp.<sup>t</sup> themselves and their effects to *Cuba*. The reduction of *Jamaica*, with so little loss on the part of the invaders, astonished the Spanish government. The viceroy of *Mexico*, understanding that the mulattoes and negroes belonging to the Spaniards of *Jamaica*, had been left in the woods there, sent orders to the governor of *Cuba*, to supply the exiles with whatever was necessary for taking repopulation of their island, and promised to support them with a proportionable land force. They accordingly returned thither, but lived dispersed in the woods, in so miserable a manner, that the 500 land ~~men~~<sup>which</sup> were sent to their assistance, refused to associate themselves with them, and fortified themselves in the northern part of the island at a place called *St. Chereras*, where they soon received very considerable reinforcements. In the mean while, the English, who have the best colonizing genius of any people in the world, had begun to plant the south and south-east parts of the island, of which colonel Doyly was first governor, with 3000 men, and a large quadron of ships commanded by vice-admiral Goodson, while Penn and Venables returned to England.

THEIR success at *Jamaica* had not abated Cromwell's resentment for their failure at *Hispaniola*, and it was greatly increased by his being informed of the true principles of the two commanders, who were no sooner landed than they were committed prisoners to the tower of *London*; from which they were soon after delivered with abundance of honour, and without any trial; and Venables afterwards became eminently instrumental in restoring *Charles II.* Cromwell resolving to

"An officer recommended by *Venables*, sent over major *Gage* under the supersede of *Douglas* in his command, with a reinforcement of 1000 men. In the mean while, the Spaniards, <sup>supersede</sup> who had fortified themselves at St. *Ghereras*, had been driven, <sup>in</sup> *wick*, who forced with thirty companies, besides artillery and provisions dies; from *Cuba* and the continent, and had thrown up several formidable works at *Rio Nuevo*, in the precinct of St. *Mary*. *Douglas* attacked them in their fortifications, from whence he drove them in a few days with great loss, and he then demolished them. They next attempted to make a stand at *Poat*, *Pedro*, from which they were likewise driven; and thus the English, under *Douglas*, being superior in numbers to the Spaniards, re-established the character of their national valour which had suffered at *Hypatia*. As to the Spaniards; being driven from place to place, they were obliged at last to embark on board their ships, and to return to *Cuba*, leaving the quiet possession of *Jamaica* to the English.

THE Spanish negroes and mulattoes, however, still kept *War with* the woods and mountains, where they subsisted by game and <sup>the</sup> *negroes*. Part of them perceiving that they had been abandoned by the Spanish regulars, they murdered the governor who had been put over them, and chose one of their own number. All this while, they were hunted and cut off by the English like so many wild beasts. Finding that they could hold out no longer, they sent a deputation to governor *Douglas*, who received them into favour, upon their delivering up their arms; but another party of them still subsisted, and were headed by some of the old Spanish inhabitants. The sub-mutinying negroes, who were much fonder of their new masters than they had been of their old, were very useful in clearing the island of those remains of the Spaniards, who were entirely rooted out, and not above twenty or thirty of their negroes in a years time, was left upon the island; but they knew the inland part of it so well that they could not be dislodged, and afterwards proved very dangerous enemies to the island. *Douglas*, though a declared royalist, still kept the command of the island, and acted with equal wisdom and resolution; major *Sedgewick* having died a few days after his arrival. But while the colony was improving beyond all example, being well supplied from their mother-country with all kind of necessaries, a spirit of mutiny, headed by one colonel *Feaymond*, and lieutenant-colonel *Tyson*, got into the army. It is probable, that the mutineers were encouraged by their knowing how disagreeable *Douglas* was to *Cromwell*; but he had the courage to bring them both to a court-martial, where they were sentenced to be shot to death, which was

## The History of Jamaica.

and by  
Brayne,  
who was  
like us, &c.

was accordingly executed. Cromwell, by this time sent to colonel Brayne in Scotland, to embark with 200 men in Port Patrick, and to sail to Jamaica, where he was supposed to be in the government; but that gentleman likewise died soon after his arrival at Jamaica; and it is very remarkable, that Doley remained governor of the island at the time of the Restoration.

As the first English planters of Jamaica were composed of men of various sects, parties, and opinions, but most of them accustomed to a military life, either by sea or land, we are not to expect among them any uniform system of conduct. The example and authority of Doley had, indeed, done wonders; and some of Cromwell's veterans, as well as the royalists, were become excellent planters; others, who never had been habituated to civil life, entered as cruisers and privateers against the Spaniards, whom, even while there was peace between the two crowns, they robbed of immense sums, which were all spent at Jamaica. This, together with the thriving state of the colony, raised its character in the West-Indies so greatly, that several eminent planters repaired thither from Barbados, as being the preferable island. Colonel Doley, about the time of the Restoration, was succeeded by lord Windsor as governor of Jamaica. We know little of his lordship's administration; for in 1663, he was succeeded by Sir Thomas Modiford. This gentleman having made a great estate at Barbados, removed to Jamaica to better it, as did several other wealthy planters. Jamaica had, by this time, increased its inhabitants to the number of between 17 and 18,000 English; but its chief trade, as we have already hinted, consisted in their depredations upon the Spaniards, which, as there is too much reason to believe, were winked at by the governor.

As Modiford knew, perhaps, beyond any man of his time, the interests of the English West-Indies, he introduced into Jamaica, the art of making sugar, of planting cocoa-groves, and erecting salt-works; so that the arts of industry began to prevail over the antient habits of the planters, and the island wore a new face; but this reformation was not universal. Many of the old planters were too much in love with their old custom to abandon them; and hence sprung up that race of pirates, for they were no better, called Buccaneers, whom it is necessary to give some account of, as their proceedings makes so great a figure in the history of the English and Spanish West-Indies. But we are to observe, that those buccaneers were not entirely of Jamaica breed; for they consisted of adventurers of all nations, and they resorted

in Jamaica, chiefly on account of the vast convenience of its situation for robbing the Spaniards. Barbados, and our other islands, furnished their quotas for this desperate society: and when assembled, they bound themselves down to certain regulations and subordinances that would have done honour to a more virtuous institution.

A Portuguese pirate founded the fraternity; but being drowned as he was conducting his prize to Jamaica, he was succeeded by a Dutchman of Brazil, who is therefore called of Sir John Brasiliiano. This Dutchman, and his companion buccaneers, were at once profligate and prodigal. Being chosen the head of a mutiny, when but a private man, he ran away with a ship, and intercepted and took a rich Spanish vessel, homeward-bound, the contents of which being mostly in ready money, they squandered at Jamaica in the most tasteless extravagance; and so ingenuous were they in the arts of dissipation, that one of the common men is said to have spent 3000 pieces of eight in a month. When their treasure was gone, they again went to sea and took another prize; but as they were mastered upon the coast of Cumpeachy, and being condemned to be hanged, they had address enough to get their sentence mitigated to their serving in the galleys, from whence they escaped, and returned to Jamaica, where they continued to pursue their former piratical practices. One Scott, a Welchman, who plundered Cumpeachy, and Mansfield, an Englishman, distinguished themselves in this predatory war; and another Englishman, Davis, brought from the back of Nicaragua above 50,000 pieces of eight to Jamaica for his own share of the plunder. He then formed an expedition against St. Augustine, and succeeded, though there was in the castle a garrison of 400 men. But the most distinguished of all the buccaneers was a Welchman, one Henry (a t:wards Sir Henry) Morgan. When young, being of a roving disposition, he went to Barbados, from whence he removed to Jamaica, where he commenced pirate, and was more than commonly successful in taking prizes of Spanish vessels. He served as Mansfield's lieutenant in the expedition against St. Catherine's, which they attacked and took with fifteen ships and five hundred men. Mansfield and his companions considered this island as now being their property, and he left upon it one Simon, with an hundred men, to be its governor. The pirates were so elevated by this conquest, that they would have proceeded against Panama itself, had they not understood that the Spaniards were provided to receive them; upon which they retired to the island of Tortuga, in the gulph of Mexico, about fifteen miles from the continent.

By this time, *Moidford* was succeeded in the government of *Jamaica* by Sir *Thomas Lynch*, and the complaints entered at the court of *Spain* against the buccaneers being too flagrant to be stilled, *Moidford* had been sent for home in custody, and *Lynch* had orders to check them; but those freebooters not conceiving that any practices could be illegal that brought in money to themselves and *Jamaica*, had the confidence even to propose to *Lynch* to make a settlement upon the isle of *St. Catharine's*, which demand being refused them, *Mansfield* returned discontent to *Tortuga*. There he died, and *Simon* was obliged to yield up his government by capitulation to the Spanish governor of *Costa Rica*. After this, *Morgan* became the head of all the pirates in the *West Indies*, and shewed unparalleled boldness and courage in his profession. His first expedition was against  *Puerto del Principe*, which he took, and divided 50,000 pieces of eight among his followers. But his men being composed of various nations, the French here abandoned him on account of one of their countrymen being killed.

It must be acknowledged, that it is extremely difficult to reconcile the behaviour of the court of *England* towards that of *Spain* at this time to the principles of good faith, without supposing that the government of *England* and that of *Jamaica* had separate interests. It is true, the Spaniards had laid many claims to places, and to exclusive rights of commerce in *America*, which the *English* never had submitted to; but still a good correspondence had been always kept up between the two crowns, and each had mutually promised to the other a redress of its grievances. But this was no easy matter, as they were found to be so complicated, that many dispatches passed between *Jamaica* and *England*, before any one point could be settled. The Spaniards, for instance, as we have seen in our history of the other islands, claimed, and sometimes attacked several of them, that were the undoubted property of the crown of *England*, and the *English* laid claim to the right of cutting logwood in *Campeschiy*, and upon the bay of *Honduras*, of which they said they were the first discoverers. This claim became a very serious affair, and the proofs and depositions on that head, which were sent over to *England* by the government of *Jamaica*, were so strong in favour of the *English*, that the affair then remained undecided. The Spaniards, however, still continued to make prize of all the *English* ships, and sometimes to cut off their crews, which touched at the bay of *Campeschiy*, or upon *Honduras*, which the *English* considered as so many robberies and murders. In short, the matter remained in such a state of indecision, that it came before the British parliament, who referred it to the Board

*Disputes  
between  
England  
and Spain.*

Board of Trade and Plantations, and part of their report was, "that the Bay of Campeachy might so far be called the property of England, that the English for some years before, as well as after the American treaty in 1670, enjoyed an uninterrupted liberty of cutting logwood in the Laguna de Terminos, (which lies at the bottom of the bay) and other places not inhabited by the Spaniards in the province of Yucatan; either through right, sufferance, or indulgence. That the said treaty even established a right in the British crown to the said Laguna, and parts adjacent, which had been for some years before, as well as at the time of the treaty, in the possession of the English; and although the right of the English crown to the said Land would not be insisted on, the same liberty was actually and all confirmed by the treaty of commerce at Utrecht."

We have been the most silent on this head, because, not only many foreign historians, but several of our own writers, have been very free in giving our government, in general, with authorizing a warfare against the Spaniards in the West Indies. The wants of the administration under Charles and James towards the men and Spaniards, giving it accu-sations, gave them but too much courage; though, upon the whole, the insolence and injustice of the Spaniards were, at least, equal to the irregularity and rapaciousness of our buccaneers. It is true, we cannot venture to say any thing with regard to the legality of that commission from the governor and council of Jamaica, under which Morgan is said to have acted; if our court was serious in its professions towards that of Spain. Morgan's next expedition was against Puerto Velo, a rich city in the district of Panama, which he likewise took and its plunder, besides other rich merchandize, amounted to 250,000 pieces of eight; all which centered in Jamaica, to the vast emolument of the industrious inhabitants, as well as of their mother-country. After this successful expedition, Morgan became a kind of a *American* naval power, so that in a little time he was at the head of fifteen ships and 900 men. He roved through the Spanish settlements, and even made an attempt upon Hispaniola, but with no success; but at last he attacked and took the town of Maracaibo upon the Terra Firma, where, besides destroying three Spanish men of war, Morgan conquers Panama, and other places in the West Indies.

BUT Morgan, with all the habits of a pirate, was without that of a law-abiding disposition; and he more than once endangered his life by withholding from his men what they nish West-

conceived to be their just due. Notwithstanding this, the fame of his successes and good fortune was such, that at his return next year at Tortuga, he found his men increased to 2000, and his ships to thirty-seven. Imagining himself to be invincible with such a force, he projected the conquest of Panama itself. To facilitate this enterprise he again took possession of St. Catharine's Island, while Brodeley made himself master of Fort Chagre, to secure his retreat, and which Brodeley held with a garrison of 500 men. Morgan then with the remainder, which consisted in all 400, all of them stout, experienced, resolute free booters, marched against Panama. The inhabitants of that city had never been famous for their courage, but they opposed Morgan with more spirit than was expected from them. Nothing could equal the discouragements that Morgan encountered in this expedition. Finding that the river, by which he was to approach the city, was impassable by his large ships, he was obliged to leave another detachment to take care of his fleet and artillery, and to embark part of his men on board canoes and small boats, while others marched by land under most inconceivable miseries from the heat of the climate, and want of provisions, for six days time. Being joined in one body, they were opposed by the governor of Panama, with four regiments of foot and two squadrons of horse, and a brisk action ensued, in which the Spaniards were defeated with the loss of 600 men. The victors, without giving their enemies time to recover, pressed towards the city, and after some dispute, without the assistance of artillery or scaling-ladders, they mounted the walls and became masters of Panama.

It must be acknowledged, that Morgan made use of his forces with no great moderation; and some part of his conduct, on this occasion, seems to have been very blamable; for it is said, that after he was master of the town, he set fire without consulting any of his men; and this he probably did the better to conceal the true amount of the plunder he had secured for himself. The number of houses in Panama, which were generally built of cedar and very magnificent, are said to have been 7000, but this account is probably exaggerated, besides 200 warehouses. Morgan made war, not as a pirate, but as a lawful conqueror in one respect, which was, that he was in no hurry to abandon his conquest, for he remained four or five months in Panama, where he laid the adjacent country under contribution, and gave out his orders with the utmost coolness, in which he was punctually obeyed by his men. He did not leave Panama before the 24th of February, 1671: and it is said, that the gold, silver, and the

The precious spoils of the city, loaded 175 beasts of burden ; and his prisoners amounted to 600, whom he obliged to ransom themselves. In his retreat he plundered the town of Cruz, and blew up the fortification of Chagre. When he came to divide the immense booty he had made among his men, each share did not amount to above fifty pounds a man. This exasperated them at first against their commander, whom they accused of having defrauded them. Morgan, perceiving that their discontent might end in a mutiny, made choice of four ships, whose crews he had secured to himself, and sailed with them to Jamaica, leaving the bulk of his companions at Chagre. The air of resolution, and authority with which he acted on this occasion, disconcerted the other buccaneers so greatly, that they did not offer to pursue him ; and it is said, that he carried into Jamaica 400,000 pieces of eight upon his own account.

It is impossible to say with any precision, at this distance of time, and amidst the uncertainty of private information, what Morgan's real views were, had every thing succeeded with him as he could have wished ; but, by the best authorities we have been able to collect, he seems to have had a notion of erecting the island of St. Catharine's into a settlement, of which he himself was to have been the proprietor, or rather the sovereign. The buccaneers were to have formed the chief strength of the island, and to have subsisted themselves, and, indeed, all the other English West-Indies, upon the spoils of the Spanish commerce, with whom they were to have had a general war, as the Algerines have now with the state of Malta. Morgan's amazing success against Panama, and the weakness of the Spanish monarchy at home, may be easily supposed to have rendered this project very practicable in his eyes ; but an event took place in Europe, which dashed all his hopes. Ever since the Restoration, the courts of England and Spain had laboured earnestly for fixing a treaty of commerce both in Europe and America that might remove all complaints on either side. The English ministers had struggled hard to establish a trade with Campeachy and Buenos Ayres, which might have opened a communication even with Peru and Chili. They likewise proposed, that three English ships should go with the flota from Seville to the Indies, and return with it to Seville again, and as many with the galleons. The Spaniards were deaf to all those and many other proposals, which the English firmly insisted upon, and would have obtained, had it not been for the interposition of the

<sup>a</sup> *Arlington's Letters*, Vol. II. p. 98.

<sup>b</sup> *Ibid. p. 100.*

French, who were jealous of our gaining such advantages, and had influence enough to prevail with Charles II. to withdraw his claims, to which it was thought he was even induced by a large sum paid him. A pacific system then took place, and in the year 1667, a general treaty of commerce was concluded between Spain and England, comprehending the interests of both crowns in Europe as well as in America. In 1670, the Spaniards finding that the exclusive stipulations against trading with their dominions in America, were not sufficiently strong by the late treaty, they obtained another, which they called the American treaty, because its articles were confined to America only. At the time this last treaty was concluded, Charles was entirely disposed to put a stop to the depredations of the buccaneers, and John lord Vaughan superseded Sir Thomas Lynch in the government of Jamaica, who was sent for home, to answer for his conduct in encouraging the pirates. There is some reason for believing that when Morgan was upon his expedition against Panama, he had intelligence of what had passed between the courts of England and Spain; for he no sooner landed on Jamaica, than he declared his intention to give over the profession of buccaneering.

*He settles  
in Jamai-  
ca.*

THOUGH Vaughan had brought over with him strict injunctions for putting a stop to the piracies against the Spaniards, yet he seems to have brought with him likewise a pardon for all that had passed, which had been embraced by Morgan; for we are told, that about this time, he received the honour of knighthood, on account of his incomparable valour; and he was made one of the commissioners of the admiralty at Jamaica, where he had purchased a large estate, and was carrying on very considerable improvements. But Jamaica, at this time, laboured under the same misfortune as Barbados, by the institution of the royal African company of England, whose ships, assisted by those of the crown, seized upon all Jamaica vessels which they found trading to Guinea, Angola, and South Barbary. This company, under pretence of their charter, committed terrible depredations upon the Jamaica trade; and, as the importation of negroes was so capital a point with all our sugar-islands, it must have ruined them, had not the African company been laid open by parliament. The measure itself was a mere ~~man~~ or prerogative, by which the court pretended to establish exclusive rights; but the English sugar-planters had the spirit to oppose them; and in some cases that were tried before the West Indian judicatories, they got the better.

An incident, which happened at this time, was of great service to *Jamaica*, and is thought to have been prejudicial to our *West-India* trade in general. A compromise had been entered into between *England* and *Holland*, that the former should cede to the latter a very flourishing establishment, which its subjects had in *Surinam*, in consideration of certain cessions made by the *Dutch* in *New England* and *New York*. This measure seems likewise to have been dictated by the duke of *York*, for the benefit of his *North American* friends. Three *English* commissioners, Mr. *Cranfield*, Mr. *Dukensfield*, and Mr. *Brent*, were sent over to execute the treaty, and to put the *Dutch* in possession. The English settlement at *Surinam*, consisted of above 1500 planters, besides their families, who carried on a very considerable trade in sugar, and other *surinam* commodities. The evacuation was accordingly performed, not more to the detriment of the *English*, than ~~the~~ <sup>Evacuation</sup> to the advantage of the *Dutch*, who thereby acquired a most gainful sugar-trade. The *Surinam* English were received by *Jord Vaughan*, governor of *Jamaica*, and settled in *St. Elizabeth's* precinct; where lands were assigned them to cultivate. But though this exchange might be of no detriment to certain individuals, yet it was of general prejudice to the *English* sugar-trade; great part of which fell into the hands of the ~~Spaniards~~, who, in a short time, improved their new colony to an amazing degree.

LORD *Vaughan* left the government of *Jamaica* with no great credit, for his generosity and public spirit; and was succeeded in 1679, by *Charles* earl of *Carlisle*. During this nobleman's administration, the people of *Jamaica* were infested with the same apprehensions that then filled all *England*, as if the *French*, the *Irish* Roman catholics, and the *English* puritans, had entered into a conspiracy for exterminating the protestants. The neighbourhood of M. *D'Estrées* to *Jamaica* with a strong *French* squadron, did not a little increase their alarms; and the chief employment of lord *Carlisle*, during his government, was in preparing to receive the *Spaniard*, or in endeavouring to remove the apprehensions of the islanders. Lord *Carlisle*'s health disagreeing with the air of *Jamaica*, he returned to *England* in 1680, leaving Sir *Morgan* to be his deputy-governor. This gentleman, to make amends for his former conduct, was extremely vigilant against the pirates; and surprized, in *Cook's Bay*, a pirate sloop, commanded by a noted pirate, one *Everson*, a *Dutchman*, but manned by *English*. The captain was killed, but the crew being taken, were sent to *Carthagena*, there to be tried, and punished by the Spanish governor, for the depredations

tions against his countrymen ; no full proof of which could be obtained in *Jamaica*.

*Lynch, governor.* IN 1682, Sir *Thomas Lynch*, who, with all his faults, was a warm loyalist, was again appointed to the government of *Jamaica*. About this time, the panic of the popish plot had worn off in *England*, where the court-party had got an entire ascendency ; and a presbyterian plot, equally ridiculous, was introduced in its room. Sir *Thomas* did not fail to lay hold of this opportunity to celebrate the triumphs of the royal party ; and the assembly of the island gave still more substantial proofs of their loyalty, by continuing his majesty's revenue in the island for twenty one years. Sir *Thomas* was not in other respects wanting in the duties of a good governor ; and to wipe off the suspicions he had formerly incurred, of encouraging pirates, he exerted himself the more markedly in suppressing them. All the great services that had been performed by Sir *Henry Morgan*, could not prevent his being sent home prisoner, though it is evident that the money he had acquired was his chief crime. He pleaded the commission of the governor and council of *Jamaica*, and the public thanks they had returned to him, in defence of what he had done ; but this did not prevent his undergoing a long ministerial prosecution, without being brought to a trial, to the ruin of his health, and the prejudice of his private fortune.

UNDER Sir *Thomas Lynch*, several excellent laws passed for the good of the island ; all which were printed and published. But notwithstanding all the cares of Sir *Thomas*, the French Dutch, and some English pirates, still continued to infest those seas ; many of them being provided with commissions from the French King, who was then at war with the Spaniards. The *Ruby* and the *Guernsey*, English men of war, were perpetually cruizing to the windward to suppress them ; and the governor fitted out for the same purpose, a galley of fifty-four oars, of a curious construction, which was of vast service in scouring the coast. The English commanders, however, were greatly diffuculted how to behave towards such of the pirates, though they knew them to be so, who carried French commissions, and who never offered any violence to the subjects of *England*. One *Laurens*, and one *Michael Tankers*, a Dutchman, headed them ; and on the 14th of December, 1683, they came to a regular engagement with the Spaniards, who had fitted out three ships of war against them at *Carthagena* ; one of 40, one of 36, and the other of 20 guns. The event was, that the pirates, with the loss of no more than 14 men, took all the three ships, and killed 400 of the Spaniards. The French King soon found that no benefit

rates  
continue  
their prac-  
tices.

right accrued to himself, or his subjects, by his granting commissions to those pirates, who, whenever they had an opportunity, robed all nations equally; and therefore he dispatched orders for all his governors in America, to recall all French commissions that had been granted to those freebooters, who, after that, were to be deemed as common pirates.

CHARLES II. some time before his death, appointed Col. Mole, ~~Lionel Hender Moleworth~~, to succeed Sir Thomas Lynch in the worth, government of ~~Jamaica~~, and it fell to this colonel to pro-~~governor~~, claim king James' accession in that island, which he did with great solemnity, and, at the same time, transmitted to him a most loyal congratulatory address. Soon after, a post-office was erected in ~~Jamaica~~, and the duke of Albemarle being ap-~~Duke of~~ pointed governor of that island by King James, he set sail Albemarle, with his dutches on board, on the 12<sup>th</sup> of September, 1687. ~~governor~~. This nobleman, who was son to the reverting duke, had dis-~~governor~~, sipated, or mortgaged, a larg<sup>g</sup> fortune, by his intemperance and extravagance, but having received a considerable recruit of treasure, by employing Sir William Phipps in fishing up the Spanish wrecks, which we have mentioned in the history of New England, he was in great hopes of pursuing the like discoveries to vast advantage, and is said to have solicited this government from the king, who the more readily granted his request, as his grace was known to be averse to the establishment of popery. The prevailing reports of vast numbers of rich Spanish ships having been wrecked in those seas, and whose treasures were recoverable, made his appointment to this government very agreeable to all the adventurers of those islands; and he landed, with his dutches, from on board the ~~Assistance~~ man of war in November, 1687. This year a most dreadful earthquake happened at ~~Jamaica~~, and was felt over all the island. Though it lasted but about a minute, yet it damaged a vast number of houses, and ruined many works; but the memory of it was effaced by a more dreadful calamity of the same nature, which happened a few years after. The sad consequences of those earthquakes had been frequent since the English took possession of this island; because they had neglected the wise precautions of the Spaniards, who built their houses very low, with light roofs, and of piles driven deep into the ground, so as to prevent the inhabitants from being buried in the ruins; but the English, on the other hand, built their houses strong and substantial.

THE connections which James II. had formed with all the Roman catholic powers on the continent, rendered him very ~~tion a-~~ pliable as to any concessions demanded of him, with regard gainst to his American dominions. He, therefore, during the go-~~rates,~~ vernment

The History of America.

govern<sup>m</sup>t of the earl of Albemarle in Jamaica, granted a commission to Sir Robert Holmes, for the suppression of piracies in America; and Sir Robert carried over with him a proclamation to the same effect which was published by his agent Mr. Lynch, not only at Jamaica, but in all the Spanish ports of South America, with permission of that court. It is certain, that at this time, and for several years before, the ~~vast~~ ignorance of the court of Madrid in commercial affairs, gave great advantages to the English West-Indies. Those were engrossed partly by freebooters, and partly by private subjects; and this had given king James, when duke of York, the first idea of forming an African company, which was alone to reap all the benefit arising from the importation of negroes. The benefit arising from this trade to the English, were derived from the immense duties imposed upon the importation of negroes by the Spanish court, and which amounted to 120 pieces of eight for every slave imported, from 15 to 25 years of age, and other ages in proportion. The assentists, who entered into this contract with the Spanish government, were under no obligation to bring those negroes from Africa, of which trade they had little or no notion; but were allowed to purchase them from the subjects of any power not at war with the crown of Spain; and in those days, the African company had an immense stock which they sold to the Spaniards for 20*l.* a slave, whom the assentists could dispose of for double the money, besides the vast duty paid for such slave to the Catholic king.

ON the other hand, the English merchants and planters thought it unjust in the highest degree, that they should be excluded from the privilege of importing negroes; and such importations had, ever since the royal African charter passed, been deemed at the court of England as so many acts of piracy, which Holmes was now sent over to suppress. According to a dispatch from Sir William Godolphin to secretary Coventry, this introduction of negroes to Barbadoes and Jamaica, dated Madrid, May 15, 1678. must have brought into the English African company, a neat gain of four hundred and twenty thousand pieces of eight yearly. While this affair was in agitation, the duke of Albemarle, governor of Jamaica, died in that island, as is given out, by the effects of his intemperance in drinking Madeira wine. Upon his death, colonel Lender Melford was, by the council and assembly of Jamaica, again appointed governor. After the Revolution, the maxims of king William's government in favour of the Spanish interest in America, went

even beyond those of the family of *Stuart*; and a convention was usually entered into by don *Santiago del Castillo*, (who was afterwards knighted by king *William*) on the part of *Spain* and the *English*, for the latter supplying the Spaniards with negroes, and don *Santiago* was appointed the *Spanish* commissary at *Jamaica* for the execution of the treaty.

In 1690, king *William* appointed the earl of *Lisburn* to *Tor Lord Lieutenant* the government of *Jamaica*, for which he embarked in *Mayochiquin*, that year. On the 29<sup>th</sup> June following, a dangerous ~~con-~~governor conspiracy broke out amongst the negroes of the island. One Mr. *Sutton* had a large plantation in the mountains, where the old natives of the island, with the remains of the *Spanish* slaves, still continued to reside, as all endeavoured to reduce them had proved insufficient. They having debauched Mr. *Sutton's* negroes, they attacked his house, in the number of 400, seized upon twenty-one pieces of ~~iron~~ <sup>iron</sup> and ~~wood~~ <sup>wood</sup> in proportion, and a large quantity of *lead* and *bill* and killed the house-keeper. They also ~~were~~ said to have made themselves masters of four thousand head pieces. This large magazine of arms was certainly very improperly lodged, unless it had been better guarded, in so dangerous a neighbourhood. The rebellious negroes now thought to carry all before them, and they marched to an adjoining plantation, where they were disappointed in being repelled by their countrymen, who all of them fled to the woods. By this time, the white inhabitants were alarmed, and about fifty of them, horse and foot, getting under arms, checked the progress of the rebels, while other parties taking the field, they were surrounded and attacked next day both in front and rear. The rebels at first endeavoured to get rid of themselves, and set fire to the sugar-canes, to favour their retreat, but they were so briskly pursued, that *Ardelle* they were either killed, or forced to throw down their arms; *of the* <sup>gross sup-</sup> so that very few of them escaped perishing, either by the sword or the halter. This and the like insurrections were *pressed*. The more dangerous, as at this time the war was raging with great violence between *France* and *England*. In 1691, intelligence was received, that a vast number of *French* were attempting a settlement upon *Hispaniola*, where they had several ships. This intelligence was not without foundation. The remains of the freebooters of all nations, perceiving that they had ~~now~~ no longer access to *Jamaica*, or any of the *English* settlements, cast their eyes upon *Hispaniola*, as the most inviting place in all the *West Indies* for their reception. Nothing could be more agreeable to the secret views of the court of *France*, than such a design; and they were favoured in it beyond their expectation, by the indolence and cowardice

dise of the Spaniards, who had abandoned one half of the island, in hopes of securing to themselves the possession of the other. Many of the French inhabitants of the Lesser Antilles joined in the same scheme, and attended the adventurers, who now lost the names of buccaneers and pirates in that of French privateers; acting under a commission from his most Christian majesty.

LORD Inchiquin had orders, if possible, to dislodge the French from this new settlement. With that view, he sent the *Saint* and *Guernsey* men of war, the *Quaker* ketch, and a large transport, with 900 men, commanded by captain O'Brien, to Hispaniola. Great expectations were raised from this armament, but they were far from being answered. All that the English could do, was to destroy or take a few inconsiderable ships at sea, and a few still more inconsiderable works at land; the French having soon prepared for their reception. On the 7th of June, 1692, Jamaica was visited with one of the most dreadful scourges that any island ever suffered, an earthquake. The town of *Port-Royal* there was incomparably the finest and the most populous of any in the West Indies, but was destroyed by this earthquake, which it is impossible to describe so well as in the words of its sufferers themselves, who were present, and who transmitted their accounts of it to the Royal Society, who published them in the Philosophical Transactions.

*Philosopb.*

*Transj.*

*Vol. II.*

*p. 402.*

"I lost, says one of them, all my people and goods, my wife, and two men, Mrs. B. and her daughter. One white maid escaped, who gave me an account, that her mistress was in her closet, two pair of stairs high, and she was sent into the garret, where was Mrs. B. and her daughter, when she felt the earthquake, and bid her take up the child and run down; but turning about, met the water at the top of the garret-stairs, for the house sunk downright, and is now near thirty feet under water. My son and I went that morning to *Liguania*: the earthquake took us in the road-way between that and *Port-Royal*, where we were ~~near~~ being overwhelmed by a swift rolling sea, six feet above the furrows, without any wind. Being forced back to *Liguania*, we found all the houses even with the ground, not a place to put our heads in but negroes huts. The earth continues to shake (fine 20th) five or six times in twenty-four hours; and, often trembling, great part of the mountains fell down, and falls down daily." Another writer, in the same collection, gives us a still more lively description of the earthquake: "Before eleven and twelve, says he, we felt the tavern where I then was shake, and saw the bricks begin to rise in the

the floor. At the same time we heard a noise in the streets cry, "an earthquake," and immediately we ran out of the house, where we saw all people with lifted-up hands, begging God's assistance. We continued running up the street, while on either side of us we saw the houses, some swallowed up, others thrown on heaps; the sand in the street rising like the waves of the sea, lifting up all persons that stood upon it, and immediately dropping down into pits. At the same time, flood of water broke in, and rolled these poor souls over and over, some catching by ~~the~~ beams and rafters of houses; others were found in the sand that appeared when the water was drained away, with their legs and arms out. Sixteen or eighteen of us, who beheld this dismal sight, stood on a small piece of ground, which, ~~thanks be to God~~, did not sink. As soon as the violent shake was over, every man was desirous to know if any part of his family was left alive. I endeavoured to go towards my house upon the ruins of the houses that were floating upon the water, but could not. At length I got a canoe, and rowed up the great sea-side towards my house, where I saw several men and women floating upon the wreck out at sea; and as many of them as I could, I took into the boat, and still rowed on till I came where I thought my house stood, but could hear of neither my wife nor family. Next morning, I went from one ship to another, till at last it pleased God I met with my wife and two of my negroes. She told me, when she felt the house shake, she ran out, and called all the house to do the same. She was no sooner out, but the sand lifted up, and her negro-woman grasping about her, they both dropt into the earth together, when at the very instant the water came in, rolled them over and over, till at length they caught hold of a beam, where they hung till a boat came from a Spanish vessel and took them up."

THE other particulars of this dreadful calamity were, that the wharfs of Port Royal sunk down at once with the loss of many of the most eminent merchants; and water, to the depth of several fathoms, filled the place where the street had stood. According to some credible accounts, the earth in its openings swallowed up people, and threw out their bodies in other parts of the town, and this, with such rapidity, that some of them lived after. About 1000 acres, to the north of the town, sunk, mountains were split, and plantations removed half a mile from the places where they formerly stood; and all this, with such loss of lives, that no fewer than 2000 black and whites are said to have perished in the town. The ships in the harbour had their share in this disaster, for several

several of them were overset and lost ; and the motion of the sea even carried the *Swan* frigate over the tops of houses, but without overturning, by which she was the instrument of saving many lives. The rest of the island suffered in proportion ; and scarce a house in it was left undestroyed, or un-damaged. In short, it entirely changed, not only its improved, but natural appearance ; scarce a mountain, or piece of ground standing where it formerly did. Upon the whole, this earthquake was a mere wreck of nature, and its horrors were such as cannot be described.

*and pesti-*  
*lence.* When the first shock was over at *Plymouth Royal*, the clergyman desired the people to assemble with him, and implore the Divine forgiveness, which they did. Some miscreant sailors, and others of the island, took that opportunity of robbing the houses of the wretched inhabitants, when a second shock happened, by which many of these villains were swallowed up ; but the earthquake itself, calamitous as it was, was far less ruinous to the island than its consequences were. The whole system of the air and soil was changed, and such putrid smells issued from the apertures that had been made, that it is thought no fewer than 3000 white inhabitants died of pestilential diseases. As to the loss of goods and property which this earthquake occasioned to the merchants and planters, it is not to be calculated. The assembly humbly passed an act, exempting some of the chief sufferers from paying large sums as customs for wine that had been destroyed. Before the people of *Jamaica* had time to recover themselves, the French landed 300 men on the north side of the island ; but the *Guernsey* man of war, and some other sloops, who had done notable service in saving the inhabitants during the earthquake, being apprized of the descent, burnt their ships, and destroyed or took all the men they had landed, excepting 18, who were carried off in a sloop.

*The French in-*  
*wade Ja-*  
*mica.* In the year 1692, lord Inchiquin died in *Jamaica*, where an annual fast was instituted in commemoration of the late quin. dreadfull earthquake. King William appointed colonel Wil-

liam Beefton to succeed him in his government, and gave him the honour of knighthood. Upon his arrival on the island, he endeavoured to prove himself worthy of his government, by enquiring into, and remedying a number of abuses that had prevailed during that of his predecessor. Next year, the people of *Jamaica*, notwithstanding the incredible damage they sustained by the late earthquake, had been so industrious as to send a fleet of merchantmen from thence to *England*, under the convoy of the *Mordaunt* man of war ; but they were unfor-

unfortunately cast away on the rocks near *Cuba*. There are few instances in history of a set of private merchants who had sustained so many losses as those of *Jamaica* had done, supporting themselves so well as they did without any public retribution, which it does not appear they ever had solicited. They knew of what vast importance their island was to the mother-country; and therefore, they believed, with reason, that their friends would support them. They chose three agents in *England*, Mr. *Gilbert* (afterwards Sir *Gilbert*) *Hibbert*, Mr. *Bartholomew Colleau*, and Mr. *John Tutt*, merchants in *London*, and a sum of money was immediately remitted to them, as a considerator for their soliciting the public affairs of *Jamaica*. At the same time, a committee of the gentlemen of the island was chosen to manage the correspondence with them. Their names were, *Samuel Bernard*, *Nicholas Lau*, *James Bradshaw*, *William Hutchinson*, *Thomas Clark*, *James Banister*, and ~~and~~ *Lyford Freeman*, Esqrs.

WHILE *Jamaica* was thus in a manner emerging from its calamities, the French were meditating to reduce it by one blow. They received no small encouragement for this from certain persons, *Stish* especially, who being friends of the abdicated government in *England*, persuaded them that the people of the island longed for a revolution, and to return to their adherence to the *Stuart* family. Though nothing could be more distant from the views of *France* than this suggestion, yet it was encouraged by M. *du Caffé*, who was at this time appointed governor of the *French* part of *Hispaniola*. He had some time before taken the *Falou* frigate, and carried it into *Pitt Guadis*, from whence captain *Elliot* making his escape in a canoe, arrived at *Port-Royal* in 1694, and informed Sir *William Beefton* of the storm impending against *Jamaica*, and that three men of war, of fifty guns each, had arrived, a little time before, from *Old France*, where the government did not doubt of making a complete conquest of an island that had lately suffered so much. Sir *William* immediately assembled the council, who passed the proper resolutions of putting the island in a posture of defence, and that the principal forces of the island should be assembled for the defence of *Port-Royal*, where it was understood the *French* were to make their first attempt.

THE intelligence proved true; for on the 17th of *July*, the following, the three French men of war we have already mentioned, attended by about seventeen sail of privateer sloops, seated <sup>in</sup> and transhipped, appeared off the island. Of those, eight were *desirous* named at *Port Maria*, and the rest anchored at *Cow-Cent* upon *Bay*, about seven leagues to the windward of *Port Royal*, *Jamaica*.

Du

*Du Casse* having landed his troops, proceeded in a manner that would have disgraced their predecessors, the buccaneers; for they made war upon cattle. After plundering and burning all the open part of the country eastward; they butchered all the sheep and cows they could meet with, and as a more compendious manner of destruction, many of them being driven into houses, were sacrificed in the flames. Some *Englishmen* who fell into their hands were tortured, that they might discover their effect, and they exercised even the diabolical spirit of drawing the dead from their graves, and obliging ~~women~~ men to submit to the lusts of ~~their~~ negroes. Both divisions of their fleet were guilty of the same inhumanities, and would have continued them in St. *Mary's* and St. *George's*, where they landed had they not been deterred by the appearance of some *English* forces, upon which they retreated to their ships.

Two days after they landed, the French admiral's ship, commanded by M. *Rolton*, parted from her anchors, as did another of their fleet; and they landed forty men in *Blackfield-Bay*. Here a sharp skirmish ensued between them, and an *English* officer, major *Ashurst*, who killed a number of their men, and forced the remainder, without carrying off with them the provisions they had landed, to retreat to their ships. Finding it in vain to attempt any thing farther in the open part of the island, all their ships rendezvoused at *Port Morant*, from whence they sailed on the 16th of July. On the 17th, they came in sight of *Port-Royal*, and landing their men, they filled all the neighbourhood with their fires, that they might strike the *English* with the greater terror of their numbers. Returning, however, in the night to their ships, they were seen on the 18th standing to the west of *Port-Royal*, by which it was conjectured that they intended to land from *Carlisle-Bay* in *Vire Parish*. Upon this, two troops of horse, two regiments of *St. Catherine's*, and part of those of *Clarendon* and *St. Elizabeth's*, were ordered to observe their motions, and to curb the excesses they had been guilty of in other parts of the island. The French that very afternoon anchored in *Carlisle-Bay*; and landing about 1500 men, they attacked an *English* breast-work defended by about 200 men. A very sharp action ensued, in which the *English*, after losing a colonel, a lieutenant-colonel, a captain, and lieutenant, besides having some of their best officers wounded, being overpowered by numbers, retreated, but not till after they had killed more of their enemies than they themselves lost. The *English*, upon their retreat, which was across a river, found themselves reinforced by some companies of foot, and a few horses, who

who had marched thirty miles the day before, renewed the charge, and not only checked the pursuit of the French, but drove them back with very considerable loss, though not without some to themselves, for several more of their men and officers were wounded, and some of both were killed.

THE two following days those actions passed in skirmishes; but the day after, which was the 22d of July, the French attacked a house belonging to one Mr. *Hulbard*, a post of some consequence. That place had no more than twenty five people to defend it, who beat off the French, but next day they brought against it a greater number of men and a me cannon. In the mean while, major *Lloyd*, the English commandant in that quarter, after reinforcing the garrison of the house, made such dispositions on the 23d, as to meet the French with the rest of his men, that had they advanced to assault the place, they must have been cut off. The French either saw or suspected this, and <sup>and re-</sup> they had already suffered considerably in their numbers, and that the Jamaicans behaved with far more spirit and courage than they expected, came to a resolution to re-embark, and to abandon the island, which they did on the 24th. *Du Coffe* sailed with three of his capital ships to France, where he magnified the importance of his service in Jamaica, while seventeen others completed their wooding and watering with great hurry at Port Morant, where they even let on shore the few prisoners they had made. In this expedition, it was computed that the French had about 350 men killed, and that at least an equal number died of diseases. Of the English not above 100, Jews and negroes included, were killed or wounded. King *William* was so sensible of the importance of captain *Elliott's* early intelligence, that he presented him with a medal and chain of 100*l.* <sup>Capt. Eli-</sup> ~~warded~~ <sup>and Lil-</sup> ~~valve,~~ <sup>expedition.</sup> besides 500*l.* in money; and recommended him for preferment to the lords of the admiralty. Each of the people who escaped with him were presented with 50*l.*

As it was of the utmost importance to king *William's* government that *Jamaica* should not fall into the hands of the French the adm. situation at home had taken great care that the island should be properly reinforced, which drew from the council and assembly an address to his majesty, most gratefully acknowledging his majesty's royal care of them, "in ordering a speedy relief and assistance to be sent thither, for the defence, and security, of their persons and estates against a cruel and barbarous enemy; who, in their late attempt upon that island, had no other advantage over them, but what was owing to the inequality of their numbers, and not to the valour of their men, which <sup>greatly</sup> shewed itself in burning de-

20  
*The History of America*

serted plantations, murdering prisoners in cold blood, and offering indignity to women." By this specimen, the reader may form some idea of the inhuman manner in which the French have always made war. As it was well known they were perpetually forming new schemes against the English West-Indies, Jamaica in particular, his majesty ordered a force of 1200 men, under colonel *Lilliston*, to be sent to that island in 1694. This was thought to be a bold measure, at a time when the nation itself was every day expecting an invasion from France; but the king was intent not only upon protecting *Jamaica*, but upon dispossessing the French of the quarter they had usurped in *Hispaniola*. No sooner was *Lilliston* landed, than the governor of *Jamaica* sent off the *Swan* frigate to *Hispaniola* to inform the Spaniards, and to concert measures for supporting the descent that was to be made upon the French part of the island. It was agreed, that the governor of *St. Domingo*, the capital of the island, should march with the Spaniards to *Mahaneel-Ley*, on the north-side of the island, where ships were to wait for them.

THE marine part of the expedition was committed to captain *Wilmot*, who was commodore of a squadron of English ships at *Jamaica*; and he sailed, with *Lilliston* and the land forces on board, for *St. Domingo*, where the abovementioned plan was confirmed, and from thence to *Cape François*, the chief settlement which the French had in *Hispaniola*. *Lilliston* landed some men within three leagues of the *Cape*, while *Wilmot* bore up within cannon shot of the fort. This was on the 18th of June, and the enemy kept a brisk fire upon all the English, who approached the shore, both from their cannon and musketry. Three attacks were then formed against the fort, one by the land-forces, another by a body of seamen, who were to land likewise, and another by the ships who were to batter it. *Wilmot*, in endeavouring to find a place for landing his men, narrowly escaped falling into an ambuscade of the French, who were placed at the corner of a bay, and who fired smartly upon him, but without doing any execution. Next night, he returned to the same place with an additional strength, which daunted the French so much, that they immediately blew up their fort, set fire to their town, and without carrying off, or spoiling forty pieces of cannon, with which their works were mounted, they marched off in the dark. Next day the English entered the town and plundered it.

PORT *Paix*, the strongest settlement the French had in *Hispaniola*, was the next object of the English, and it proved a matter of more difficulty than the reduction of *Cape François*.

feis. From the several narratives that have been published of this expedition, it appears, as if neither the Spaniards nor the English land-forces contributed much to its success. *Wilmot* waited for some days expecting their arrival; but being disappointed, he landed a party of his seamen about five miles to the eastward of *Port Paix*; where, driving before him the French who opposed his landing, and who retired to their fort, he destroyed their plantations to its very walls. This fort was situated at the bottom of a bay, on a flat rocky hill, which sloped towards the sea, but was steep on the land-side. It had four bastions, its walls were very strong, and built in form of a square, mounting fifteen pieces of cannon. From this description it appears, that the place could not be taken without a regular siege. Intelligence coming that the land-forces were at hand, *Wilmot* put ashore 400 seamen, and four days were employed in landing the heavy artillery. On the 21st, some cannon and mortars were landed on the west side of the castle; and by the 27th, the English played upon it most furiously from the batteries; so that the French themselves soon saw that it was untenable. This intelligence coming on the third of July to the knowledge of colonel *Lilliston* and captain *Wilmot*, they resolved to intercept the fugitives. The French who marched out of the fort amounted to 310, exclusive of 200 negroes armed, and 150 unarmed. Having left the fort, they were attacked by the ambuscade of English and Spaniards, who killed all who did not surrender themselves prisoners, who were not above the number of 150, both French and negroes, and amongst the slain were almost the whole of the French officers. The English, after this, entered and demolished the castle, but carried off the stores, provisions, and artillery, to the number of 80 pieces of canon, besides other considerable plunder.

SUCH, in general, is the account of this expedition against *the French of Hispaniola*; but particulars have been so variously related, and with such seeming evidences of truth on Hispaniola both sides, that we have not ventured to descend much into them. *Wilmot* accused the Spaniards and the English soldiers for not doing their duty; and they recriminated upon him by charging him with treachery and avarice, with exposing them wantonly to danger on all occasions, and with holding from them even their necessary allowances. Perhaps, both parties were to blame from that spirit of disagreement that then subsisted between the land and sea-services; but it was on all hands agreed, that the English officers acquitted themselves with great honour, and that the expedition itself terminated highly to the interest of England. It must, however,

ever, be acknowledged, that it might have been much more so, had *Wilmot* literally followed his instructions, which were to proceed against *Petit Guaves*, and to destroy in his return the French fisheries on the banks of *Newfoundland*; but, it is said, that the prospect of plunder induced him to proceed as he did. He died in his return to *England*, where his fleet arrived in a most miserable condition.

*Negroes made free.* THE island of *Jamaica* continued still to be pestered by the rebellious negroes, in concert with the original negroes and inhabitants of the woods. Several attempts had been made to subdue them; and, this very year the inhabitants fitted out two sloops of war, and raised 260 men for that service, at the expense of 4300*l.* of which 50*l.* was cheerfully given by the Jews, who had by this time acquired great property in the island. Garrisons were likewise put into *Fort William* and *Port Morant*; and gentlemen of credit on the island were appointed by an act of assembly to collect and receive the money, and to superintend the disposal of it. The same year five gentlemen, viz. *Richard Lush*, *François Rose*, *James Banister*, *Thomas Bindus*, and *John Waiters*, Esqrs. were appointed commissioners to execute an act of the assembly for giving freedom to all negro slaves who could prove that they had done any remarkable service against the French. This was a very wise and generous measure, and for the more ready execution of it, sub-commissioners were appointed all over the island.

*Pointis appears before Jamaica.* By those wise and many other regulations, *Jamaica* prospered so greatly, that in the year 1676, when the French admiral, Mons<sup>t</sup>. *Pointis*, was on his famous expedition against *Cartagena*, he appeared off *Jamaica*, where the sight of his powerful squadron, far from intimidating the inhabitants, made them wish he would attempt a landing. In an instant, all the posts of the island were manned; and though *Pointis* had on board 2000 buccaneers, all of them used to desperate services, yet the *Jamaicans* made so good a show, that he passed by without attempting any thing against their island. This was the more extraordinary, as most of the men whom *Lilloston* had brought were now dead, either by the hardships they had suffered in the expedition, or the diseases they had contracted. By this time, the court of *England* hearing of *Pointis's* destination, had ordered admiral *Nevil*, who was joined by a Dutch squadron, to follow him; but *Pointis* had then succeeded against *Cartagena*, where he found a booty of eight millions of crowns; and it is said that *Nevil* could do in his voyage to *Jamaica*, what was to go ashore for intelligence, was to take a French privateer. He arrived at

island on the 16th of May, and sailed again on the 25th, Pointis receiving intelligence of his being in those seas, after finishing his business at *Carthagena*, bore away for the *Bahama Islands*, but on the 22d of May, he fell in with the combined squadron. Pointis made the best of his way to escape, which he did, with wonderful good fortune; but the English took and carried into *Jamaica* one of his richest ships, being valued at 200,000*l.* During the chase, both the English and Dutch rear admirals sprang their fore-top masts, which disabled them from proceeding. Nevil then directed his course for *Carthagena*, but before his arrival there, it had been a second time plundered by the French buccaneers who alleged, what indeed was true, that Pointis and his officers had defrauded them of their due, though the success of the expedition had been chiefly owing to them.

Nevil, thus finding ~~him~~ <sup>him</sup> in a manner abandoned, is pursued again directed his course for *Jamaica*. In a few days he discovered eight sail of French ships, of which he ran two <sup>sail</sup> of Nevil, aground, took two others, and the rest escaped. When he arrived at *Jamaica*, he was prevailed upon by Sir William Baffion, to form a plan for attacking *Petit Guaves*, under rear-admiral *Alfieri*, which was accordingly taken, plundered, and reduced to ashes. Nevil, at the same time, set sail for the *Havannah*, in consequence of his master's instructions, to take the Spanish galleons under his convoy, and to bring them safe to *Weymouth*, but king *William* had a much better opinion of the Spaniards, than they had of the English, or of himself, for both the governor of the *Havannah*, and the general of the plate fleet, were so far from trusting it to his care, that they refused to admit him into the harbour. Upon <sup>but in vain</sup> this, Nevil made the best of his way through the gulph of *Florida* to *Virginia*, where he died of heart break. He was succeeded by captain *Dilkes*, who, on the 24th of October, brought back his shattered squadron to *Portsmouth*, to the no small disappointment and mortification of the people of England. As to Pointis, he was far more fortunate; he escaped a second time from an English squadron, commanded by captain (afterwards Sir John) *Norris*, which he found lying at anchor in the bay of St. John's, in *Newfoundland*, and a third time, from a squadron under captain *Harlow*, which he outsailed, though his ship were foul and leaky, and those of his enemies had just put to sea. But we are now upon the eve of an event, the most critical, not only to the English, but the Spanish empire in America; and which having hitherto been but little understood by English writers, and misrepresented

sent by others, we shall endeavour to explain with all possible succinctness.

An account  
of the  
Scots co-  
lony at  
Darien.

THE Scots, during the reign of king William, not only considered themselves as an independent people, but as being entitled to the highest favours which that monarch could grant them, by their early and ready joining in the Revolution. As they were not destitute of a spirit of enterprize, various methods had been proposed for raising themselves by trade; and one *Paterson*, a visionary projector, and a Scotchman, but settled in England, having become acquainted with *Dampier*, and other West-Indian adventurers in London, was by them informed, that the isthmus of Darien, the most important spot in America, was possessed by an independent people, who were irreconcileable to the persons and government of the Spaniards, and who would most undoubtfully grant a settlement in their country to any European people, who would assist them against the encroachments of that nation. *Paterson*, though a low-bred man, found means to discourse with several people of rank upon the same subject; and making himself master of every particular concerning it, he immediately formed a project, not only for peopling this precious spot with his countrymen, but for raising in Holland, Hamburg, and other places, more than sufficient subscriptions for carrying it into execution. We are to inform our readers at the same time, that upon this project was grafted another, for a trade between Scotland and Africa, notwithstanding the charter of the royal African company in England.

An act of parliament for erecting it. THOUGH nothing could be more chimerical or impracticable than the plan of this undertaking, yet the encouragement that it met with is incredible; the whole being founded on the independency of the Scots and that of the *Darien Indians*. The marquis of Tweedale was, at that time, the royal commissioner or viceroy for Scotland; and he and his friends were actually surprised into passing, with all requisite formalities, an act, "for erecting a company, to be called the company of Scotland, trading to Africa and the Indies, with great immunities, viz. of being custom-free for above twenty years; and that all ships, which should be taken or damaged by any other nation, to be made good at his majesty's charge." By those two great encouragements, the Scots, who were embarked in this project, were enabled to undersell their neighbours, and the adventurers were always sure of public protection, and even indemnification. The reader may perceive, that the title of this act comprehended three quarters of the globe, Africa, and the East, as well as the West, Indies. This was a shallow device for enlarging their scheme, and inviting

adventurers; but, at the same time, it multiplied their enemies, among whom the chief were the old and new *East-India* companies in *England*. The act of parliament, however, having passed for this extraordinary establishment, it became a very serious matter; and king *William*, when he heard the uses that were to be made of it, was so astonished, that he publicly said, with unusual warmth, that "he had been ill-served in *Scot and*"

THE ferment, which the act itself occasioned in *England*, became universal. and his majesty was applied to by petitions and remonstrances from all nations, who complained of the *Scotch* project, &c. being utterly inconsistent with their commercial rights. It was, especially the *East India* company, interested upon their being picketed in the possession of those provinces for a sum they had paid so dear. The Dutch were alarmed, "lest the English should supplant them in their gainful, but illicit, trade with the Spanish *West Indies*. Even the *Emperor's* king, notwithstanding his enmity to *England*, offered his fleet for dislodging the Scots from any settlement they should make in the *East or West Indies*, but of all complaints on this occasion, the loudest came from the Spaniards, who were well acquainted with the design of the *Scots*. All those remonstrances did not invalidate the act of parliament, and the Scots met with uncommon success in raising subscriptions, particularly in *Hamburg*, where 100,000 £. Sterling was supposed to be subscribed. This alarmed the *English* parliament itself, and on the 14th of December, both houses joined in a very strong address on that subject, remonstrating that the late *Scotch* act of parliament, if carried into execution, must absolutely destroy the most valuable branches of the *English* commerce.

His majesty was at this time in a most undesirable situation; he could not disown the act, and if he did not, he must break with the *English*, with whom he then stood upon very indifferent terms. In answer to the address, he repeated what he had said before, "that he had been ill-served in *Scotland*, but he hoped some remedies might be found, to prevent the inconveniences that might arise from the act." Though by those expressions, and by his majesty's turning out of their posts all who had been instrumental in procuring the act, the *Scots* might have easily foreseen its fate; yet they went madly on, as if no method, if it could not be repealed, could have been found out to evade it. The king perceiving they were resolved to proceed, viewed his disapprobation, by sending orders to Sir *Paul Rycaut*, the *English* resident at *Hamburg*, and his envoy at the court of *London*, to join

in a memorial, which was to be delivered to the senate of *Hamburg*, threatening them with his majesty's highest displeasure, if they joined with the senate in any treaty of commerce whatever. This memorial was presented at the very time when the hopes of the *Scots* were at the highest; and it

\* produced an address to the king from the council of the King Wil-Scotch company, in pretty severe terms. This address farther embarrassed his majesty, who ordered the two Scotch secretaries to his <sup>ries</sup> of state to signify to the company, that he would give orders to his envoy at the court of *Lunenburgh*, and his resident at *Hamburg*, not to make use of his majesty's name or authority, for obstructing the company in the prosecution of their trade with the inhabitants of the city. But those inhabitants dared to do nothing, but by the approbation of the senate; and thus the *Scots* all of a sudden failed in their great expectations at *Hamburg*, as well as in *England*. Some of the *Hamburg* merchants, indeed, seemed inclined to continue their subscriptions, but were soon obliged to desist. This produced addresses upon addresses from the company, and even from the parliament of *Scotland*, (where the whole nation seemed to be unanimous in support of the project) to the king, but without their receiving any satisfactory answers. Their disappointment was far from damping their zeal; they subscribed 400,000*l.* sterling to the company, no rank or degree of men among them being free from the infection. Noble offices and warehouses were erected, and four ships, the smallest carrying sixty guns, were built at an immense expence for the use of the colony, besides tenders and transports.

*The Scots land at Darien.* Till those ships were built, their destination had never been published by the directors of the company, and *Paterson*'s scheme for the *Scots* settling the isthmus of *Darien*, was now first openly avowed. Three of their ships, and two tenders, with about 1200 choice men on board, sailed from the *Firth*, and about the middle of *November*, 1698, they landed safe with the loss of but few of their men, in the bay of *Darien*, where they immediately took possession of *St. Catharine's Island*, which we have already mentioned, then called the *Golden Island*. This they fortified to great advantage, its port being large and spacious enough for ships of the greatest burden, and at the same time extremely secure. The fort built here mounted fifty guns, and its garrison consisted of 600 men. To do the *Scots* justice, they proceeded in a regular manner in settling it. The first thing they did, was, to enter into an alliance with the inhabitants, and the king (as he is called) of *Darien*, who disclaimed all de-

## The History of America.

dependence upon, or league with, the Spaniards. Intelligence of this arriving in Scotland, the council-general of the company there laid before his majesty the proceedings of their colony; and, to induce him to protect it, informed him, that they had undoubted intelligence of the French designing to settle the same country, had they not been prevented by the Scots; and that they had in every thing acted according to the conditions required in the act of parliament, and by their letters-patents.

At the time this representation was laid before the king, a very pressing memorial was presented by the Spanish ambassador (who was personally obnoxious to his majesty) upon the same head. Though it must be acknowledged, that the proceedings of the Scotch company, as founded on their act of parliament, (supposing them to be an independent people, as they certainly were) were irreproachable; yet the united interest of all Europe required their being crushed. The king, who was entirely of that opinion, complained of his not having been made acquainted w'th the destination of the Scotch ships, and refused, by the earl of Seafield, the secretary of state for that kingdom, to give them any countenance or protection, till the place of their settlement was fully known. The people of Jamaica, of all the English West-Indians, had the greatest reason to be alarmed at the progress of the Scots, so though both were under the same king, yet the opposition the latter had met with at London, had exasperated them greatly at their English brethren. It was evident, from the situation of the Scotch colony, that if properly supported, it would, some time or other, be in a condition to give law to all America, especially as their new harbour was declared a free-port, and this must not only thin Jamaica, and the other English islands, of their inhabitants, but drain them of their money. The Jamaicans were soon delivered from their apprehensions by the following proclamation, which was very secretly sent over, being published in their island.

“ By the honourable Sir William Beefton, knight, governor Proclama-  
and commander in chief for his majesty in the island of Ja-  
maica, and of the territories and dependencies of the same, and gainst the  
admiral thereof.”

“ Whereas I have received orders from his majesty, by the right honourable James Vernon, one of the principal secre-  
taries of state, impoing, that his majesty was not informed  
of the intentions and designs of the Scots, in peopling Da-  
rien, which is contrary to the peace between his majesty and  
his allies, commanding me not to afford them any assistance:  
in compliance therewith, in his majesty's name, and by his  
order,

## The History of America.

order, I do strictly charge and require all and every his majesty's subjects, that upon no pretence whatsoever, they hold any correspondence with the Scots aforesaid, or give them any assistance with arms, ammunition, provision, or any thing whatsoever, either by themselves, or any other for them; nor assist them with any of their shipping, or of the English nation's, upon pain of his majesty's displeasure, and suffering the severest punishment. Given under my hand and seal of arms, the 9th of April, 1699, and in the 11th year of the reign of William III. king of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, and lord of Jamaica, defender of the faith."

THE like proclamation was published by the governors of Barbados, New York, and New England. In the mean while, the new settlement of Darien had been attacked by the Spanish governor of San Juan, whom they defeated with the loss of 100 of his men, and made himself prisoner. But an enemy, of a much more powerful nature, began then to invade the new colonists. Great part of their provisions had been consumed before they left their native country, so that they were now threatened with famine; and when they applied for relief to the English colonies, the proclamation was produced as their answer; though, before the proclamation was published, the people of Jamaica were ready enough in supplying the colony with provisions and turtle, and others, perhaps, would have traded clandestinely with them, even after the proclamation. But the colonists were either unable or unwilling to answer their exorbitant demands. Thus, in fact, this ill-concerted expedition, after filling the mother country with the most unbounded hopes, came to nothing, because it was not properly supplied and supported; and the settlers were obliged to abandon the spot, which had promised them such immense riches. Their miseries, even after quitting Darien, were inexpressible. Such of them as came on shore at Jamaica, were considered in little better light than that of hostile pirates; and, though famine was painted in their faces, they received no other relief but what they paid for in the goods which still remained in their hands, at above fifty per cent. discount (A). In the mean time, scarcely had the first settlers abandoned Darien, when they were succeeded by a fresh recruit; but the chief ship, which carried their provisions, being burnt by accident, and having no place on the globe, from whence they could draw subsistence, but

(A) The new cloathing for the soldiers, which was of red cloth, was sold for half a crown a co. and all other wearing apparel in proportion.

from their native country, they too were obliged to quit the settlement. A third embarkation, better provided than any of the two former had been, for colonizing, landed soon after; but that also miscarried, through the factions and divisions of those who had the management of it; so that they scheme were not able to resist even the feeble force of the Spaniards, miscarries, and they too, under the protection of a capitulation, abandoned the colony.

IT is foreign for us to particularize the prodigious ferment Reflection, which the miscarriage of this colony occasioned all over Scot-land. Perhaps, the capital misfortune of the whole Iay in the danger of the court of Spain confiscating all the English effects in that country, which, at that time, were far more considerable than ever they have been since; and therefore the English mercantile interest w<sup>o</sup> general engaged to oppose it. But even this obstatie, strong as it was, might not have defeated the scheme, had it not been for the particular situation of the affairs of Europ<sup>e</sup> at that time, which soon after took a turn very different from what had been foreseen by his majesty or his English ministers, who little thought that a branch of the house of Bouillon was to succeed to the Spani<sup>b</sup> monarchy in America as well as in Europe. Jamaica seems to have been the only English colony, who gained by the miscarriage of the Scotch settlement. Many of the adventurers chose to settle there, rather than be exposed to farther troubles, which contributed to the population of the island; and being in general a strong hardy race, they were very useful in their sugar-works, and other manufactures, while not a few of them served as overseers and tutors to young planters.

THE French still continued their preparations against the English, and during the Scotch settlement at Darien, they had fourteen men of war at Petit Guaves, some of them 70 gun ships, with which they gave out they intended a descent upon the Havannah; but that their views were defeated by the unforeseen preparations of the Spaniards. By this time Port-Royal had been rebuilt as well as the late devastation of the rebuilts. earthquake, could admit of, and the assembly passed an act for fortifying it, which obliged the governor to remove thither from Spanish Town, that he might superintend the works. The government of England being of opinion, that the French still had an eye upon Jamaica, in 1699 sent thither admiral Bembow with a considerable squadron of men of war, but during his passage, infectious distempers made great havock among his crews and sailors. Upon their arrival at Jamaica, the survivors recovered their health, and the island was then considered as being in a high pitch of prosperity,

not-

*Death of Sir William Beefton.* notwithstanding two English men of war were cast away near Hispaniola, and Fort Charles in Port Royal was blown up by accident. Sir William Beefton died upon the island in 1700, and was succeeded in April 1701, as governor, by major-general Selwyn.

*Selwyn, governor.* The succession of the duke of Anjou to the undivided monarchy of Spain now taking place, it was naturally concluded that a war between Great-Britain and the two branches of the Bourbon family must soon ensue, and this made admiral Bembow, who was then upon the island, extremely active and solicitous upon every measure that could contribute to its security by sea. Selwyn died soon after his arrival at

*Beckford, Port Royal.* Upon his death, Peter Beckford Esq; was appointed by the council to be lieutenant-governor; and he celebrated in a signal manner the sad obsequies of king William, and the joyful accession of queen Anne to the throne. No sooner did the expected war between England and France break out, than Bembow exerted himself to the utmost, by making dispositions of his cruisers and men of war for the annoyance of the French and their trade. He dispatched some of his ships towards Hispaniola and Curaçao, where they made a very rich prize; while he himself sailed with the rest of his squadron to intercept a French fleet, which had been fitted out under M. Du Caffe against the English West Indian islands. One of the English men of war had the good fortune to board the Gloriana, a Spanish man of war, bound for St Domingo and Cartagena, a prize into Port-Royal. In the mean while, the admiral, with seven of his best ships, put the French and Spaniards into dreadful consternation by cruising off Leogane and Petit Guaves. Here the enemy was obliged to blow up one of their 40 gun ships, which he had driven ashore, he burnt two of their best merchant-ships; and the Colchester, on the 14th of August 1702, brought into Port Royal several rich prizes. The address sent over by the council and assembly of Jamaica, which was transmitted to her majesty, and presented by Sir Gilbert Heathcote, and Sir Bartholomew Grace-dieu, seems to have put her majesty in mind, that a governor was still wanting for Jamaica, and the appointment fell upon the earl of Peterborough, who was invested with fuller powers than any other governor had ever been. The reputation of this nobleman made his appointment highly acceptable to the inhabitants of Jamaica.

*History of Bembow's.* THE brave vice-admiral Bembow still continued stationed at Jamaica, and on the 11th of July 1702, he sailed from Port-Royal, to join rear admiral ~~Chetone~~ Chetone; but on the 14th, ~~spent with~~ having undoubted intelligence that Du Caffe, with the French

squa-

squadron, was expected in those seas, he sailed to fight him. In his voyage thither, he destroyed a French 50 gun ship, and took eight or ten merchantmen. On the 15th of August he came in sight of *Du Caffe*, who was bearing towards Cartagena. Bembow's force was as follows; the *Breda*, captain *Fog*, of 70 guns, on board of which he was himself; the *Defiance*, captain *Richard Kirby*, commander, of 64 guns; the *Windsor*, captain *John Constable*, of 60 guns; the *Greenwich*, captain *Cooper Wale*, of 54 guns; the *Ruby*, captain *George Walton*, of 48 guns; the *Pendennis*, captain *Thomas Hudson*, of 48 guns; and the *Falmouth*, captain *Samuel Vincent*, of 48 guns. *Du Caffe* had under him four large ships of war, from 66 to 70 guns, with a Dutch fly-boat of about 30 guns, a transport full of soldiers, a sloop, and three smaller vessels; and the engagement which ensued happened near St. Martha, on the 19th of the same month. The disposition which Bembow had ordered for the engagement being formed, he was extremely uneasy at seeing the *Defiance* and the *Windsor* so backward in answering the signal's for their falling into the line of battle; but all the succeeding night he kept up with the enemy, in expectation of the *Defiance* coming into its station, which was a-breast of the head-most ship. At last, the *Falmouth*, the *Windsor*, and the *Defiance* engaged, and the *Breda* was obliged to do the same. The *Defiance* and the *Windsor*, after receiving some broadsides from the enemy, broke out of the line, and consequently out of danger, and left the admiral to bear all the fire of the sternmost ships of the French. Night coming on, he perceived that the French wanted to escape, but he resolved to pursue them, and himself to lead the chase; for which purpose he formed a new line of battle, in hopes that his cowardly captains might be prevailed upon to second him. The French continued still retreating; but on the 20th, the admiral was within gun-shot of the enemy, seconded by the *Ruby* only, his other ships being from three to five miles a stern of him. A kind of a running fight in this manner continued for two or three days, till the *Ruby* was so much shattered that she was towed off, while the *Defiance* and *Windsor*, though within point-blank of the enemy's rear-ship, never fired a gun. The admiral, however, continued to maintain the fight most gallantly, and the French as industriously endeavoured to avoid it. This running engagement continued till the 24th, the *Ruby* being ordered for *Port-Royal*, and the admiral being then seconded only by the *Falmouth*. The engagement then recommenced with great fury, till Bembow's right leg was, by a chain-shot, shivered into pieces; so that he

*The History of America.*

was carried to his cabin ; but he immediately ordered himself to be brought upon deck, in a cradle, and gallantly maintained the fight. By this time, one of the largest French ships was rendered a wreck, and four sail of the English squadron poured their broadsides into her ; but then retreated without the least regard to the signal of battle. The enemy upon this took heart, and attacked the admiral so briskly, that he was obliged to lay by and refit his ship, and he took that opportunity of expostulating with his cowardly captains, whom he sent for on board, upon their behaviour. Though nothing could be more certain, than that the whole of the French fleet must have been destroyed or taken, had the courage of the English admiral been seconded ; and though it was evident, that the French made their utmost efforts to escape, yet the other captains concurred with Kirby in advising him to desist from engaging farther, on account of the superiority of the French. Bembow easily perceived from this concerted piece of covardice, that he was to expect no assistance from his captains, while his own aid another ship could not continue the engagement against all the French squadron, especially as he himself had not only lost a leg, but had been wounded in the face and arm, in an attempt made by the French admiral to board him ; and therefore, with the utmost reluctance, he returned to Jamaica.

FULL of rage and just resentment, Bembow on the 6th of October issued a commission to rear admiral Whetstone, and some captains, for trying Kirby, Constable, Wade, and Hudson, for cowardice, breach of orders, and neglect of duty. The court, upon the fullest proof, after sitting four days, condemned Kirby and Wade to be shot to death ; but their sentence was respite till her majesty's pleasure should be known. They were accordingly sent home to England in the Bristol man of war ; and the queen not only confirmed the sentence, but sent orders to the sea ports, that whenever they should arrive their sentence should be executed without their being suffered to come on shore, which was accordingly done. Hudson had died before the trial. Constable was cleared of cowardice, but was cashiered the service, as being guilty of the other crimes, and sentenced to be imprisoned during her majesty's pleasure. It appeared in the course of those trials, that Bembow's haughty behaviour had produced a general confederacy of his captains against him, in which even the gallant captain Walton, who afterwards distinguished himself so bravely in the service, connived during an hour of intoxication ; but, upon sober reflection, pronouncing the engagement, he fought with a courage equal to that of Bembow himself, till his  
two of whom are punished with death.

## The History of America.

his ship was disabled. *Fog* and *Vincent* were convicted of having signed a paper not to serve under *Bembow*; but all other circumstances appearing highly in their favour, they were only provisionally suspended.

It must be acknowledged, that the *English* never lost a fairer opportunity than they did, by the cowardice of those captains, of disabling the *French* in the *West-Indies*; and, consequently, of cutting them off from all the nerves of war, by preventing the transportation of the *Spanish* treasure to *Europe*. *Bembow* was sensible of this, especially when he received the following billet, dispatched from *Du Caffe* after his arrival at *Cartagena*: “Sir, I had little hope on *Monday* Du Caffe’s last but to have supped in your cabin; but, it pleased God to order it otherwise. I am thankful for it. As for those cowardly *Bembow*. captains who deserted you, hang them up; for, by God, they deserve it. Yours, *Du Caffe*.” In his letter to his wife, he told her, that “the loss of his leg did not trouble him half so much, as the villainous treachery of some of the captains under him, which hindered him from totally destroying the French squadron.” Melancholy at last co-operated with the wounds of this brave admiral, and he died when he was but fifty years of age, during which, he had raised himself from the lowest to the highest offices in the navy, on the 4th of November 1702. Upon his death, rear admiral *Whetstone* took upon him the command of the squadron at *Jamaica*, where the spirit of privateering was now very strong among *privateers* the inhabitants. A small squadron from thence attacked a place about twelve leagues from *Cartagena*, called *Toulon*, which they plundered and burnt. They then sailed to *Caledonia* the late *Scotch* settlement, and going up the river *Darden*, they found all to be true that the *Scots* had reported concerning the aversion of the *Indians* of that isthmus to the *Spaniards*; for they joined the *English* in their search of the mines of *Santa Cruz*, near *Santa Maria*. On the 9th day of their march, the whole of the *English* being 400, they surprized an out-guard of ten *Spaniards*, and though they took nine of them, yet the tenth escaping, alarmed the inhabitants of *Santa Maria*, who retired from thence with all their treasure and best effects. Though this was a disappointment to the *English*, yet they attacked and took the fort and the mine, and set seventy negroes, whom they found there, to work upon the same; by which in twenty-one days’ time, they got above eighty pounds weight of gold-dust, besides discovering some parcels of plate, which had been buried by the inhabitants. When they departed, they burnt the town all but the church, and they carried off the negroes. As gold was

## *The History of America.*

the sole object of the adventurers, some of them went farther up the river, in search of another mine, while two of their sloops landed near *Trinidad*, which they took, plundered, and burnt, after making a very considerable booty.

*Lord Peterborough, governor, and Handiside, lieutenant-governor. Port-Royal burnt.*

*I* OUD *Peterborough*, who, upon the death of major-general *Selwyn*, had been appointed governor of *Jamaica*, never went to that island, for reasons, which do not fall under our consideration. But in 1703, colonel *Handiside* was appointed lieutenant-governor of *Jamaica* by the crown. It was, during his time, that the town of *Port-Royal*, in January, 1703 4, was burnt to the ground. It was then in very flourishing circumstances : but being built on a narrow neck of land, surrounded by the sea, the houses crowded, and the streets narrow, no assistance could be given to stop the conflagration ; so that the inhabitants lost some of their effects, but the merchants, saved their warehouses and magazines, by the help of boats, together with their books and money, and of the slipping, only one brigantine and sloop, which were at anchor in the harbour, were burnt. The lieutenant-governor lost no time in relieving the sufferers ; and calling the assembly, they approved of all he had done, and reimbursed his expences, but at the same time they voted, that *Port-Royal* should not be rebuilt, and that the inhabitants should remove to *Kingston*, which was laid out in a more advantageous manner, and was soon inhabited to the full.

THE island of *Jamaica* lost at this time, through mismanagement at home, the fairest opportunity that it ever had of enriching itself. All restraints were now taken off from the *Spanish W. I.-Indies*, which the inhabitants were at liberty to attack and to plunder ; but this could not be done without over-awing the *French* marine. Prince *George of Denmark* was then lord-high-admiral of *England*, and being totally unacquainted with maritime affairs, he acted by the advice of a council, who were as interested as he was ignorant. Vice-admiral *Graydon*, a man unskilled in his profession, and brutal in his manners, was one of their favourites, and it was resolved to send him with a squadron of men of war to *Jamaica*. The true design of his expedition was to dispossess the *French* of *Placentia*, and the *Newfoundland* trade ; for that purpose, he was to collect all the force he could upon *Jamaica* and the other *West Indian* islands. It seems to be pretty certain, that the *French* at this time had their agents in the *English* admiralty, and that *Graydon*, who was more than a tory, was ~~well~~ in provoking them. He set sail from *Plymouth* on the 13th of March, with the *Resolution*, the

the *Montague*, the *Nonsuch*, and the *Blackwall*, with ~~most~~ ports, storeships and merchantmen, and the regiment of brigadier *Columbine*, who died in his passage, on board. The fifth day after he sailed, he fell in with *Du Caffé's* squadron, which had just escaped from that of *Bombay*, and was very foul and leaky. Captain *Cleland*, of the *Montague*, attacked the sternmost of the French ships, but, upon the first firing, the vice admiral threw out a signal to call him off, by which *Admiral Du Caffé's* squadron got safe into *Brest* with all his treasure. *Graydon's* pretension of the urgency of his orders, and the necessity he was under to proceed, to excuse this shameful conduct, and in this he was publicly justified by the admiralty. When he arrived at *Jamaica*, he disgusted all the inhabitants both of that and the other West-India islands by his conduct, of which they sent over complaints to *England*. Having collected all the strength he could there, he sailed for *Placentia*, but his fleet was dispersed for thirty days in a fog, and when it re-assembled, it was concluded, in a council of war, that the French were too well prepared at *Placentia* to be attacked; upon which he returned to *England*. By this time, the house of peers had voted, "That his behaviour, in letting the four French ships escape, was a prejudice to her majesty's service, and a great dishonour to the nation, and that his proceedings in *Jamaica* had been a great discouragement to the inhabitants of that island, and prejudicial to her majesty's service." They likewise "made an humble address to her majesty, that Mr. *Graydon* might not be employed any more in her service, but, having been acquainted, since the report made to them from their committee, that Mr. *Graydon* was discharged, they besought her majesty that he might be employed no more in her service."

ADMIRAL *Whetstone*, at this time, had cruised for five weeks on the coasts of *Hispaniola*, in hopes of intercepting a large fleet of merchant ships coming under a convoy from *Old France*. Being disappointed in this expectation, he sent captain *Vincent*, who had behaved so bravely in *Bombay's* engagement with *Du Caffé*, with one half of his ships to the southward, while he himself, with the other half, kept to the northward. Three French privateers, in endeavouring to capture *Vincent*, fell in with the admiral, who sunk two of them, and took the third, while captain *Vincent* was equally successful upon another part of the coast, where he destroyed four French privateers. The destruction of those privateers was a fortunate circumstance for *Jamaica*; for they were appointed to carry 500 men, and upon some part of that island, and to plunder it. The loss of the French, upon this

occasion, was very considerable; and the more so, as they had no more privateers in those seas, the English carrying off 120 prisoners. These and other successes against the French went far towards clearing the English West-India of their privateers. This facilitated a clandestine commerce between the Jamaicans and the Spaniards, to the great enriching of the former; and on the 7th of May, 1704, admiral *Whetstone*, who had returned to England, arrived at Jamaica with six ships of war, for the protection of the island, having a convoy of merchantmen under him. While he remained in those seas, he was very successful against the French; and besides the privateers he took, he destroyed an enemy's ship of 46 guns. The privateers of Jamaica were equally successful, by taking several very rich prizes, Spanish as well as French. In January, 1705-6, two English men of war, the *Bristol* and *Folystone*, fell in with two French men of war, which had, under their convoy, ten sail of merchant-ships, all of them richly laden. *Anderdon*, who was the English commodore, attacked the convoy, but suffered the men of war to escape, and arrived at Jamaica with six of the French merchantmen and his prizes. The flagrancy of this conduct brought *Anderdon* and his officers to a trial, and they were adjudged by the admiral to lose their commissions.

THE mismanagements in the marine which still prevailed at the English admiralty-board, undoubtedly gave great handles for oppressing the people of Jamaica. Though *Graydon* had been dismissed for his misconduct and brutal behaviour in that island, yet his punishment was not adequate to his offences, and this encouraged others to imitate his example. Captain *Kirr*, who had been left to command the squadron at Jamaica, when *Whetstone* returned to England, was suspected of being in a correspondence with the French, by the vast number of rich Spanish prizes which he let slip, and by his tyranny over all the sea-faring part of the island. The Jamaicans, however, had the spirit to employ a solicitor to prosecute him in England, which he did with such effect that his commission was taken from him, and the instruments of his tyranny were punished. The Jamaicans, at this time, were not much better pleased with the conduct of their governor *Handasyde*, whom they accused of being entirely under the direction of one *Rigby*, who set the governor and the assembly at variance in 1711. This *Rigby* had monopolized into his own hands several of the most lucrative employments in the island. This had produced a bill against such engrossments, which passed the assembly, but was disallowed of in England; but at last it was confirmed, after some alterations.

## The History of America.

had been made in it; Peter Beckford, junior, was then speaker of the assembly; but it was in so ill humour with the governor, that several motions were made, which he disliked so much, that he more than once attempted to leave the chair; but he was held forcibly in it by some members, who drew their swords, and shut the doors of the assembly-house. Peter Beckford the elder, father to the speaker, hearing of this, went to the governor, and told him they were murdering his son. The governor, upon this, took along with him the two centinels that stood at his gate, forced open the doors of the house, and dissolved the assembly, in the queen's name. This act of resolution prevented the continuance of the riot; but the fright is said to have had a fatal effect on old Mr. Beckford, whom it killed either that, or the next, day. The differences between the governor and the assembly still continuing, it was resolved at court to send over a new governor to Jamaica, and the appointment fell upon the lord Arundal Hamilton, brother to duke Hamilton of Scotland.

As the last mentioned nobleman was extremely obnoxious ~~child~~ to the whigs, on account of his supposed attachment to the Hamilton, Pretender's interest, his brother's appointment to the government of Jamaica was very disagreeable to that party. He arrived at Jamaica in July 1711, but found the people in so bad a humour, that he was obliged to put off the meeting of the assembly. Now, as it is said, he was advised by Rigby, and by one Broderick, the attorney-general, who had been imported into Jamaica from Montserrat, and other violent tories, particularly one Stewart, a physician. Though the peace between France and England was, by this time, so advanced, yet hostilities still continued between the two nations in the West-Indies; and Cossart, a French admiral, after making a descent upon Montserrat, threatened the same upon Jamaica. The universal consternation which this spread, for some time suspended party-heats. The London merchant-ships were detained for the defence of the island, and an embargo was laid on all other shipping. This proved fatal to many of them; for the apprehensions of Cossart were scarcely blown over when the island was invaded by a most dreadful ~~hurrican~~ hurricane of wind, lightning, and rain. This happened on ~~ans~~ the 28th of August, 1712; and though the storm lasted but six hours, yet several ships belonging to London and Bristol, were destroyed, as were fourteen belonging to the island. Even the king's ships at Kingston and Port-Royal, were greatly damaged: vast numbers of houses and warehouses were blown down or shattered, past repair. Many valuable goods were lost by the deluges of rain which fell, and the rest, the

## *The History of America.*

mischief that was done, was beyond estimation. Trees were blown down by the roots, and the canes and provisions for the negroes, were, in general, destroyed all over the island; but the greatest loss consisted in that of 400 sailors, who were drowned in the harbours of Port-Royal and Kingston, and numbers of persons, who were killed by the fall of houses and sugar-works.

*Oppressions,*

THE calamity which this hurricane occasioned made the inhabitants of Jamaica apprehensive that the French would take advantage of it to invade their island; and on the 1st of September, 1712, martial law was proclaimed, and all the inhabitants were mustered under arms. On the 18th of the same month, another hurricane happened, which lasted from eight at night till noon next day. The Jamaicans had so often felt the dreadful effects of those hurricanes, that they were equally alarmed for the safety of their own ships of war, as for the destination of the French. The *Defiance* or the *Centurion*, man of war was then cruising off St. Martha and Cartagena, and the Jamaicans soon had the consolation to know, not only that they had rid out the storm, but that the French ships had been so shattered by it, as to be obliged to quit those seas. The great numbers of Scotch and Irish gentlemen, who expected to make their fortune under the new governor, and who attended him to Jamaica, gave disgust to the inhabitants, as indeed their political principles did to all who wished well to the house of Hanover. It was no wonder, if to supply so many hungry adventurers, some arbitrary acts of government were committed, particularly by seizing lands and plantations of the owners, under pretext of their not having a right to them, and that they had escheated to the crown. This practice was the more oppressive, as several families thereby lost their estates, which they had purchased upon the faith of their having a valid title to them, and had laid out their whole substance upon their improvement. Rigby, whom we have already mentioned, and Broderick, the attorney-general, were accused as being the promoters of those iniquitous proceedings. That they were flagrant, appears by a letter, complaining of the government of the island, published in 1714, in the following terms: "The mal-practices of Mr. Rigby, his confederates, abettors, and tools; have been so grossly fraudulent and oppressive, to the manifest prejudice both of the queen and the subject, that in the escheating of estates, whether justly escheatable or not, the private composition given to the governors, besides what the escheat-parties have got themselves, has oftener than once amounted to near three hundred times.

as much as the pretended trifling value, though upon oath of such estates brought to the queen's account." Those practices at last became so crying, that the assembly interposed and passed three acts; the first was chiefly levelled at Mr. Rigby, and was for preventing any one person holding two or more offices and posts in the island; the second was for regulating exorbitant fees; and the third for rigging men's possessions, and preventing vexatious suits at law.

RIGBY being secretary of state, as well as ~~brigadier-general~~, and ~~abusing~~ it was his office to transmit to the government of England, under the broad seal of the island, all the acts that were sent ~~verment~~ home for ratification. So secure was this officer of his interest at court, that when he transmitted those acts he affixed no broad seal to them; by which omission, the ratifications of them were delayed, and in danger of being entirely lost. The truth is, the island, at this time, was in a most deplorable condition. Its governors, who for many years before, had been bred either in the army or to the sea, presided in chancery, where their will was their law. The chief justice, who presided in their law-courts, had a few years before been a cabin-boy, and having lost the ship he afterwards got the command of, he married a planter's widow, and became a judge; and all the other judges and justices in the island were of the same cast. It was to make way for such, that colonel Haywood was removed from being chief justice, and a member of the council, though a person of great interest in the island; as were Mr. Chaplin and Mr. Blair. A dispute about money advanced for the maintenance of colonel Hanover's regiment, and two independent companies of foot on the island, having been referred by the assembly to a committee, of which Mr. Chaplin was chairman; they reported their opinion, that the said money had been raised without law, and without the public faith having been given for it; and the assembly in consequence resolved, that the same was no public debt. This proceeding, though the assembly thereby did no more than assert their own undoubted right of granting money, cost Mr. Chaplin and Mr. Blair, who was strenuous on the same side, their seats at the council-board.

THE inhabitants of Jamaica had more reason than any which is other British subjects to complain of the peace of Utrecht, ~~injured by~~ and the ~~Affuento~~ contract that followed; with the Spaniards; the peace which, in fact, established a new interest in Great Britain, of Utrecht, incompatible with that of our West-Indies, and of Jamaica in particular. Though it is evident, that the Spaniards and the French, at that time, would have granted almost any concessions, in point of trade to their West-Indies, in favour

*The History of America.*

of Great Britain; yet our ministers were in so violent a hurry to make peace, that all stipulations of that kind were overlooked, and the whole of that trade was suffered to remain on the footing of the American treaty in 1670; by which all commerce between the English and the Spanish settlements in America was entirely prohibited. This, together with the suspension of ~~the~~<sup>the</sup> ~~peace~~<sup>by</sup> between Great Britain and Spain, created an inexplicable trouble for the people of Jamaica. Their privateers became now no better than pirates, and were treated as such by the French and Spaniards, who charged them with carrying off from Hispaniola, negroes, indigo, and other goods to a very considerable amount. A complaint of this was made by the Spanish governor of St. Domingo, while the people of Jamaica, with equal justice complained that they had been robbed by the French and Spaniards of the sum of 200,000 pieces of eight, after the said suspension had taken place.

IT happened unfortunately, both for the island and the governor, soon after the conclusion of the peace of Utrecht, that the ships of war which had been stationed at Jamaica for its preservation, had been called home; and this rendered it necessary for the Jamaicans to apply for some safeguard against the vast swarms of French and Spanish privateers, not to mention their own, that were then cruising about, and indiscriminately made prize of what ever came in their way. The merchants, therefore, and the chief inhabitants of the island, applied to lord Archibald Hamilton, to grant commissions to certain commanders of ships, in the nature of letters of marque, for the security of the island against those free-booters; which he accordingly did. Some of those commissions being abused, and made use of for robbing the Spaniards, and other wicked purposes, a great clamour was raised against lord Archibald, which was increased when several of the inhabitants of Jamaica fitted out sloops for fishing upon the wrecks of some rich Spanish ships that had been lost upon the coast of Florida and the Bahama-Islands.

THOUGH this last had been a common practice, and great estates had been raised from it, not only by Sir William Phipps, whom we have often mentioned, but by other persons; yet the Spanish governor of Cuba complained of it as an infraction of the treaties between the two crowns; and sent one captain Juan de la Vallee, deputy of the Spanish council of commerce, to demand satisfaction. His complaint consisted of two parts: the first was, that the British subjects had robbed the Spaniards of part of the wreck, while it was in possession of the latter; and the second reclaimed the money which had been al-

Piracies  
frequent.

ready

ready filled up. This affair was for some time in agitation; and, in the beginning of the year 1715, while lord Archibald Hamilton was still governor, it came before the council, whose opinion was, "that as to such part of the flota ships wrecked on the coast of Florida, as remained in the possession of the subjects of his Most Catholic majesty, of which it is pretended they were dispossessed, it is the opinion of his excellency and the council, that the dispossessors, & their members, and ought to be punished; but concerning the part of the said flotas, if any, being derelict, the subjects of his Catholic Majesty were not drove and forced out of possession, but it belonged to the first occupant." Though this report is possible, nor without its difficulties, yet it was agreeable to the practices of the West Indies; nor do we know of any satisfaction the Spaniards ever received as to the last article, though they did as to the first. The English, in the mean while, concluded with equal justice of the Spaniards, whom they accused of having robbed them of far greater sums than the Spaniards had pretended they lost; though their losses upon the island of Cuba itself, had been admitted and liquidated by the English government to the sum of 200,000 pieces of eight; but the English claims were disregarded.

On the accession of the Hanover family to the throne of Great Britain, gave a new turn to the government and politics of Jamaica. The gentlemen there, who were in the Hamilton interest, heartily joined in the solemnity of king ton, turned George the First's proclamations, and they resolved to raise a joint purse of 1000 l. to be employed on agency in England, for obtaining redress of their grievances. Chose a committee of so vague a nature, that many of lord Archibald Hamilton's friends concurred in the subscription; and one Mr. Bendish was appointed agent. As to the governor himself, he certainly had been guilty of no irregularities, because he had always acted according to the advice of his council, and had done nothing in which he was not warranted by the practices of the most unexceptionable of his predecessors; but he was, by the prevailing party at home, superseded in his government by colonel Haywood; though several of his friends had still great credit both in the council and the assembly. At the time of colonel Haywood's appointment, Mr. Chaplin and Mr. Blair were restored to their seats in the council, and a new council was named, who, though only by a majority of one member, put the late governor lord Archibald Hamilton under arrest, upon a charge of having encouraged piracy. This, undoubtedly, was a most infamous abuse of power, and the chief manager against lord Archibald was one, Dr. Samuel

## The History of America.

*Pidge*, an ignorant, illiterate, quack; but clerk of the council, though he could scarcely write a sentence of common English. Lord Archibald was sent prisoner to England. Besides the aforementioned charge, another was brought against him, & his having permitted the council to amend money-bills. But he was fully cleared from this charge by the testimony of the Board of Trade, who acknowledged, that they had recommended him to take care that the council should not deny the right of amending money-bills. As to the charge against him of encouraging piracy, it turned out greatly to his lordship's honour, for he proved that his conduct had directly the contrary tendency. Upon which he was first admitted to bail, and then fully acquitted.

IT appears, as if colonel Haywood had been at first appointed as an occasional governor; for even before Mr. Hamilton was put under arrest, his majesty had given the government of Jamaica upon Nicholas Lawes, Esq; a eminent planter of that island, whom he knighted at the same time. This nomination was extremely agreeable not only to the people of the island, but to all the friends of our West Indian settlements, as it was looked upon as a kind of omens, that those colonies would no longer serve as retreats, where broken gamblers, and spendthrift couriers, were used to repair their shattered fortunes. When Sir Nicholas Lawes arrived at his government, the ~~same~~ <sup>as</sup> pirates and buccaneers had done infinite ~~judic~~ to the English trade; and always found a ready asylum in the Spanish settlements as soon as they professed themselves to be of the Roman Catholic religion. The chief of those villains was one Tutch, commonly called Blackbeard, a native of Jamaica, who was killed in an engagement upon the coast of Virginia, one Nicholas Brown, and one Christopher Winter, which two last took refuge under the Spanish governor of Trinidada. When Lawes came to Jamaica, he found three English men of war of forty guns each, upon that station, viz. the *Diamond*, the *Adventure*, and the *Ludlow Castle*; but as we had then a war with Spain, it was necessary to revive the execution of martial law, and to consider the military state of the island. For this purpose he summoned an assembly, who informed that he had taken care to repair the fortifications of Port Royal; and added, "I think the rock-line, and the decayed port of Carlisle Bay, worth your immediate consideration. I have addressed the minister at home, for an engineer to be sent upon the establishment, to oversee the works, and direct where to raise new ones." Soon after this, the Spaniards notwithstanding the peace that had been lately concluded, ~~not~~ only

Martial law re-  
vived.

only refused to give any satisfaction for their former depredations upon British subjects, but every day committed fresh ones. This occasioned Sir *Nicholas Lawes* to apply to commodore *Vernon* for an officer to be sent to the governor of *Trinidad*, in *Cuba*, to demand satisfaction from the alcaide of that place; and captain *Chamberlain* was appointed to that commission, whom the governor charged with the following letter.

Pirates re-  
claimed by  
the Eng-  
lish.

Gentlemen,

“ The frequent depredations, robberies, &c. other acts of violence, which are daily committed on the king my royal master’s subjects, by banditti’s, who pretend to have a common cause, and in reality are sheltered by you, is the reason of my sending the bearer, captain *Chamberlain*, commanded as by his majesty’s command, *Happy*, to demand satisfaction for all robberies your people have committed on the king’s subjects of this island, by those traitors *Nicholas Brown*, and *Christopher Winter*, to whom you have given protection. These proceedings are not only a breach of the law of nations, but must appear to the world of a very extraordinary nature, when considered that the subjects of a prince in unity with another, should encourage such vile practices. I have had long patience, and declined using any violent measures to obtain satisfaction, till the cessation of arms so happily concluded between us, however it would have put a stop to these disorders; but I find the port of *Trinidad* a receptacle for villains of all nations.

“ I therefore assure you, in the king my master’s name, if I meet with any of your rogues upon the coast of this island, they shall be hanged without mercy. I demand of you to make ample satisfaction to captain *Chamberlain*, for all the negroes which the said *Brown* and *Winter* have taken from these islands since the suspension of arms, and that you will deliver up to the bearer such *Englishmen* as are detained at *Trinidad*; and that you forbear granting commissions to, or suffer any such notorious villains to be equipped from your port, otherwise those I can meet with shall be treated as pirates.”

The letter from Mr. *Joseph Lawes*, was as follows:

Gentlemen,

“ I am sent by commodore *Vernon*, commander in chief of all his majesty’s ships in the *West-Indies*, to demand, in the king our master’s name, all the vessels with their effects; and also the negroes taken from *Jamaica* since the suspension of arms; likewise all *Englishmen* now detained, or otherwise re-

*The History of America.*

restraining in your port of *Trinidad*, particularly *Nicholas Brown* and *Christopher Winter*, both of them being traitors, pirates, and common enemies to all nations. And the said commodore hath ordered me to acquaint you, that he is surprised that the subjects of a prince, in amity with another, should give countenance to such notorious villains."

*but refused by the Spaniards.* THE answer of the alcaldes to this last letter is a most excellent one; of their haughty digression more: "Gentlemen, say you, in answer to yours, this serves to acquaint you, that neither in this city, nor port, are there any negroes or vessels, which have been taken at your island of *Jamaica*, nor on that coast, since the cessation of arms; and what vessels have been taken since that time, have been for trading, in an unlawful commerce, on this coast. And if these English fugitives you mention, they are here, subjects of our lord the king, being brought over the Atlantic, holy catholic church, and have received the waters of baptism; but if they should prove rogues, and should not comply with their duty in which they are bound at present, then they shall be chastised according to the ordinance of our king. And we beg you will weigh anchor as soon as possible, and leave this port and its coasts, because on no account you shall be suffered to trade, or any thing else; for we are resolved not to admit thereof." Off of the *Isle of Trinidad*, Feb. 8, 1720.

THIS much may suffice for a history of the Spanish *laws* answered, that his orders were to make "prisals, and to let him treat as pirates all the subjects of Spain who should fall in his hands. This was a menace, which had he executed, must have been indefensible, as the persons he claimed were under the protection of the Spanish government, and so far as we know, never had been legally convicted of any crime; and therefore, the alcalde dared him to do his worst; but threatened to treat every Englishman he could take in the same manner as he did the Spaniards. The governor of *Jamaica*, finding all his menaces were in vain, did not proceed to the execution of them, but published a proclamation, by the advice of his council, promising 500*l.* for apprehending each of the two pirates, *Brown* and *Winter*; but without mentioning any treaty subsisting between the two crowns of Great Britain and Spain, that could oblige the governor of the *Havannah*, or the alcaldes of *Trinidad*, to give them up. But those rough proceedings against the Spaniards were far from being agreeable to the people of *Jamaica* in general, because of their favourite trade with the Spanish West-Indies; while the ministry in *England* being on very bad

had terms wch the court of Spain, industriously discouraged it. This difference in sentiments and interest produced a coldness, if not a breach between the governor and the assembly; and four days after the late proclamation, the governor called ~~the members together~~ <sup>the</sup> ~~governor~~ and upbraided them soundly for their ~~and~~ <sup>such</sup> ~~refractoriness~~ and ~~conspiracy~~, not without some very severe bly. threatenings, that if they did not comply, the government at home would take <sup>charge</sup> of the precipacious <sup>and</sup> ~~their~~ <sup>their</sup> tenures, and fall upon a way, without the <sup>use</sup> ~~use~~ to secure his majesty's interests.

• I HOUGH this speech was certainly both provoking and unconstitutional, yet it was as much approved of at home, as it was despised upon the spot, where it was well known that the Spaniards had, in a manner, purchased the government of the St. from Mr Pitt, formerly governor of Port St. Domingo, as the East-India. But another most terrible hurricane soon suspended, for a time, all those political differences. The inhabitants had some presentiment of it by the unsettledness of the weather, the shifting of the wind, but, above all, by a prodigious swell and uncommon working of the sea. On the 28th of August, 1762, it began at Kingston by eight in the morning. Half of Kingston was ruined, Port Royal was reduced to the same condition, but it was observed all over the island, &c. The old houses built by the Spaniards received but little damage. At least 400 persons were reckoned to have lost their lives at Port Royal, where the sea broke over the town-wall, though it was 150 feet above the surface of the water, and carried with it such a number of stones as employed an hundred negroes for 12 weeks throwing them back into the sea. Of twenty-six sail of vessels and ten sloops in the harbour, only ten were to be seen after the hurricane, and half of those were damaged without repair. It would take up too much room here to specify all the particulars of this tremendous calamity. We shall therefore lay before your royal highness the general representation of it, sent over by the council, in an address to his majesty, which was as follows: "We beg leave humbly to represent to your majesty the deplorable circumstances we are reduced to by a dreadful storm, which happened on the 28th of August last. The violence of it is inexpressible. It has thrown down and shattered all our houses to such a degree, that for some time we were exposed to the extremity of the weather; it has blown down part of your majesty's fortifications, dismounted the guns, destroyed the carriages, and damaged most of the powder in the magazines and the fire-arms, and the calamity has been so general, and the loss sustained so great throughout

*Another  
dreadful  
burricane.*

*Address to  
the king on  
the same.*

the island, that the poor inhabitants are utterly unable to put themselves in a posture of defence without some aid. We humbly beseech your majesty to send us such sorts of guns, fire-arms, carriages, and ammunition, and such a number of ships of war, as your majesty in your wisdom shall think necessary." It is incredible, that during a severe hurricane (which though perhaps less violent than some preceding ones, did more damage to the island on account of its additional works and riches), so many wrecks plied about the scenes of public calamity, to which whatever they could lay hold of belonging to the sufferers; and it was with the utmost difficulty that the governor could recover any part of the effects lost, and by ordering the provost-general to seize them at first sight, as far as the right owners.

*Relief ordered to the island.* UPON the representation contained in the account of the affray at *Jamaica*, the government of *England* ordered twelve vessels of war to be put in commission for the *West-Indies*, and on board of them all kinds of necessaries and provisions for the supply and relief of that and the other *British* islands which had suffered by the late hurricane. During that calamity, some of the *British* ships, particularly the *Launceston* man-of-war, captain *Chandler* commanded the *Adventure*, and the *Mermaid* had been at sea, by which they escaped the storm; and in the beginning of *May*, the *Launceston* took one of those Spanish pirate ships which were then called *guarda costas*, with fifty-eight Spaniards on board, who had taken a sloop belonging to *Jamaica*, six leagues off *Hippaniola*. As such captures were undeniably contraventions of the treaties subsisting between the two crowns, the governor and council of *Jamaica* ventured to proceed against the prisoners as pirates; and the governor, in conjunction with the council, and the captains of the king's ships at *Jamaica*, held a council of war to try them; Mr. *Kelly* being attorney-general, and one Mr. *Norris* register of the court of admiralty. Of the fifty-eight Spaniards, no fewer than forty-three were convicted of piracy and robbery, and executed in consequence of their sentence. This severity was far from closing the breach between the governor and the assembly, so that he desired to be called, but not till after the militia of *Jamaica* had been disposed into one regiment of horse, and eight regiments of foot. This regulation became the more necessary, as the negroes whom we have so often mentioned had been suffered through the dissensions that prevailed between the governor and the inhabitants of the island, to live unmolested in the mountains, where they acquired such strength as to grow formidable; and they had, upon an almost inaccessible pass, erected

*Spanish pirates taken and hanged.*

erected a kind of a fort~~that~~ bid defiance to all the force that the Jamaican, could bring against it; for their parties who attacked it always returned home with loss, and without success. These negroes were not even contented with remaining on the defensive, for they often made excursions as far as ~~of the~~ <sup>Rebellion</sup> Spanish Town, alarming the inhabitants wherever they came, ~~mountain-~~ Such was the situation ~~when~~ when the Jamaicans thought ~~ous ne-~~ proper to employ ~~in~~ <sup>to</sup> defend the Moor, ~~who~~, ~~groes~~, ~~and~~ as they are depend ~~on~~ <sup>on</sup> the governor. By Yankee, require ~~an account~~ ~~of the~~ ~~Moor~~.

*The Musquitos* are a nation on the continent, lying between Truxillo and Honduras, on a sandy bay, beyond Cape San de Don, near the bay of Campeachy, to which uncom-<sup>as it may</sup>ing they were driven by the tyranny of the Spaniards at Honduras. When the duke of Albemarle was governor of ~~Jamaica~~, the *Musquitos* put themselves under the protection of the crown of England; and though their government was monarchical, their head king (for they have several subordinate ones) deigned to receive a commission from his grace. Ever since that time, when a vacancy in the sovereignty happens, the next heir repars to *Jamaica*, where he proves his propinquity of blood; nor will his subjects acknowledge themselves to be such, till that is submitted at *Jamaica*, and he receives his commission from the governor. Their affection to the English, ever since their first admission, has been surprizing; they have been known even to snare such of their enemies as were English; and several Englishmen before the time we treat of, were encouraged to settle and make fortunes among them. Their country is so well defended by mountains and morasses, that the Spaniards, for whom they have an invincible aversion, never could penetrate into it; but the *Musquitos*, towards all but them the Spaniards and their Indians, who helped to drive them out of their old ards, habitations, are a quiet, inoffensive people. They are by nature natural, and so void of vice, that they have no magistrates among them. They have the greatest veneration for matrimony, which they confine to a single man and woman, and shew signs of devotion, by worshipping the sun, and building altars with their faces towards the east, upright on their feet.

As to their king, his revenues are so small, that in time of peace, he is obliged to fish and fowl to maintain himself and his family; but sometimes in time of war, he receives for his good offices presents from the governor of Jamaica and the English traders. The numbers of the *Musquitos* are

*The History of America.*

~~and their  
Indians.~~ not known (B), being variously dispersed; but the whole of them might be easily united to serve under the English. They take all opportunities of enslaving the Spanish Indians, men, women, and children, whom they either detain as slaves among themselves, or sell them upon the island of Jamaica. About the year 1693, those *Musquitos* obtained what they thought to be a considerable victory over the Spanish Indians, of whom they killed a great number. After this, the English invited them to come to live in the island of Jamaica; but the *Musquitos* loved their independence better than they did even the English. It was thought they were in some measure influenced to this by their *sacerdotes* or priests, whom they held in such veneration, that some of them *Fathers* have been known to take up the profession; that is, to live in indolence and affluence. No people is more supposed to be more expert hunters and fishers than the *Musquitos*; and they are so useful at sea, that the master of a *Jamaica sloop*, if possible, prefers one of them to be in his crew, and treats him with particular distinction, and with larger wages, than he gives to a common seaman. Upon the arrival of every new governor, the *Musquitos* always pay their compliments to him, either by their king, or some of their capital men; and he never fails to treat them with great courtesy.

THE measure of taking a number of these *Musquitos* into pay, to serve against the negroes in the Blue Mountains, as their habitations were assailed, being concluded upon by the assembly of *Jamaica*, who sent them arrived in the island, and were formed into companies, with regular pay, under their own officers. But with white guides to conduct them to the fastnesses of the rebels. In this service, they shew'd great sagacity; and they often used to check the *Jamaicans* for firing at game during their excursions, because the noise served only to put the rebels upon their guard. It is agreed on all hands, that during their stay upon the island, which was but for a few months, they did very considerable service against the negroes; but it is not so clear, why they were dismissed, unless, which is not improbable, their affection to their own country made them desirous of returning home.

EVERY day now produced fresh altercation between the governor and the assembly, who indeed seem to have been disaffected towards the establishment at home, and to have

*Their ser-  
vices a-  
gainst the  
negroes.*

(B) Sir Charles Wager, when lord commissioner of the admiralty, thought them to be very considerable; and while

admiral Vernon was upon his expedition, he had formed a scheme for arming them against the Spaniards.

*assumed*

assumed an independence incompatible with the principles of the *British* government. The calamity of the *South-Sea*, which hurt so many English noblemen, happening about this time, the duke of *Portland*, who was a great sufferer by <sup>Duke of</sup> that iniquitous scheme, was appointed to succeed Sir *Nicholas Portland*, *Lawes* in the government of *Jamaica*. His majesty, by giving this employment to his grace, seemed to have intended to root out all the ~~conflicting~~ differences and ~~antagonisms~~ in the island, as no subject was better qualified than the duke was, both by his prudence, virtue, and good taste, to reconcile all parties. As it could not be supposed that his grace was thoroughly conversant in the practical part of business, and ~~ministerial~~ <sup>as it may</sup> me, thinking it proper that a minister should reside upon the island on the part of the crown, one colonel *Dubourgay*, was appointed to be his grace's lieutenant-governor, and to be assistant to him in the management of affairs. *Dubourgay* of whom the ministry seem to have had a great opinion, had been nominated to the same place under Sir *Nicholas Lawes*; but he never exercised any part of his functions, as well knowing it would be disagreeable to the *Jamaicans* to be burdened with a governor and a lieutenant-governor at the same time; but the high merit and great reputation of the duke of *Portland* made them imagine that no real objections could be to his having a substitute. His grace arrived over with him his dutchess; and, after touching at *Barts*, where they were magnificently received and entertained, they arrived at *Jamaica* the 22d of December, 1702.

THE *Jamaicans*, before his grace came upon their land, <sup>were</sup> upon their land, *Character* had never known a governor of true taste, <sup>and</sup> judgment, and of his <sup>and</sup> ~~ad~~ politeness. His grace, without departing from his dignity, <sup>ministra-</sup> was far more affable and easy of access, than any of their former governors. His house had all the appearance of a <sup>and</sup> polite court, and he introduced among the islanders new and more elegant modes of living: they, on the other hand, were not wanting in gratitude, for they settled no less than 5000*l.* a year upon his grace, being double what they had ever allowed to any former governor. It soon appeared, however, <sup>that</sup> <sup>they</sup> <sup>at</sup> home had entirely mistaken their measures with regard to colonel *Dubourgay*. The *Jamaicans* looked upon his appointment as being no better than imposing upon them a burden which the government at home ought to bear, and as establishing upon their island a new and an expensive officer. The manner in which his grace, in his first speech to the islanders, introduced the mention of the *cotapal*, heightened their jealousy. "I am, said the duke, farther

father to signify to your gentlemen that his majesty has been pleased to appoint colonel Charles Dubourgay, a person of great merit and honour, to be your lieutenant-governor. His long and earnest services in war, and his sincere attachment to his majesty, have prepared his way to this particular mark of the royal favour; and I am commanded to let you know, that it is expected from ~~now~~ <sup>next</sup> Monday you receive him with the usual due of his commission, and provide him the support which his credit will acquit you with."

Dubour-  
gay sent  
back.

IT must be acknowledged, that this was a very improper style to be made use of to the *Jamaicans*, who objected to the creation of new officers, and considered this part of his grace's speech, as having been entirely dictated by the ministry, for their own ends; and, indeed, they were more likely, as they had no intimation from their agents in England, of the provision that was expected to be made for the colonel. They therefore made the latter a hand present of 1000*l.* to defray his expences in coming over, and he reembarked in the *Kingston* man of war, which had brought the duke to *Jamaica*. His grace could scarcely be said to have been settled in his government, when he perceived that great intestine divisions subsisted among the governors, some of whom were upon very bad terms, with the assembly and the council; but his grace, in answer to all applications made to him on that account, always most obligingly promised to do his utmost for restoring peace in the island, by reconciling all the differences. Soon after his arrival, the king of the *Mosquitos*, whom we have already mentioned, came to pay him his compliments, and was most graciously received; but his manners and behaviour soon discovered that he was very ill-qualified for polite company.

ONE of the most difficult parts of his grace's administration related to an old claim, which had been set up and prosecuted by the *Jamaicans*, but had always been discouraged by their governors, of having their laws rendered perpetual. The *British* ministry thought that this was inconsistent with their dependence upon their mother-country; nor could they foresee the consequences of such a privilege; but they were in hopes that the generous provision which they had made for the duke would befriend them on this occasion; and, soon after his arrival upon their island, they passed a law for that purpose, to which his grace gave a negative, telling the assembly, at the same time, that the matter had been thoroughly considered at home, and that the objections made to such a law were of such weight, that it would be deceiving them.

them, should he give them the least room to expect that that bill would receive his majesty's approbation.

ANOTHER great difficulty which his grace had to encounter with in his government, was, the settlement of the silver coin; the value of which had been fixed by proclamation in the reign of queen Anne, according to the table inserted in the note (C). The people of Jamaica, pretending to be ignorant of the ~~value~~ <sup>value of</sup> ~~time~~ <sup>be in</sup> ~~the~~ <sup>altered.</sup> proclamation, so important a point, disdained it so far, that they raised their money three pence upon a piece of eight. They produced a representation from the principal West-India merchants both at Jamaica and London, which being laid before the lord ~~of the~~ <sup>as it may</sup> ~~secretaries~~ <sup>to</sup> of the principal secretaries of state, his ~~secretary~~ <sup>at</sup> ~~England~~ <sup>to</sup> master to his grace, written immediately after he ~~arrived~~ <sup>settled</sup> in England, acquainted him, "that the articles of complaint, in the representation, deserve his grace's most serious consideration, and the king directs his grace to use his utmost care to see proper remedy applied. That the trade and credit of the island will be lost if the valuation of the coin be not rectified. It is, adds his lordship, a bold attempt, that those who advised have undertaken it, being expressly contrary to the act of the 6th of queen Anne, and your 47th ~~ordinances~~ <sup>Settled.</sup> which I am commanded to repeat to you, should be strictly obeyed." Upon the authority of this letter, his grace Wentworth remedied the evil, which never had been attempted in Barbadoes; and succeeded so well, that it was not afterwards complained of.

IT must be confessed, that many other abuses prevailed about this time, in Jamaica, most of which were owing to ~~abuses~~ <sup>other</sup> the disrepute in which the government of the island was held before his grace's arrival. The great quantity of uncultivated lands, contrary to the spirit and tenour of the original grants, had been long a subject of complaint in England; because, had they been properly improved, the sugar-trade,

	l.	s.	d.
(C) Seville pieces of eight old plate, to pass for	0	6	0
Ditto, new plate	0	4	$9\frac{1}{2}$
Pillar pieces of eight	0	6	0
Pillar pieces of eight	0	6	0
Peru pieces of eight	0	5	$10\frac{1}{2}$
Cross dollars	0	5	$10\frac{1}{2}$
Ducatoons of Flanders	0	7	0
Louis of France, silver Louis	0	6	0
Crusados of Portugal	0	3	$9\frac{1}{2}$
Rixdollars of the Empire	0	6	0
Three guilder pieces of Holland	0	6	$10\frac{1}{2}$
Mod. Hist. Vol. XLI.	D d		ii

in all its branches, must have been extended, their products must have come cheaper to England, and the Fideliſt must have been checked in their sales they found, for those commodities, in the European markets. This evil was apparently owing to the selfish views of the great engrossing planters, who, though they had vast tracts of improvable sugar land, did not care to break them up; <sup>which</sup> they found that the scarcity of slaves kept their prices high, & so to answer all their purposes without being at any other expence. His grace strongly recommended the removal of this abuse to the consideration of the council and assembly; but from what afterwards appeared, without much effect. The state of the high roads in Jamaica was, at this time, highly defective, and was another object, which his grace recommended to the legislature of the island. The occasion of the neglect was the want conveniences of water carriage, which the great planters had for conveying their goods and cargoes to the shipping. But, as his grace represented to them, they did not consider, that in case of any sudden commotion or invasion, the impalable condition of the roads cut off all inland communication, and prevented one part of the island from receiving the least assistance from the other. "One would think," said his grace in his speech on this head, "the inconveniences ~~will~~<sup>were</sup> if the impalable state bring upon the inhabitants daily, should be a sufficient motive to repair them; but ~~it~~<sup>in</sup> danger; ~~then~~<sup>now</sup> the public are from thence exposed to in the case of any unexpected alarm, which does ~~will~~<sup>will</sup> it very difficult, if not always impracticable, for the forces of the island to join in its defence; will ~~act~~<sup>act</sup> and condemn you, should ~~by~~<sup>by</sup> unhappy consequences result from it. Will it be of ~~any~~<sup>any</sup> avail to plead, that the parishes to which these roads belong, were obliged to keep them in a good condition? The late dreadful hurricane has made the expence too great for the parishes." This important matter was accordingly taken into consideration, and the nuisances removed; so that there are now convenient communications between all the principal parts of the island; a law having passed for that purpose.

*Provisions  
for cur-  
rency.* THE neglect of supplying the English West-Indies with clergymen of piety, morals, and reputation, had been long complained of. This was owing chiefly to the uncertain provisions made for them there, especially at Jamaica; so that few but men of abandoned principles, and dissolute lives, cared to serve the cures upon the island. Hence arose a shameful neglect of all parochial duties; for, excepting a very few, two or three at most, no churches were regularly open for divine service. But this abuse was now remedied so

far, as that an ample provision was made for the regular clergy in *Jamaica*. The endowment of the minister of *St. Catharines*, was fixed at 300*l.* a year; that of *Port Royal*, at 250*l.* three others at 200*l.* a year; and all the rest at 150*l.* which, with the large perquisites the incumbents enjoyed, may be justly considered as comfortable provisions. But though the people in *America* were, at this time, remarkably well satisfied with the church of *England*, yet serious people observed with regret, that even those provisions did not remove the evil complained of, and that the clergy sent upon the island, were oftentimes so far from reclaiming the inhabitants, that they debauched the clergy. Others, with ~~the~~ <sup>more</sup> sagacious thought that the defect lay at home, and that too little attention was paid to so important a matter by the ~~church~~ whose station in the church placed them over the spiritual concerns of *Jamaica*. But the history of that island becomes now more important than ever.

In the year 1726, and for some time before, the growing connections between the Imperial and Spanish courts, had given great umbrage to that of *England*, for reasons that are foreign to this part of our history; and after various political operations, it was resolved, that admiral *Hosier* should sail with a ~~small~~ <sup>large</sup> ~~armament~~ <sup>army</sup> of seven ships of war, which was to be augmented with all the British men of war he could meet with in his voyage, to the Spanish West-Indies. The pretext for this armament was, the continual depredations committed by the Spaniards on the British trade in those seas; their having seized the *S. S. East India company's ship the Queen George*, and detained it at *Rio de Bello*; besides committing many other gross violations of treaties both in Europe and *America*. The true native, however, of this expedition, was to prevent, for that year, the arrival of the Spanish treasures in Europe, that the court of Madrid might be disabled from executing the important schemes it had formed against Great Britain in favour of the pretender. The duke of *Portland* did not live to see the event of this expedition; for, being taken ill of a fever, he died on the 4th of July, 1726. His death was most sincerely lamented by the people he governed, as appears by an extract of a letter from *Jamaica*, which contained the sense of the whole island on that mournful occasion. "A melancholy and universal misfortune has befallen us here, which has thrown us into the utmost grief and confusion. My lord duke of *Portland* is dead! This may be remote and unaffected to you, at a distance of almost half the globe; but it is impossible for us, who lived under his mild government, and participated of the gentleness of his nature, the complacency of

*Expedition  
of admiral  
Hosier.*

The History of America.

his temper, the refinement of his manners, the generosity of his living, the tranquillity, lenity, and equity of his delightful administration, not to be forcibly touched, and grievously afflicted."

THE gentlemen of this island shewed so affectionate a regard for his grace's memory, that they not only went into deep mourning, but three members of the council, by order of the board, waited upon her grace with the following address, which is here inserted for their honour. "W<sup>t</sup> it please your grace; we are directed by the honourable the president and council to wait upon your grace, to condole with you upon the late unhappy occasion, and to assure your grace, that as we have a very sensible share in the loss, so likewise in the affliction. The council, may it please your grace, will do every thing in their power that may contribute to your ease. They are informed of your grace's intentions of quitting speedily this island; and as there is no ship of war in harbour to convoy your grace through these seas, they will readily embrace the opportunity, and upon every occasion endeavour to shew their gratitude, and the value and regard they have for your grace's person and character." About seven weeks after his grace's death, the dutchess dowager sailed on board the *Essex* for England, with her son, &c. and her husband's corpse; and, after a very fatiguing passage, arrived at Dover.

*Hosier lies before the bastimentos*

THE insolence of the Spaniard, and the injuries they had done to the Jamaica trade, afforded a considerable handle for war; and Hosier arrived with his squadron before *Porto Bello*, where he immediately demanded the restitution of the South-Sea company's ship, the *Royal George*, which was instantly sent to him. The Spanish governor of *Porto Bello* then required him to leave that station, which he was so far from complying with, that he lay before the bastimentos, and even stationed one of his ships within gun-shot of *Porto Bello*. It is doubtless that the secrets of the British councils, at that time, were very ill kept, and that the court of Spain, even before Hosier sailed for the West-Indies, knew his instruction, which were, that if he met the Spanish galleons, he should bring them to England; and if he did not, that he should block them up, by lying off the bastimentos at *Porto Bello*. Had this scheme been conducted with tolerable secrecy, he must have met at sea with all the Spanish treasure, which amounted to above six millions sterling, and which actually was embarked on board the galleons. Ten days before the arrival of Hosier at *Porto Bello*, an account of his intention arrived there from

## The History of America.

Old Spain by an advice-boat; upon which all the treasure was re-landed, and carried back to Panama.

This was no small disappointment to the people of Jamaica, who were in great hopes of being indemnified for all their losses out of the Spanish treasure. But the expedition itself was fatal ~~only~~ to the crews of Hosier's ships. As the government at home had no intention, could they have prevented it, to go to war with Spain, unless they could have done it with Spanish money, Hosier was instructed, if he could not make him master of the galleons, to hinder them from sailing for Europe; but he was tied up from committing any other hostilities, and therefore he was obliged to lie off that sickly coast, till diseases swept away so many of his seamen, that he scarcely had hands remaining for manning his ships. In this terrible distress he became the object of ridicule to the Spaniards, and of compassion to his countrymen, especially those of Jamaica, to whom he was often obliged to apply, and who generously afforded him supplies and succours of all kinds.

THE government of Jamaica, after the death of the duke <sup>President</sup> of Portland, had devolved upon John Aylcough, Esq; as president of the council, a gentleman of unexceptionable character and fortune; and he held the administration till the arrival of major-general Hunter, who was appointed by his majesty governor of Jamaica. This gentleman had been <sup>governor</sup> pitched upon for this post for the great knowledge he had acquired of American affairs, while he had been governor of New-York and Virginia, and for his having made himself thorough master of the respective interests of our continental and insular colonies. Add to this, that he was a person of great sagacity, knowledge, and resolution, and a firm friend to the protestant establishment, which was at that time thought to have many enemies in that island. He arrived in the ~~island~~ man of war, commanded by captain John Grey, on the 20th of January, 1728; and the very day after his arrival he summoned together the council, to whom he made a short, but very nervous, speech, of which the following is a part. "Ye, Gentlemen, (said he) lie under the same obligation with me, to give all attention to the interest and ease of his majesty's government here, as you are also deeply interested in preserving the peace and promoting the prosperity of your country, which are so far from being incompatible, that whoever sets about to separate them, even in his thoughts, must do it upon the odious supposition of lawless power on the one hand, or a spirit of sedition on the other." He then

promised to lay before them the instructions which he brought from *England*.

THE assembly, in their answer, seem to have thought that this speech contained a tacit reflection upon their past conduct, in not being so pliable as they ought to have been to the views of their former governors; but after paying great compliments to Mr. Hunter's person, both parties departed satisfied; and writs were issued for the meeting of the assembly on the 21st of March. When they met, they laid some duties upon the exportation and importation of negroes; but the members would by no means agree to continue the duke of *Portland*'s salary of 5000*l.* a year to governor *Hunter*. *Present* ~~for~~ *for* They made him a present, however, of 300*l.* which ~~he~~ *the* lary to, *the* accepted of, to the surprize of many, who remembered the *governor*. *general* instructions given to the *West-India* governors (not to accept of presents); and some were of opinion, that it was offered him only with a view of his refusing it. Notwithstanding he pressed hard, yet he could bring the assembly to no other terms than that of granting him 2500*l.* a year. During Mr. *Hunter*'s administration, he had a very difficult province to manage, on account of the growing differences between *Spain* and *Great Britain*, which terminated in a state neither of war nor peace. About the beginning of February, vice-admiral *Hopson*, in the *Lion* man of war, took upon him the command of the king's ships that were lying at *Jamaica*, and put to sea to cruise off the *Spanish* coast. This seemed rather to exasperate, than intimidate, the *Spaniards*, who took *Spanish* *captures*. *The Anne galley*, a *Jamaican* ship, with 254 negroes on board, and carried her to *St. Jago de Cuba*, where she was condemned. This was thought the more extraordinary, as the court of *Madrid*, but a little before, had declared that they had sent orders to their *American* governors, to discontinue all such *Voyages*, which orders the latter declared they never received. A man of war was dispatched from *Jamaica* to reclaim the *Anne galley*; but the *English* commander met only with scurillities and insults, and was obliged to return without any satisfaction. By this time, the *Spaniards* had sent to the coasts of *New Spain* five men of war to join their other ships there, and the whole, consisting of twenty-one sail, arrived at *Pirio Bello*, and there took in their treasure.

To enumerate all the depredations committed by the *Spaniards* during governor *Hunter*'s administration, would be endless; it is sufficient to say, that the passive behaviour of the court of *England* on that occasion, rendered the nation every where contemptible; but the people of *Jamaica* were not wanting to themselves. They transmitted to *England* *articles* *cula*

culars of all their losses in the most aggravating terms ; and the gentlemen who were in the opposition to the ministry took care to improve them ; so that an universal spirit of detestation was raised against the Spaniards all over the kingdom, which at last ended in a war between the two crowns, to the great mortification of the English ministry. Governor Hunter, while he was in ~~Jamaica~~, had not the good fortune to reconcile all ranks of men, where it his favour. Upon some furniment of the designs of the Spaniards, he laid an embargo upon all the shipping in the island, which was by many considered as being oppressive and detrimental to trade, though he did nothing but in consequence of his instructions. He imputed the dissatisfaction which he found among the islanders to concealed papists, and therefore he promoted with all his credit an act of assembly, by which all persons from sixteen to fifty were obliged to abjure popery. Some of the members thought that this act was not only illegal, but prejudicial to the protestant interest ; because no true papist could be at a loss for a dispensation to appear a protestant. It met with a warm, and perhaps, indiscreet, opposition, but the governor's interest prevailed, and it was carried through. His death happened *Death of* in the year 1734, when the Spanish depredations were at their ~~height~~, and therefore it was looked upon as an irretrievable *Hunter.* loss to the island.

GOVERNOR HUNTER before his death, among many excellent plans which he had drawn up for the benefit of the West Indies, had laid one before the government for sending six independent companies to *Jamaica*, for the protection of the island. This measure was the more necessary, as the rebellious negroes were now very numerous, and had arrived at a most alarming height. They had inveigled great numbers of their countrymen to join them, and had pitched upon a post in the mountains, which they had fortified in such a manner as to render it a very strong post, at a place called *Athony*. Here they erected their chief town, which was well supplied with provisions from the grounds which they themselves had cultivated ; and what is still more extraordinary, they were supplied with powder and fire-arms by certain Jews upon the island, who no doubt were employed for that purpose by the French and Spaniards, who at the same time were every day threatening a descent upon the island.

SUCH was the undesirable state of *Jamaica* at the time of Ayscough general Hunter's death ; who was succeeded by Mr. Ayscough, *again* whom we have already mentioned in the same capacity. He soon saw the necessity of immediately suppressing the negroes ; *and* martial law being again established in the island, by which

## The History of America;

every man was to become a soldier, both the militia and the regular forces were drawn out. One captain Stoddart, who was perfectly well acquainted with the haunts of the negroes, undertook at the head of a strong party, assisted by three field-pieces, to dislodge them from their fortification at New-Ny. Had the vigilance of the rebels been equal to their obstinacy, he must have been unsuccessful; but he prevailed through the great caution and silence which he and his men observed in approaching the pass. They mounted the narrow passag<sup>e</sup>, leading to it without being observed by the negroes, and pulling up their field-pieces after them with great difficulty, he planted them so, that they bore with cartridge-shot and musket-balls directly upon the negroes, who had drawn out for the defence of their town. A great number of the rebels were killed or wounded, and the island's troops falling in upon them during their disorder, completed their rout, in which they suffered more than they had done for twenty years before.

*The negroes defeated.*

BUT the islanders were not equally fortunate in all their attacks upon those savages. Two officers of the island, colonel Charlton and captain Ivy, being at the head of a considerable party, advanced against them as far as a place called Bagnals. The rebels had notice of their approach, and likewise, that they marched in so irregular a manner, that the van might easily be cut off from the main body, and the main body from the rear. Upon this intelligence, the rebels formed ambuscades, and rushing upon the advanced body of the islanders, killed some of them before those who were nearest could come up to support them; and though the rebels were repulsed, yet the islanders were so surprized and disheartened, that they made no attempts to pursue them. Their escape filled all the neighbouring towns and plantations with terror, and the alarm even reached Spanish-Town, though thirty miles distant, where it was given out, that the negroes were in full march to massacre all the inhabitants. Governor Ayscough immediately assembled a body of foot, and a troop of horse, who marched to support colonel Charlton, or to favour his retreat; but they marched two days before they came to a place where the unextinguished fires which the rebels had lighted, gave them intelligence of their having been there the night before. They followed their tracks and got up with them so unexpectedly, that the rebels, no venturing to stand an engagement, fled, and were pursued with very considerable execution for some miles. This disabled the survivors for many years from again appearing in open rebellion. But the Jamaicans, at this time, were in

such terms with the Spaniards, that they were daily plundered by them, without having it in their power, through the aversion which the government at home had for war, to make any reprisals. This put them to an extraordinary expence, as they every day expected a descent upon their island; and they gave additional pay to the six independent companies, which, by this time, were arrived from Britain; and were very useful in garrisoning the several posts of the island, particularly *Port Antonio*, on the Northside, which was fortified by the advice of admiral Stewart, who then commanded a <sup>the same</sup> squadron of ships lying at *Jamaica*.

UPON the death of general Hunter, *Henry Cunningham*, Cunningham Esq; a Scotch member of parliament, was appointed to the command, government of *Jamaica*. He was a man of honour and courage, and had been instrumental in saving the person of Sir Robert Walpole, the then minister, from the fury of the London mob, when the famous excise-scheme was depending in parliament. He was totally unqualified, either by experience or abilities, for the discharge of such a trust as the government of *Jamaica*, and he owed his preferment to it entirely to the partiality of the minister in his favour. Before he arrived upon the island Mr. Ayscough was dead, and the administration devolved upon Mr. Gregory, who had been chief justice. Mr. Cunningham, upon his arrival, had several alterations with the planters, and it was thought he was instructed by the minister to endeavour to allay the spirit of resentment against the Spaniards, which was every day discovering itself more and more by strong representations sent over from the island to the British ministry. But Cunningham, His death: who had been habitually intemperate, died of a fever contracted at an entertainment six weeks after his arrival upon the island. Upon his death, Sir Orlando Bridgeman was nominated to the government of *Jamaica*; but, for some ~~private~~ reasons unnecessary to be mentioned here, he never left Great-Britain.

Mr. Gregory, as president of the council upon Cunningham's death, resumed the administration of the island, and the clamour against Spain became, at this time, so outrageous in *England*, that the minister found himself under a necessity of appointing to that government, some man of character Trelawny and resolution, and the choice fell upon Edward Trelawny, Esq. As a war between Great Britain and Spain was, at this time, looked upon as being inevitable, therefore Mr. Trelawny's first care was to put the island in a proper state of defence, and to restore it to tranquillity within itself. Engineers were sent from *England* to survey the fortifications, and to give directions

rections for repairing them. The few troops that were in this island, as well as the militia, were put under the command of experienced resolute officers. The natural fury which the *Jamaicans* have for arms, was improved by daily discipline, and in a short time, their militia was thought to be little inferior to the best regulars. All this time, the rebellious negroes, though they had been defeated, were far from being subdued, and miserable as their lives were, they still not only kept possession of their woods and fastnesses, but were a terror to all the islanders who lay near their habitations; so that great tracts of the most useful ground in *Jamaica* remained entirely uncultivated. To have attempted to reduce them by arms, at that time, would have been highly impolitic, and would have been attended with bloodshed; nor was it to be doubted, that the *Spaniards* would have found means to have furnished them with supplies of all kinds. Mr. *Trelawney*, therefore, wisely offered them pardon and security, which all of them readily embraced, on condition of their being under the government of one of their own number, but subject to the controul of the governor of *Jamaica*, and to the inspection of certain white men, who were to reside among them. Though great objections may be justly made to this pacification, which proved ineffectual, yet it served in the mean time the purpose of restoring internal peace to the island.

*The negroes pacified.*

*Orders for reprisals published in Jamai- ca.*

WHEN the war with *Spain* was resolved upon in the year 1739, it was at first privately resolved to issue an order for making reprisals; and the *Shoreham* man of war was despatched with the same to the *West-Indies*, where they were received with the greatest joy; but more especially at *Jamaica*, where great numbers of privateers, were, as it were, instantaneously fitted out. Commodore *Brown* then commanded the king's ships lying there, and the *Shoreham* arriving on the 5th of August, he put to sea with five sail of men of war on the 14th, and proceeded directly against the *Havannah*, which he approached so near, that he exchanged several shot with its forts, but without doing or receiving any damage. It was thought, at that time, that the government was too tame in not proceeding farther than issuing an order for reprisals, which the captains of *British* men of war did not think sufficiently authorized them to attack their settlements. Fault was likewise found with publishing those orders in the *West-Indies*, because the publication of them served only to put the *Spaniards* upon their guard. Commodore *Brown*, upon this occasion, undoubtedly lost, through his timidity least he should transgress his orders, more than on

opportunity of distressing the enemy ; for he cruized all through the gulph of *Mexico* towards *Porto Bello*, and returned to *Jamaica* without making any attempt upon the Spanish settlements at land. Soon after he left *Jamaica*, he had sent the *Sheerness* man of war, captain *Stapleton*, to observe the strength and situation of the Spaniards at *Cartagena*. The *Sheerness* approached the harbour under the appearance of a merchant ship ; upon which, *Don Blas*, the Spanish admiral there, sent out a pinnace, with his lieutenant, to conduct her in ; but this officer with his crew, were made prisoners by captain *Stapleton*, and carried off. The house of commons in *England*, had, at this time, scarce any other employment than receiving addresses and petitions concerning the Spanish depredations ; and a bill had been brought in for the more effectual securing the trade of his majesty's subjects in *America*, by which the property of all prizes taken from the enemy was vested in the captors ; and his majesty was empowered to grant commissions, or charters, to any persons or societies, for taking any ships, goods, harbours, land, or fortifications of the enemy in *America*, and for holding and enjoying the same as their own property and estate for ever. Had this bill passed when it was first brought in, it must have had a great effect upon the operations of the war, because the *Jamaicans* undoubtedly would have exerted themselves to the utmost against their enemies, and that too before they were provided to receive them. But this opportunity was lost, and the nation was obliged to depend on its fleet alone for redress.

It is certain, that the arts & ~~the~~ great influence of the minister would have continued to defeat the voice of the nation, and all the independent part of the parliament that called for war, had not the court of *Spain* imagined, that the divisions in the kingdom were such, that the crown never would venture upon hostilities, or, at least never make war in good earnest. In this persuasion, they baffled all the complying arts made use of by the *British* minister, who would have put off the war, had the court of *Madrid* condescended even to save common appearances, by seeming willing to grant satisfaction to the *British* nation ; but the *Spaniards* disdained this ; and at last, the uninfluenced part of the administration found means to convince his majesty, how absolutely necessary it was to pursue vigorous measures. The nation, at this time, was not destitute of able admirals, and naval commanders ; but they unfortunately were all of them in the interest of the minister, to whom they knew that a vigorous prosecution of the war would be disagreeable ; and all, or ~~most~~ of them being members of parliament, they generally

rally voted on his side. Captain *Vernon*, who was not at that time in parliament, was mentioned and approved of as a fit person to command an expedition against the Spanish *West-Indies*.

*Account of admiral* He had formerly been a commodore in those seas, with which he was extremely well-acquainted; and while he sat in the house of commons, he had constantly opposed the minister and his pacific schemes; expressing an equal contempt for him and the Spaniards. He had often declared that he could take *Porto Bello* itself with six ships of war, and the declaration being now called to mind, he was sent for to court, and he accepted of the command of the expedition. The minister could not decently oppose this nomination of a man, whose courage and abilities, as a seaman, were unquestionable; and perhaps, he expected, that his failure of success, which he looked upon as certain, would cure the people of their passion for a war with Spain. *Vernon* was created vice-admiral of the blue, a squadron was equipt at *Portsmouth*, and on the 19th of July 1739, he was appointed commander in chief of all his majesty's ships in the *West-Indies*, and repairing to *Portsmouth*, he took under his command the following ships; the *Burford*, captain *Watson*, 500 men, 70 guns; the *Princess Louisa*, captain *Waterhouse*, 400 men, 60 guns; the *Worcester*, captain *P. Mayne*, 400 men, 60 guns; the *Stafford*, captain *Trevor*, 400 men, 60 guns; the *Norwich*, captain *Herbert*, 300 men, 50 guns; besides two other ships, which were to join him in the *West-Indies*. His Royal *In Jamaica*, as appointed to be the place of rendezvous in case of separation, and on the 22d of August, the squadron arrived at *Madeira*, where they took in their stores, and, especially, provisions of wine for the hospital at *Jamaica*. From *Madeira* the admiral sent dispatches to commodore *Browne* *Jamaica*, to give out his orders immediately for having all his majesty's ships at that island, put in a condition to proceed to sea with the admiral as soon as possible.

*His arrival in the West-Indies.* UPON the arrival of admiral *Vernon* and his squadron on the 28th of September at *Antigua*, he there found the *Anglesea*, captain *Reddish*, the *Loweboffe*, captain *Drummond*; and *Saltash* sloop, captain *Swanton*, stationed; and of those, he only ordered the *Anglesea* to attend him to *Jamaica*. On the 2d of October, he arrived at *St. Christopher's*, where he was met by captain *Herbert* of the *Norwich*, who had been sent express to the president of *Barbados*, to get all the intelligence he could concerning the trade of the *Spaniards*, and their situation at the *Caraccas*; and he learned from him that

that the Spanish trade on the Caracca coast was committed to *Laguira* and *Porto Casollo*. Upon this intelligence, captain ~~Waterhouse~~, in the *Prince's Louise*, with the *Norwich* and the ~~house~~ *mif-* *Stafford* under his command, was dispatched by the admiral, *carries be-* with orders, “to make the best of his way for the coast of ~~for~~ La-*Caracca*, taking particular care to fall in with that coast to guia. Windward of the port of *Laguira*; and if he should perceive any ships to be riding there, he was, before his coming near in, to make the signal for the captains, and form his scheme for attacking them, that every one might know how he was to execute his part of it before their coming into the road, where they were to use their best endeavours to take, sink, burn, and destroy, all such Spanish ships and vessels, as they should find there; and they were farther ordered to range that coast as far as *Porto Cervello* afterwards, and endeavour to do the same with all Spanish ships and vessels that they should meet with, and then to make the best of their way for *Port Royal* in *Jamaica*.” When *Waterhouse* came to *Laguira*, a considerable port and a little town on the *Caracca* coast, he saw seventeen ships in the harbour, which was defended by three forts, and they played vigorously upon the English shipping, which steered almost up to the forts. A brisk cannonading ensued, by which the fortifications, churches, and houses of the Spaniards, suffered greatly; and it is said, that the lieutenants and sailors of the squadron offered to have landed and stormed the works; but they were countermanded by the commodore, on pretence that his ships were already too much damaged; that the weather was beginning to grow dangerous, and that the undertaking was too hazardous upon which he left the place, and proceeded to *Jamaica*.

By this time, captain *Knowles*, in the *Diamond* man of war, had taken and carried into *Jamaica*, a Spanish ship, with ~~takes a~~ 94,000 pieces of eights, and cloathing for the garrison ~~of ship~~. *Augustine*; and on the 15th of October, admiral ~~Kenn~~, in the *Burford*, with the *Worcester*, arrived at *Port Royal* in *Jamaica*, where he was joined by the *Hampton-Court*; so that besides the ships already mentioned, his force consisted of the *Hampton-Court*, commodore *Brown*, captain *Dent*; the *Sherness*, *Stapleton*; *Windsor*, *Berkley*; *Falmouth*, *Douglas*; and *Faternity* tender, *Trnewith*. The admiral, mindful of his engagement to take *Porto Bello* with six ships only, detached the *Worcester*, to cruize off *Cape Tiberon*, and the *Blandford*, to cruize to windward, for the safety of some ships, expected with stores, from *Great Britain* and *Ireland*, and sent other ships on different cruizes. The failure of *Waterhouse* at *Laguira*, put him under various difficulties, as he was

was furnished with no precise information with regard to the strength or situation of the Spaniards in the West Indies. When he arrived at Jamaica, he found that governor Trejawney had issued out letters of marque and reprisal against the Spaniards, and that the numerous privateers already fitted, or by the Jamaicans had made several considerable captures. But Vernon began now to suspect, that his six ships alone might be in danger of miscarrying in his favourite enterprize, the attack of Porto Bello, unless he had along with him some land-troops, he having brought none from England. He was therefore obliged to apply to Mr. Trelawny, who furnished him with 240 soldiers, though they could be but ill spared, from the defence of the island. This seasonable supply enabled the admiral to put to sea. Here it may be proper to inform our readers, in order to obviate a common mistake, which has prevailed, as if Vernon had been cramped in his operations by the ministry, that he had a discretionary power of proceeding against any part of the Spanish West-Indies he thought proper; only he was, by all means, to make himself, if possible, master of the plate-fleet. Vernon knew the great value of time, and having communicated his intentions to his captains, on the 5th of November, he sailed from Port-Royal harbour in Jamaica, with the following ships, the *Burford*, *Hampton Court*, *Princess Louisa*, *Worcester*, *Stafford*, *Norwich*, and *Sheerness*, the last of which he intended to cruise off Cartagena. The number of sailors on board this squadron was 2495.

*Porto Bello de-  
scribed and  
taken.* On the 7th of November, Admiral Vernon delivered his orders, "for the attack of Porto Bello, to the commodore and his captains, which were drawn up with a clearness and precision, which do great honour to his character as a seaman, and with so much foresight, that they admitted of little alteration, when they were carried into execution. Those given to captain Stofferton, were to look in on the back of the town of Cartagena, and see whether the galleons were still in that harbour, and to carefully observe their motions; and if he found them already at, or in a disposition for coming to, sea, or that any men of war were to come to join them, then to make the best of his way for Porto Bello, to give the earliest advice of it he could, to prevent the admiral's being surprised." The winds proving contrary, the squadron did not come in sight of Porto Bello till the 20th of November, and anchored six leagues off the shore, and next day he made dispositions for the attack. The strength of Porto Bello lay in three forts, one on the north entrance of a bay, which is about a mile deep, and which, from its strength, was called Iron-

## *The History of America.*

*Iron Castle*, mounted 78 guns, and had a battery with 22 guns, parallel with the water, with a garrison of 300 men. The *Gloria Castle* lay a mile farther up the bay, besides many other fortifications, mounted 90 guns; and a little above her, near the other end of the town, which lay at the bottom of the harbour, day and strong fort of St. Jerome's, which, with *Gloria Castle*, protected the shipping; so that upon the whole, the Spaniards looked upon *Porto Bello* as being next to impregnable. Commodore *Brock*, in the *Hampton-Court*, led the attack upon the *Iron Fort*, to which the squadron was piloted by captain *Renton*, being well seconded by captain *Hawke* in the *Norwich*, and captain *Marye* in the *Worcester*, while the admiral lay behind to observe the effect of their operations. This excellent disposition had the desired effect; for the fire from the shipping was so hot, that the ~~admiral~~ perceived that some of the Spaniards fled from several parts of the fort; upon which he made the signal for the boats in which the soldiers were, to make the best of their way in order to their landing, whilst he was coming up to the fort to batter it. The admiral luffing-up as neat to the fort as he could, the fire of his small-arms commanded the enemy's lower batteries, and had a good effect in driving them from those batteries, from which they could do most harm; and by this means, the men were secured a landing. They chiefly depended upon those lower batteries for defence; but the admiral, though no breach was made, ordered the boats, as they came up with the soldiers, to land their men under the walls of the fort in the front of their lower batteries. The sailors and soldiers were no sooner landed from the boats, than they scaled the fort-walls and mounted, assisted by one another, to the embrasures, under the mouth of their guns. The Spaniards had no idea of such daring, or, as they thought it, madness; but seeing it take effect, they abandoned their lower batteries, and ran to the upper part of the fort, where they hung out a white flag for capitulating, which was soon answered with another by the admiral, who had some difficulty in preventing his own crew, and those of the *Stafford*, from continuing their fire. By this time, the English sailors had struck the Spanish colours, and no more than thirty-five men, who surrendered at discretion, of all the garrison, were left; all who were not killed or disabled, having made their escape in a most cowardly manner.

THE admiral next proceeded to the attack of *Gloria Castle*, which he battered with his lower tier of guns with great effect. Next day, being the 2d, while the admiral

and his officers were consulting about their future operations; the castle hung out a white flag, and sent a flag of truce in a boat to the admiral, who drew up the terms upon which he was willing to grant a capitulation, allowing the Spaniards only a few hours to take their resolution, and they agreed to it within the time, which were as follows:

*Articles of capitulation given by Edward Vernon, Esq; vice-admiral of the blue, and commander in chief of his majesty's ships and vessels in the West-Indies, and commodore Brown, to don Francisco Martínez de Retez, governor of Porto Bello, and don Francisco de Abarras, commandant of the guarda costas at the same place, the 22d of November 1739, O. S.*

Article 1. That the garrison be allowed to march out as desired, upon condition the king of Great Britain's troops be put in possession of the *Glory Castle* before four o'clock this evening, and the garrison to march out by ten o'clock tomorrow morning: that the inhabitants may either leave or remain, under a promise of security for themselves and their effects. 2. That the Spanish soldiers may have a guard if they think it necessary. 3. That they may carry off two cannon mounted, with ten charges of powder for each, and their match lighted. 4. The gates of the *Glory Castle* must absolutely be in possession of the king our master's troops, by four o'clock, and the Spanish garrison shall remain in all safety for their persons and effects till the appointed time of their marching out, and to carry with them the provisions and ammunition necessary for their safety. 5. That the ships, with their apparel and stores, be absolutely delivered into the use of his Britannic majesty, but that all the officers, soldiers, and crew, shall have three days allowed them to retire with all their powerful effects; only one officer being admitted on board each ship and vessel, to take possession for the king our master, and to see the article strictly complied with. 6. That provided the articles abovementioned are strictly complied with, and that possession be given of the castle of *St. Jeronimo*, in the same manner as is stipulated for the castle *Gloria*, then the clergy, the churches, and town, shall be protected and preserved in all their immunities and properties. And that all prisoners, already taken, shall be set at liberty before our leaving the port." Given under our hands on board his majesty's ship *Burford*, in Porto Bello harbour, this 22d day of November, 1739, O. S.

*E. Vernon.*

*Cha. Brown."*

THE Spaniards having signified their intentions to comply with those articles, the admiral sent captain *Newton*, who commanded the *Jamaica* detachment, with 120 of his soldiers,

admiral was full of *Glorio-Castle*. The Spanish commanders brat the vice-admiral for their retaining the ships in the harbour distinguished fitted of two men of war of twenty guns each, one and brass, but this was refused by the admiral, who wrote to the vice-admiral those ships had been in distressing the town; after which he immediately took possession of the ships, the crews of which, like *sea-booters*, had been busied all the preceding night in plundering the defenceless inhabitants of the town. The admiral found more danger and difficulty in destroying, than he did in taking, the fortifications of *Porto Bello*. He rendered useless about fourscore iron cannon which were found upon them, and he took on board his own ship, of duct of ad- their great artillery, forty pieces of brass cannon, ten brass field-pieces, four brass mortars, and eighteen brass pateraroes. non. He reserved 22 barrels of powder to be employed in blow-  
ing up and demolishing the fortifications, but he distributed among the men 10,000 dollars of the Spanish government's money which fell into his hands. In all other respects he inviolably observed the capitulation, and dispersed among the squadron the following orders, "Punctually and religi-  
ously, inviolably to preserve to the Spaniards the conditions of their capitulation, and the other humane concessions granted to them since, as agreeable to the inclinations of his royal master and the nature of an Englishman."

On the 27th captain Knowles in the *Diamond*, joined the admiral at *Porto Bello*, as did on the 29th, captain Berkeley in the *Windfor*, and captain Reddish in the *Anglesea*; nor are we to forget that captain, afterwards the famous admiral, *Benton*, acted in this expedition as a volunteer, his own ship the *Shoreham* being not fit for service; and was assisting as an engineer to captain Knowles in demolishing the *Iron Castle*. The opposition at home found great fault with the ministry, because the admiral had carried out with him no land troops, but they excused themselves on account of the threatening state of affairs in *Great Britain* when the admiral sailed. The *Jamaicans*, as they had been greatly conducive to the success mairans of the expedition against *Porto Bello*, reaped the chief benefit from it by the vast number of captures which their privateers gainers by made, and by a trade being opened for them to the very heart *the war* of the Spanish dominions in *America*. Before the admiral left *Porto Bello*, he sent a messenger with a letter to the governor of *Panama*, which lies but eighteen leagues distant on the southward of the isthmus of *Darien*, demanding that the servants and factors of the *English South-Sea company*, who had been confined there on the commencement of hostilities, should be released, which was accordingly complied with.

*Great popularity obtain by captain Renton,* who, in reward for his great services, was appointed to the command of the *Spaniard*, upon which the same was received with unparalleled transports of admiration; all ranks of people, who were now united in exultation, admiring the talents and valour of their admiral to the utmost; for which purpose, six regiments were proposed to be raised, as *they* were to be employed. The duke of *Newcastle*, who was then one of the principal secretaries of state, in a letter to admiral *Vernon*, dated *March 26, 1740*, took off both from his master and himself all suspicion of cramping the admiral's operations. He informed him, "That the king did not think proper to prescribe any particular service to be undertaken by him, but left it entirely to his direction to act against the *Spaniards* in such manner, and in such places, as should appear to him best to answer the ends proposed by his majesty's commands to him, which were, to distress and annoy the *Spaniards* over the most effectual manner, by taking their ships, and possessing himself of such of their places and settlements, as he should think practicable to attempt."

BUT, by this time, the admiral had resolved upon his plan of operations, which terminated in the conquest of *Cartagena* itself, an object of still more importance than *Port Bello*. For this purpose, the six regiments of marines we have mentioned, besides a considerable body of land troops, were raised with surprising expedition, and lord *Campbell*, a young man of unexceptionable abilities, was appointed to the command of the land-troops. *Knowles* had with him no force adequate to any attempt upon *Cartagena*, all he could venture to make such a disposition of his ships as to prevent any supplies that might be thrown into the place; and for that purpose, he ordered captain *Knowles*, in the *Diamond*, to accompany his squadron from *Porto Bello* till their arrival as far to windward as *Cartagena*, and to cruise there for observing the galleons, as well as for intercepting any relief from Europe. On the 13th, he sailed with his squadron for *Port-Royal* in *Jamaica*, which he again appointed to be the rendezvous, and having some suspicion that the *Spanish* squadron at *Port-Royal* might be in those seas, he issued out the usual orders for all his ships to keep him company. A storm arose which dispersed them; but they at last arrived safe at *Jamaica*.

*He returns to Jamaica*. Here *Vernon* wrote over to *England* the most bitter complaints of the government's conduct in not supporting him with his fleet. either by sending over a body of land forces, which he insisted should be under his own direction, or by giving him

mine was full of those that were already raised, or might be /  
in the vice-admiral's. The government thought fit to disagree ~~Resolutions~~  
of distinguishing and great doubt were entertained as to the of the Bri-  
tish and attacking Cartagena, there being a strong party in coun-  
try in the of opinion, that the conquest of the Havannah  
was not for them first to be attempted, and the rather, as it  
was well known, that the Spaniards had a large fleet ready  
to sail from Ferrol, that it was to be joined by a French squad-  
ron; and that the Dutch themselves seemed inclined to enter  
into very unnatural connexions with those two powers, to  
favour the safe arrival of the galleons in the ports of Spain.  
Several cabinet councils were held on this subject, but it being  
deemed too dangerous, and indeed, in politic, to attempt  
the conquest of a place like the Havannah, which, according  
to the evidences that were examined, was impregnable by  
land, and which, if taken by land, must make the greatest  
power in Europe ~~enemies~~ to Great Britain, it was judged  
proper, by consent of the lord Cathcart himself, not to name  
in his instructions any particular estimation for the great ar-  
mament that was fitting out, but that a consultation should be  
held at Jamaica, where his lordship, admiral Vernon, and go-  
vernor Treloawney, with other proper persons, were to deter-  
mine upon the object of the war.

He is but doing justice to ~~himself~~ to acknowledge, that Vernon  
while he lay at ~~Jamaica~~, he lost no time in fitting his ~~arm'd~~  
ships and preparing for his expedition against the enemy Carthage.  
He left the ~~Hampton~~ ~~to~~, the ~~Hornet~~, the Diamond, and the  
~~Toronto~~, under command of ~~own~~, for the defence of the  
main. He ordered the ~~Bell~~ to be repaired, and to follow  
himself; and, on the 25th of February, he sailed from Port-  
Royal in the ~~Stafford~~, with the Prince's Louise, Windsor,  
Norwich, Falmouth, and Greenwich men of war, the Suc-  
cess, Cumberland, Eleanor, Audley, Terrible brig, Pompey and  
Goodly frigates, fireships, bombs and tenders. On the 3d of  
March, he anchored in an open bay, called Playa Grande,  
before Carthage in the evening, and next morning he be-  
gan a brisk bombardment against the town, which did it  
no damage; while his own fleet received little from the  
enemy. But this was all he could do: his force was unequal  
to any farther attempt; and on the 9th he drew off his  
bomb-ketches and small craft, coasting along the shore of  
Boca Chica, from whence he received no damage, and mark-  
ing the proper places for a future descent. Having intelli-  
gence of a large Spanish man of war, expected at Carthage,  
he left Captain Berkley in the Windsor, and captain Windham

In the *Greenwich*, to cruise for twenty days off ~~the~~ <sup>ture operation;</sup> principally to watch the motions of the gathering of troops; admiral then bore away towards *Porto Bello*, upon which *Knowles* in the *Diamond*, to reconnoitre the fort, the *Spaniards* of the *Chagre*. *Knowles* was followed by the *Stafford*, ~~the~~ <sup>the</sup> *Elizop*, with orders to cruise off the mouth of the *Chagre*, for seven days, or till the *Spaniards* would sooner appear off here, for preventing the *Spaniard's* privateer sloops from putting to sea from thence, or intercepting any thing that might be coming or going there. An accident happening to his own ship, which retarded their progress, he ordered captain *Herbert* in the *Norwich*, to make all the sail he could, and enter the harbour of *Chagre* before high-tide, with the bomb-ketches, and all the fire-ships and tenders, under his orders, and captain *Knowles*, as engineer, on board the bomb-ketches for placing them to play on the castle of *St. Lorenzo*, at the mouth of the river *Chagre*; and to cover them with his own ship and the rest.

**Fort Lorenzo boma-** *Mr. Knowles* began the cannonading the same day he got to anchor, and it continued till the 24th, when the *Spaniards* barded and hung out a flag of truce, which was answered by the admiral, who was now come up with the *Stafford*. The capitulation was soon settled. The *Spaniards* <sup>at first</sup> were at liberty to retire to the *Carthagena*, <sup>and</sup> ~~all~~ <sup>the</sup> inhabitants, <sup>and</sup> ~~all~~ <sup>the</sup> clergy were to enjoy full security for themselves and effects; but the fort of *Chagre*, with the guard-sloops, and the king of Spain's custom-house, were to be delivered up to the admiral. Captain *Knowles* was made governor of fort *St. Lorenzo*, where the custom-house was found full of very valuable goods; but having no land-forces with him to garrison the place, it was totally demolished; and, by the first of April, his ships off *Cartagena* having rejoined him at the mouth of the harbour of *Porto Bello*, he returned to *Jamaica*, having in vain endeavoured to intercept two *Spanish* men-of-war, who got safe to *Cartagena*, with 600 soldiers on board. The demolition of fort *St. Lorenzo*, upon the river *Chagre*, was thought at that time to be an important service, as the *Spaniards* could carry goods up that river within fifteen miles of *Panama*. But we are now to attend the affairs of *Jamaica*.

**Affairs of Jamaica.** THE establishment of the *South-Sea* company, and the assiento contract, gave a severe blow to the prosperity of that island, which in a great measure consisted in the trade carried on by the inhabitants with the *Spaniards*, and which therefore being incompatible with the interests of that company,

admiral was fully at home. But this was not the work part of union the vice-admiral complained in such terms to the company of the illicit trade carried on by the Jamaicans, and Bray of the ~~French~~ ~~Spaniards~~, under pretext of suppressing it, had fleet of 200 to the ~~French~~ ~~Spaniards~~ costas committed all the depredations which on ~~French~~ ~~Spaniards~~ for the ~~French~~ ~~Spaniards~~ war. When it was known that the French squadrons were likely to assist the Spaniards in bringing home their treasure from America, and after the court of Versailles had declared, that they would not suffer the British armaments to make any conquests in the West-Indies, the plan of operations, under lord Cathcart, was entirely altered, and it was resolved to enclose both the sea and land-forces under him, so as that, when joined with those already in the West-Indies, they might be equal to the conquest of all the French and Spanish America. This could not be done without greatly hurting the trade of Jamaica, by the vast number of hands which were pressed in England for manning so large a fleet; so that the seamen's wages upon that island arose to the extravagant rate of twenty guineas a man, besides other advantages, for the gun home; and few were to be got even at that rate, because of the dread they were under of being pressed in England. This scarcity of hands was more fatal to Jamaica, as the inhabitants themselves, in the ~~French~~ ~~Spaniards~~ and ready to have thrown out squadrons of pirates for making attempts and inclemencies upon Cuba, and other parts of the Spanish dominions, which must have turned out greatly to the advantage of the adventurers, and have saved vast sums to the public. That the island might be as free as possible from all domestic commotions, while it was engaged in a foreign war, some of the principal inhabitants put the government in mind of the rebellious negroes, who still continued in the mountains, and were more numerous than ever, and that it would be proper to make sure of them by a treaty, since it would be highly impolitic to attempt, at that time, to reduce them by force. This advice seemed to be the better grounded, as those rebels had formed themselves into an independent society, under certain regulations, which carried in them no marks of bar-

THEY had chosen to themselves five captains, Cudjoe, Pacifico, Aompong, Johny, Cuffee, and Quacow; and letters patent of the were granted to John Gubrie, and Francis Sadler, Esqrs. with negroes. full powers to negotiate a peace with Cudjoe, and the other captains, with their adherents. Articles were accordingly drawn up, but they are of such a kind, as nothing but the particular situation the island was in at the time, could vindicate

*The History of America.*

cate; and the reader in the notes (D) will see operations upon the whole of the treaty. By its sixth article, ~~Cong~~ of true intent upon which the Spaniard

(D) By order of Edward Trelawney, Esq; the Spanish  
said island. At the camp near Trelawney, they

In the name of God, Amen,

Whereas captain Cudjoe, captain Acompah, captain Jobny, captain Cuffoe, and captain Quacoco, and several other negroes, the defendants and adherents, have been in a state of war and hostility for several years past, against our sovereign the king, and the inhabitants of this island; and whereas peace and friendship among mankind, and the preventing the effusion of blood, is agreeable to God, consonant to reason, and desired by every good man. And whereas his majesty, George the second, king of Great Britain, unanimously and Ireland, by his letters-patent, February the 24th, 1738, in the 12th year of his reign, granted full power and authority to John Guthrie, and Francis Sodler, Esqrs, to negotiate and finally conclude a treaty of peace and friendship with the aforesaid captain Cudjoe, the rest of his captains, adherents, and others his men; they mutually, sincerely, and amicably have agreed to the following articles.

I. That hostilities shall cease on both sides for ever.

II. That the said captain Cudjoe, the rest of his captains, adherents, and men, shall be for ever hereafter in a perfect state of freedom and liberty, excepting those who have been taken by or fled to them within two years last past, if such are willing to return to their said

masters and owners, with full pardon and indemnity from their said masters or owners for what is past; provided always, that if they are not willing to return, they shall remain in subjection to captain Cudjoe, and in friendship according to the form of this treaty.

III. That they shall have and possess for themselves and posterity for ever, all the land situate and lying between Trelawney Town and the Cockpits, to the amount of 1500 acres, extending north west from the Trelawney Town.

IV. That they shall have liberty to plant the said land with coffee, cocoa, ginger, tobacco, and cotton, and to breed cattle, hogs, goats, or any other stock, and dispose of the produce or increase of the said commodities to the inhabitants of this island; provided, always, that when they bring the said commodities to market, they shall apply first to the cullos, or any other magistrates of the respective parishes where they expose their goods, for a licence to vend the same.

V. That captain Cudjoe, and all the captains, adherents, and people, now in subjection to him, shall all live together within the bounds of Trelawney Town, and that they have liberty to hunt where they shall think fit, except within the

~~admire~~ was turned upon the king of one set of the rebels, obliged him to the vice-admiral to the English, in subduing all the other ~~rebel~~ distinguished  
a courage and bravery, crawl, file of 12 to the ~~12~~ always, that  
~~from~~ ~~the~~ ~~time~~ ~~of~~ ~~captain~~  
~~Cudjoe~~, and those ~~other~~ ~~several~~  
elements, meet, then the hogs  
to be equally divided between  
both parties.

VI. That the said captain Gudjoe and his successors do use their endeavours to take, kill, suppress, or destroy, either by themselves, or jointly with any other number of men, commanding that service by his authority, the governor, or his under-chief for the putting all rebels, wherever they be, throughout this land, unless they submit to the same terms of accommodation, granted to captain Gudjoe, and his successors.

for the said captain Cudjo and his successors, herein after-named, or to be appointed, shall then, upon notice given imme- diate, repair to any place the governor for the time being shall appoint, in order to repel the, said invaders with his or their utmost force, and to sub- mit to the orders of the com- mander in chief on that occa- sion.

VMI That if any white man  
in any manner of injury  
to captain Cudjoe, his successors,  
or any of his or their people,  
they shall apply to any com-  
manding officer or magistrate in  
the neighbourhood for justice ;  
and in case captain Cudjoe, or  
any of his people, shall do any  
harm to any white person, he  
shall submit himself, or deli-

ver such offenders to justice.

IX. That if any negroes shall hereafter run away from their masters or owners, and fall into captain Cudjoe's hands, they shall be immediately sent back to the chief magistrates of the next parish, where they are taken, and those that bring them are to be satisfied for their trouble, as the legislature shall appoint.

X. That all negroes, taken since the raising of this party by captain Cudjoe's people, shall immediately be returned.

XI. That captain *Cudjoe* and his successors shall wait on his excellency, or the commanders in chief for the time being, every year, if required.

in the ~~fact~~ that captain *Cudjoe*,  
and ~~all~~ his crew, and the captains  
succeeding him, shall have full  
power to inflict any punishment  
they think proper, for crimes  
committed by their men among  
themselves, death only excepted,  
in which case, if the cap-  
tain thinks they deserve death,  
he shall be obliged to bring  
them before a justice of peace,  
who shall order proceedings on  
their trial equal to those of free  
negroes.

XIII. That captain Cudjoe with his people shall cut, cleave, and keep open, large and convenient roads, from Trelarney Town to Westmorland and St. James, and, if possible, to St. Elizabeth's.

XIV. That two white men, to be nominated by his excellency, or the commander in-chief for the time being, shall constantly live and reside with

rebels on the island, who did not accept of the operations of the Spaniards. This article was so far well judged of that of the negroes, distinct from that of the Indians, which was another part of the island; but being now done, the Spaniards, by assistance they accepted of his capitulation; they removed another town to settle in, under another name.

*Scheme for arming the Musquito Indians, and have hinted at a proposal that had been laid before Sir Charles Wager, for employing them Indians against the Spaniards in Guatemala.* This project being laid before the Governor of Jamaica, he took it into very serious consideration, and he employed proper agents to examine it. Upon farther enquiry, it was discovered that the Creole Spaniard and Indian inhabitants near *La Vera Paz*, in the borders of Honduras, had about four years ago, a number of 50,000, endeavoured to throw off the Spanish yoke, and that they had been unsuccessful, only because they were unsupported, and destitute of arms. The governor, at the same time, founded the *Musquito Indians*, whom he left ready for any enterprise against the Spaniards; and in October, 1740, he sent thither Lieutenant Hodgson, with arms and ammunition for 500 of them, who immediately put themselves under his command, unanimously resolution, however, set out to have been in favor of the Indians, because it reached neither than the arming the *Musquitos*, who, as far as observed, are extremely fond of their own country.

*Its success.* Hodgson, with his 500 *Musquitos*, proceeded to a Spanish settlement at *Carpenter's River*, 120 leagues west of *Porto Bello*, where the Spaniards lived in such security, that he easily carried off a large booty in silver and cocoa. This success encouraged Hodgson to propose proceeding, but the Indians flatly refused to attend him; upon which, Hodgson was obliged to return to *Jamaica*, after alarming the Spaniards in those parts, and

captain Cudjoe and his successors, in order to maintain a friendly correspondence with the inhabitants of this island.

XV. That captain Cudjoe, during his life, shall be chief commander in *Trelawny Town*, after his decease the command to devolve on his brother *Acompong*; and in case of his decease, on his next brother captain *Jobny*; and failing him,

captain Cuffee shall succeed, who is to be succeeded by captain Quacow; and after all their deceases, the governor by commander in chief for time being, shall appoint from that time whom he shall think fit for that command.

In testimony of the above presents, they have put their hands and seals, the day and date abovementioned.

admiral was fully upon their guard than they had been without the vice-admiral. He took a distinguishing advantage of his boldness and bravura, all this while, was extremely vigilant in Vernon's service; in the Africa, where he was in hopes of intercepting ~~joined by~~ the American fleet; for the French and Spanish ships who had sailed from the Americans, were very ill victualled, and otherwise ill provided, through the precautions taken by the English government in laying an embargo upon all provisions at Cork. Vernon, at the same time, was chagrined at receiving none of the supplies which he expected from England. The two ships he had left cruising off Cuba, had taken a valuable prize, and two Dutch ships trading for the Spaniards; and he had disposed of his squadron to great advantage for watching the arrival of the Spanish ships, and the motions of the galleys. On the 5th of September, the storeships from England arrived at Jamaica, under convoy of the ~~Despatch~~ and Tilbury, and the rest of the fleet. On the 3d of October, he sailed with his squadron from Port-Royal to cruise off the coast of Hispaniola, in hope of meeting with the grand fleet from England, under the command of Sir Chamer Ogle; but he received intelligence at sea, that it was detained by contrary winds at Spithead; that the Ferrol sloop, in ~~the~~ Thunder de Torres, arrived at Porto Rico on the 25th, and that they sailed for Jamaica on the 20th, while he was cruising off cape Donida Maria, he was joined by six transports ships, under the convoy of the Wolf, having on board part of the ~~Java~~, commanded by colonel ~~Gage~~, ~~which had been~~ ordered to be raised in North America. With those, the admiral proceeded to Jamaica, where he found the other Americans already mentioned.

UPON the admiral's return to Jamaica, matters wore a melancholy aspect for that island. Besides de Torres arrival at Carthagena with a strong squadron, undoubted intelligence came that the Brest and Toulon squadrons under the marquis d'Antin had taken in 1100 men at Martinico, who were lying to the windward of Jamaica, a disposition which left the admiral and governor Trelawney no room to doubt that they intended to make a descent upon Jamaica, as soon as the British fleet should sail from thence upon any expedition against the Spaniards. Upon this, the admiral and the governor exerted themselves in disposing of their force in such a manner, as that any attempts against that island might be repelled; and that purpose, having no opinion of the natural strength of Port-Royal, they applied themselves to secure the harbour of Kingston; and in the mean while, the Jamaican passengers, being properly protected by the fleet, made great havoc

havoc of the Spanish trade, and brought into operations prizes into the island.

~~The grand fleet sails from England.~~ THE addition of the armament by land upon which the lord Cathcart and Sir Charles Ogle, was far from being for the delay in not supporting Vernon. ~~May~~

Cathcart had been at great pains, by letters in good humour: but it was the 3<sup>rd</sup> October before the grand fleet could sail; a season so advanced, that it made many prognosticate what afterwards happened. Without entering into particulars, the whole fleet consisted of twenty-seven ships of the line, besides frigates, fireships, bomb-ketches, tenders, storeships, and transports. The land forces consisted of some detachments from old corps, who were destined to be incorporated with the three raw American battalions, then at Jamaica, and six regiments of marines of 1000 each, and nothing was wanting on the part of the government to supply both land and sea-forces with wherewithal to contribute to render the expedition successful, which was done at a most immense expence. The ardour both of soldiers and sailors to come to blows was incredible, and lord Cathcart wrote to Vernon in the following terms: "In the corps of troops I bring you, the unanimous good will, which, when properly conducted, will produce what every nation expects." ~~successors-dates~~ like us the glorious movement for finishing the war with all the advantages to said public that we can promise, from the happy beginning of it, and with this distinguishing circumstance, that those effects have been owing to a perfect agreement between the land and sea-officers."

Dated  
June 22,  
1740.

The chief officers under lord Cathcart were the brigadiers Wentworth, Guise, and Blakeney, and the majors of brigade Harman and Rusane; and the inferior officers were the most experienced of any that could be, at that time, found in England. Sir Charles Wager, who kept up a close correspondence with Vernon, among other apologies which he urged for the late sailing of this armament, said, that the French having sailed sooner, by two months, than the Spanish treasures were ready to be taken on board, they must suffer considerably through the inclemency of the climate; and in this he was not mistaken, for above 3000 of d'Antin's squadron died soon after its arrival in the West-Indies. No war was as yet declared between Great Britain and France, and therefore Vernon was at liberty to keep up a correspondence with the French governors in America, from whom he could learn whether not even that d'Antin was arrived in those seas, notwithstanding the notoriety of the thing. But lord Cathcart

Wadmine<sup>r</sup> was further a declaration which sufficiently evinced, that the vice-admiral of the British court was to shake the very foundations of the Spanish government in America. He was a bold and brave man; he it upon his landing on any part of the iste of S. in the A. It promised indemnity and protection in Lord Cath-

amp; the rights for their possessions, and the free exercise of their own's religion, to all the Indians, who should quietly submit to me, to the English government, as if they were the natural born subjects of England; and that they should be free from all the taxes and oppressions of the Spanish government. The Indians in particular, continued the declaration, (which was greatly calculated to conciliate the affections of the natives) shall be exempted from the royal tribute and services which they are subjected to; they shall have the privilege and right of trading freely with Great Britain, and all the British colonies being now; and, in fine, upon all occasions, and in all respects, shall be considered, assisted, favoured, and treated like the subjects of G. at Britain.

In this manifesto, as might have been reasonable foreseen, flew from the court of France, a declaration, accusing that of Great Britain with a breach of public faith, particularly, in the treaty of Utrecht, by making any attempt against the Spanish West Indies. On the 2d, he alighted with Sir Chaloner Ogle, consisted of no fewer than 24 ships of war. After meeting with very bad weather, they arrived at Donanica, where the commandant in chief, lord Galat, died of a bloody flux, to death of the inexpressible grief, as well as loss, of the public. The lord Cathamine<sup>r</sup>, was severely reflected upon, and indeed, not without justice, in not having provided him a succession in any degree adequate to the importance of the expedition. His command fell upon brigadier-general Wentworth, an officer without experience, a man without abilities, but artful and plausible, having nothing in common with Vernon but his obstinacy, as great a contempt for the sea, as the other had for the land service. Ogle arrived at St. Christopher's, the place of general rendezvous, where his ships that had been scattered all day; but so much time had been lost, that sixteen sail of men of war had arrived at Porto Bello, and were then protecting the inhabitants in repairing their fortifications. Proceeding to Jamaica, four of Sir Chaloner's squadron engaged full in with as many French men of war off cape Tiberon, in moon before the dark, and a blind engagement followed, which lasted till between the day-light, when both sides ridiculously departed, with mutual English acknowledgements and condolances upon what had passed, there being, at that time, no declared war between Great Britain and France.

SOON

*A council of war held on January the 1st.*

SOON after the arrival of Ogle at Yare operations, was held at Port-Royal, concerning terms of truce, which It was composed of admiral Vernon, Sir C. Pon which general Wentworth, general Guise, and governo the Span. Vernon, upon the arrival of Ogle had received powers to act officially against the French, they were to continue in those seas. But this, in fact, was the case. Their fleet, which consisted of about twenty ships of the line, was lying at Port Louis, but in such distress for want of provisions, that above half of their ships crews were dead, and the survivors were reduced to three ounces of bread each man, and that half was undigested; nor was the next fleet at Cartagena and Rio Belli in a much better condition. All this having been foreseen, and reported by Charles Hager, and the best heads in England, the opposition, the government were in hopes that would be taken of the distressed condition of both, to attack the Spanish. But Vernon had an antipathy against the French, whom he considered as being far more powerful than they really were, and he was, at that time, in such credit both with the ministry and the people, that the other members of the council did not venture to controul him, and therefore, it was unanimous, that the French fleet should receive no reinforcement, to observe the motion of the squadron under the command of the Marquis d'Antin, which had been for some time at Hispaniola, and that captain Dandridge should be sent before the British sloop to get intelligence.

*Expedition against Carthage.* THE fleet being thirty sail of the line, a third division was found necessary, and captain Loftock, an officer of great experience, was appointed to command it. The dispatches employed in refitting the ships that had been damaged in their passage to Jamaica, as well as in watering and victualling them, was incredible; and every means was made of for preserving the health of the sailors and the soldiers, the numbers of the former amounting to 15,000, and those of the latter to 12,000, including the American battalions, and a body of negroes, that had been fitted out and furnished with the zeal of the inhabitants of Jamaica. When this mighty armament, the greatest by far that America had ever beheld, rendezvoused off Cape Tiberon on the 8th of February, they were rejoined by captain Dandridge, who reported that having looked into Port Louis, he had seen there nineteen sail of large ships, one having a flag at the main-top-mast-head, and another a broad pendant flying. This was a false alarm, for before this time the marquis d'Antin had sailed for France.

Admiral<sup>r</sup> was further remains of his squadron, after the most  
valorous the vice-adm<sup>r</sup>l's expedition that the French ever un-  
dertook. Distinguishing l's report, however, was believed, and in  
a council<sup>r</sup> the adm<sup>r</sup>l was immediately resolved to steer to the  
isle of ~~the~~ to the Admiral being resolved to act offensively.  
Soon after, for the discovered to his great disappointment, that  
captain Dandridge had been deceived by the haziness of the  
weather, and that the ships he had seen in *Port Lewis* were  
only merchantmen unrigged, excepting one frigate of forty  
guns. For the more certainty, however, the captains Bos-  
cowen and Knowles were sent to desire leave of the governor  
of *Fort Lewis* to wood and water in the bay; and upon their

of Port Lewis to wood and water in the bay, and reported.  
Upon a very polite answer, the departure of António Tor  
reaguiris confirmed, and that about 3000 of his men had  
arrived, he lay at Port Lewis. Another council of war  
assembled on the 16th of February; it was unanimously  
decided that the fleet, after having taken in wood and wa-  
ter at Tiberon, and Dona Maria Bay, should thence  
proceed to Cartagena. On the 23d following, cap-  
taine afterwards admiral, Warre, having joined the fleet, it  
was resolved next day by the four principal commanders of  
the fleet and army, vigorously to attack Cartagena by land  
and sea. On the 4th of March, in the evening, the whole  
fleet, which now consisted of 124 ships, lay in the Playa  
for the town, to windward of the town of Cartagena, which  
was on the Spanish continent, almost directly south of So-  
mavaca, and about 10 leagues north east of Panama.

By this time, Grey was lured with the disappointment of Discontent his favourite passion to attack the French fleet. In all the between councils of war, he had rather dictated to, than consulted Vernon with, the other members; and though he was generally right <sup>and</sup> Wentworth in his measures, yet the manner, in which he carried them worth through, was extremely disgusting. Wentworth, considering himself as general of the land-forces, thought he had a right to direct them in their operations; but Vernon treated this with such an air of superiority, as determined Wentworth to vent it to the utmost whenever an opportunity should present. Each had too soon an occasion to gratify his resentment, to the irreparable damage of his country. As no care had been taken since the commencement of hostilities between Great Britain and Spain, to conceal that Cartagena would be the main object of the former in the West-Indies, the Spaniards there, under de Torres and don Blas de Lesu, had omitted nothing that could render it impregnable, having 4000 regular troops in garrison, besides armed negroes and Indians, so that Cartagena was, at this time, supposed to be

the strongest, as well as the most impore operations, niards had upon their continent of ~~and~~ of true in ~~as~~, at the same time, were impene, by the cordon which him part for the reception of the Spanish fleets, and the Spaniquence of the great rivers *St. Martha* and *Mogdalen*, very weight down to ~~it~~ immense quantities of treasures and rich chandizier.

We shall not, in this place, abuse our readers with any particular description of *Cartagena*, farther than is necessary for their understanding the operations of the siege now undertaken. It is sufficient to say, that though the walls of the town were washed by the sea, yet it was unassailable on that side, on account of a salt surf and ridge of rocks; so that it was necessary to force the entrance of *Boca Chica*, which opened into the harbour, and which was so strongly fortified, that it was designed to be impregnable; a range of redoubts, castles, and batteries, lining it on each side, a strong berm, which ran ~~across~~, within which were four Spanish men of war, one of seventy, and three guns, at the mouth of the harbour, which formed a kind lake, the town of *Cartagena* itself lying about three miles farther up. Admiral *Verno* had exact intelligence from officers of all those particulars, and of the new works that were running up by the Spaniards. The demolition of the forts and batteries was committed to Sir *Chaloner Ogle*, who was directed "to proceed with his whole division of the line of battle for demolishing the said forts and batteries, and scouring all the country between them, so as to secure a descent for the forces in the ~~in~~. convenient parts of it between fort *St. Philip* and *Gambra* battery, which might divide the Spaniards, the better to make a descent at both places at once, and expose them the more to the fire of the ships; he was also particularly directed, not to suffer any imprudent or hasty firing from the ships, and to endeavour to convince the men, that such folly only serves to embolden an enemy instead of discouraging them. And the rear-admiral was likewise, in his orders in writing, to assign to each particular captain the post he was to take, and the place he was to execute; and also to order his respective ~~captains~~ to acquaint their respective ships companies, that the ~~all~~ all booty to be made by land, was graciously granted by the Britannic majesty to be distributed among his sea and land forces, as should be agreed on by a council of war ~~in~~ sea and land-officers, which had accordingly met, and regulated the distribution thereof, and had allotted a double share to any non-commission or warrant-officer, or private man, that might happen to be wounded in the service; and the rear-

*Instructions to Sir Chaloner Ogle.*

admiral was further directed to assure of a further reward from the vice-admiral, out of his share, all who should eminently distinguish themselves by ~~any~~ extraordinary actions of prudence and bravery, besides a secured advancement proportionable to the zeal and resolution exerted on so signal an occasion, for the honour of the crown, and future prosperity of their country.

OGLE, who was a very brave officer, punctually observed *Operations* his orders. He fell down next morning with his division to *against* the mouth of the harbour, and sent three eighty-gun ships, *Carthage*, the *Norfolk*, *Shrewsbury*, and *Royal*, to batter the forts of *S. na.*

*Philip* and *St. Jago*, while *Princess Amelia* went to play against the fascine battery, and *Litchfield* upon the battery of *Chamba*. The attack began the 9th of February, by Sir *Chaloner*, who was seconded by *Vernon* and the transports, *comyndore Lestock* being left with his division at anchor. The enemy was driven from the forts of *St. Jago*, and *St. Philip*, which colonel *Cochran* immediately took possession of with his grenadiers, while general *Wentworth*, brigadier *Wolfe*, and colonel *Wolfe*, without opposition, landed the regiments of *Harrow* and *Wentworth*, and soon after were landed all the artillery, tents, and baggage. The fort of *Chamba* was set on fire, and the fascine battery was found to be *burnt*. All this was performed with very little loss to the English, excepting what happened on board the *Street Ferry*, captain *Toussaint*, which was exposed to a most destructive fire from *Boca Chica*; but the animosity between *J. C. A.* and *Wentworth* began now to break out with the most fatal effects. *Vernon* and *OGLE* pressed *Wentworth* to lose no time, but to advance, and take post on the upper grounds, and to go across to the inside of the harbour: *Wentworth* despised this advice, because perhaps he did not understand its importance. He remained inactive and indolent for three days, slowly forming their encampment; but numbers of the soldiers either dropping down dead, or falling sick through the intenseness of the heat, and the inclemency of the night-dews; misfortunes which exertion and care could have prevented. To complete the misery of the British armament, it was discovered that its engineers had neither activity nor abilities, and were so far from being of any assistance in annoying the enemy, that *Wentworth* himself complained to the admiral of a fascine battery on the *Barradera* side of the harbour, which greatly annoyed his men.

ADMIRAL *Vernon* applied himself to remove this nuisance (if it may be so called) and in a council of war held on the 17th,

17th, it was resolved to attack it with 300 sailors and 200 soldiers, detached from those remaining on board the fleet; the sailors to be commanded by captain Boscowen, and the soldiers by the captains ~~Washington~~ and Murray. This service was performed with an intrepidity that British forces alone could have exerted, notwithstanding the dangers and difficulties attending it. The battery was carried and destroyed with very little loss, and thereby the engineers under Wentworth were left at liberty to proceed in their grand battery against Boca Chica. This went so heavily on, notwithstanding the important service performed from the soldiers and seamen from on board the ships, besides eight days having been consumed upon it, that Vernon could no longer bridle his indignation, but gave loose to it in a torrent of invectives against the general and engineers, whom he accused of knowing nothing of their business. This produced recriminations, and the whole contributed to retard the service. The battery itself was constructed in a wood, to conceal it from the enemy, and 500 seamen with 200 blacks, assisted the engineers and soldiers in raising it, but all to no purpose, the castle of Boca Chica still continuing to fire upon the besiegers on the 20th. At last, on the 22d, the grand battery, after clearing the wood from before it, began to play upon the castle, and the fire was hotly returned, ~~both from it and the barracada battery.~~ which the enemy had repaired. In a council of war on board the fleet, it had been resolved to make a general attack upon all the forts and batteries, to be put in execution as soon as the wind would permit the ships to move to their proper stations. Accordingly, on the 23d, commodore Leftock in the Boyne, with the Prince Frederic, Hampton-Court, Suffolk, and Tilbury, went in to batter Boca Chica castle, and the ships which were posted under it to great advantage, Leftock being supported by Sir Chaloner Ogle's division. This service proved to be very hot, the Spaniards keeping up a most dreadful fire; but at last, with the loss of many brave men, particularly the lord Aubrey Beauclerc, captain of the Prince Frederic, a breach was made in the castle, and the seamen landing demolished the barracada-battery.

*Boca Chica castle and* IT now fell to general Wentworth to storm the breach that had been made, in which he was assisted by the shipping, and the British soldiers, supplying by courage the want of experience, drove the Spanish garrison out of that fort taken of St. Joseph, which captain Knowles took possession of. Don Blas, the Spanish admiral, was at that time on board the Galicia, under Boca Chica, and gave orders for sinking all the Spanish ships there, but could not prevent the Galicia from

from falling into the hands of the English, with the captain, and about sixty of the Spaniards, don *Blae* himself escaping. The taking of this castle, the strength of which was much greater than the English themselves apprehended, cost the latter 400 of their best men, among whom were the colonels *Douglas* and *Watson*, lieutenant-colonel *Sandford*, and Mr. *Moor*, the chief and best engineer the English had, which rendered the loss irreparable. Though the firing from the castle and the Spanish shipping had now ceased, the mouth of the harbour was so very narrow, that it was with the utmost difficulty the English ships could enter it, so as to keep themselves clear of a Spanish ship which continued burning; and it was on all hands agreed that had the castle and harbour been but tolerably well defended, they must have been impregnable to the English fleet. All difficulties at last were surmounted, the enemies batteries were silenced, nailed up, or abandoned, and captain *Laws*, without opposition, took possession of *Castillo Grande*, where a vigorous resistance *Castillo Grande* was expected, and by the taking of which, the troops were taken.

THE English, after surmounting such incredible difficulties, thought that little remained but to take possession of *Cartagena*, of which they thought themselves so well assured, that captain *Laws* was sent express to London with dispatches, importing that the taking of *Ciudad*, and the other castles and batteries, was the same as the taking *Cartagena* itself; and rejoicings were made accordingly, not only at *Jamaica*, but all over the *West Indies*. On the 30th, in a council of war, held by the admiral and naval-officers, it was resolved to use all possible expedition to cut off the communication of the town on the land side, and to make a descent at the most convenient place nearest the city. Proper directions were made, in consequence of this resolution, by the shipping; but the cutting off the communication between the city and the country, belonging properly to the land-troops, the latter took possession of *La Popa*, a convent, situated on a hill, and overlooking the city and the neighbour country, and encamped within a short mile of fort *St. Louis*, the taking of which was indispensable for their future proceedings; and here the irretrievable oversights, which ruined the expedition, seem to have been committed.

EVERY day had added to the now declared animosity between the admiral and the general. The brave seamen had cleared their way through seven ships, that had been sunk by general

Error  
by the Spaniards, across the mouth of the upper harbour, Went-above *Castillo Grande*; and they had succeeded even beyond worth.

their hopes in all their other operations ; while the army, ever since the attack of *Boca Chica* castle, had done little or nothing. *Vernon* was always putting *Wentworth* in mind, that the communication between the city and the country ought immediately to be cut off, and fort *St. Lazare* attacked. Resolutions in a council of war, consisting of land-officers, were taken for that purpose; but nothing was done in consequence of them, and a most unaccountable languor seems to have possessed the troops. The general threw the blame upon the admiral, for not landing their tents, stores, and artillery; tho' it is probable, that if he had immediately attacked the *Spaniards*, who were at work upon some fortifications at the foot of the hill, where fort *St. Lazare* stood, before their panic was over, the *English* must have become masters of the place; but the unaccountable delays of the army gave them time to recover their spirits, and to complete a very strong fortification; and to take other precautions for their defence. All this while, the army was working on a bomb-battery, for making a breach in the castle of *St. Lazare*; but, at last, the chief engineer gave it up, in opinion, that the place might be rendered much stronger than it was, if the besiegers would wait for the arrival of the artillery; and that cutting through the woods for perfecting the grand battery, would take up a great deal of time. The admiral, in the mean time, was incessantly pressing the general, by without any effect, to cut off the communication, by which the city was supplied with all kinds of necessaries from the country, and immediately ~~by~~ *from St. Lazare*; and for that purpose, he sent abroad a detachment of *Colonel James Broadbent* and *Colonel Bland*, who joined the general on the 8th of April, together with all the *Americans* that were fit for service. Upon receiving this reinforcement, it was resolved in a council of war, held that same evening by the general and his field-officers, to attack the castle and trenches of *St. Lazare*, without waiting for the raising of a battery to make a breach. This has been generally looked upon as a most unfoldierlike resolution, and indeed, two of the best field-officers dissented from it; nor could it admit of any excuse, but the dismal situation of the troops, among whom contagious diseases began now to make great havoc.

*Fort St. Lazare attacked.* But *unpromising* as this resolution appeared, it might have been successful, had the execution of it been managed with common prudence. Three deserters offered to serve as guides to the troops in mounting the hill to the attack, which was to be made on two quarters. But the general lost the opportunity; for, instead of having every thing ready to surprize

prise the enemy by night, it was almost daylight next morning before the 1200 men, under the command of brigadier *Guise*, began to mount the hill; and to complete their misfortune, the scaling-ladders and woolpacks were left in the rear, with all the grenade-shells. Notwithstanding this, the troops mounted the ascent with the utmost intrepidity, but one of their guides being killed, one of the divisions, which was commanded by colonel *Grant*, was misled from a plain, practicable, road, by which they were to have ascended, to a steep difficult part of the hill, which the colonel, the most forward of them, actually gained; and they were pushing on towards the enemy's entrenchments, where the colonel and some of his officers were killed; and the rest of the division not being able to come up in time, the enemy securely finished the destruction of that brave handful; for it being now broad daylight, a mere carnage ensued, without the English having the satisfaction of making the least ~~wear~~ towards annoying their enemy; and they discovered, that had they been opposed, they could not, for want of scaling-ladders, have mounted the entrenchments. The more rational part of the officers, at last, being above 600 of their best men cut off by the grape-shot, musketry, and grenades, with which they were necessarily pelted, persuaded the troops to retreat, leaving in the hands of their enemies their useless scaling-ladders, woolpacks, and shovels.

with great  
loss to the  
English;  
*and without  
success.*

VARIOUS opinions were formed concerning this unsuccessful attempt; nor could it be yet agreed, whether its miscarriage was caused, owing to the malice of the admiral, or the inexperience of the general. The former, it is certain, behaved with so much caution, that no legal advantage could be taken of his conduct. He blamed the general for not apprising him of his intention to storm the fort, that he might have sent a body of sailors to his assistance; and, at the same time, he most ungenerously blamed the officers for desisting from the attack; while, to save appearances, after the carnage was over, and the attempt had miscarried, he sent a number of men, well-armed, in boats, to the general's assistance. The officers of the land-forces knew not whether to accuse their general or the admiral; but foreseeing that all their attempts for reducing the place must be ineffectual, they marched with their men into their camp, where they were visited by more dreadful enemies than the Spaniards, *contagious diseases*, which swept them off in such numbers, that in a few days, a sufficiency of able men did not remain to do the duties of the camp.

THE operations by sea, though less fatal, were not more successful. Vernon had again and again represented, that it was impossible for his shipping to succeed against Cartagena, unless fort St. Lazare was taken. Wentworth, on the other hand, maintained, that the place might be battered from the harbour; and Vernon, to prefer his conduct irreproachable, had fitted up the Galicia as a floating battery, and given the command of her to captain Haze, to play upon the town. Upon trial, it was found, that she could not approach so near the walls, as to make any impression upon them; but her shot, and the bombs from the tenders, did considerable damage to the houses and churches; and it was with difficulty that the Spaniards prevented their principal powder-magazine from being blown up by a bomb, which fell into a church, where it was lodged. Many conjectures, very unfavourable to the memory of Vernon, were formed, upon the reasons that could determine him to desist, as he did, from this kind of bombardment, which in the end might have rendered the city untenable by the inhabitants. But what still greater speculation in his prejudice, was, that many officers, under his own command, affirmed, that the Galicia did not lie in the proper station for battering the walls of Cartagena, the water there being too shallow for her approaching near enough; but that a little to leeward the left shore was a depth of water sufficient for four or five of his largest ships to have lain with their broadsides against the town, within pistol-shot of the walls. Whatever truth may be in those allegations, it is certain, that ~~the general~~ ordered the Galicia, after she had continued her cannonading for some time, to be drawn off; and on the 23d and 24th, it was resolved in a general council of war, to return to Jamaica, on account of the sickness in the army. Before this resolution was put in execution, the demolition of Castillo Grande was completed by captain Knowles, with great difficulty, on account of the vast thickness of its walls. Boca Chica, fort St. Joseph, and the other Spanish forts, the English had taken, were likewise demolished, under the direction of captain Boscowen, and other officers, as were likewise all the lime-kilns; and proper dispositions being made for cruising upon the enemy, and preventing supplies coming by sea to Cartagena, the whole fleet returned safe to Port Royal harbour in Jamaica, on the 19th of May.

*The English fleet returns to Jamaica.*

THIS momentous expedition was far more ruinous to the British forces, by the diseases that attacked them, than by the power or resistance of the enemy; about 2500 land-forces fell before the walls of the city, among whom were

two colonels, five lieutenant-colonels, four majors, the chief engineer, twenty-nine captains, fifty-one first and second lieutenants, five ensigns, and *Martin*, the chief physician. The loss of the *Spaniards*, by the demolition of their forts, castles, and guns, together with their men of war, galleons, and other vessels, were estimated at a million of money. But all those were secondary considerations, compared to the vast disappointment which attended the ill success of the expedition, which was the most expensive that ever had been fitted out by *England*. It had filled not only the *Spaniards*, but the *French* with such apprehensions, that they ordered their minister at the *Hague* to "reach up a kind of a ~~carte~~ of all the *European powers* against *England*, whose progress in the *West-Indies*, he said, was incompatible with their interests or safety. On the other hand, the people of *Great Britain*, the more they had been elevated by the former glorious accounts of the expedition, were the more dejected by a miscarriage that was so unexpected and so fatal. Before the arrival of the fleet to *Jamaica*, the epidemical sickness, which had been so ruinous to the troops, got into the ships, and carried off great numbers of the seamen whom *Sir Chaloner Ogle* brought with him from *England*.

It was thought by the impartial part of the public, that the *Reflection*. misfortunes which the *British* armament met with, might have been prevented, and that *Cartagena*, with all its ~~pro~~vince, might have been reduced, if *Vernon* could have overlooked, or made up, his differences with *Wentworth*. But, after taking ~~over~~ to secure his own conduct from all impeach-  
ment, he seemed to enjoy, with a malicious pleasure, all the blunders that his antagonist's inexperience made him commit, while the other was too proud to ask either for his advice or assistance. *Vernon*'s disgust at the management of the war not being entirely due to himself, seems to have been invincible; for even when he dispatched *Lawes* with the news of his success at *Boca Chica*, he intimated in a letter to the *Duke of Newcastle*, then secretary of state, his desire to be recalled from that service; which drew from his grace, who *1741* had a very high opinion of his courage and zeal for the public service, the following answer. " May I wish, for the honour of my country, for the success of his majesty's arms, and for the perfecting the great work you have so gloriously begun, of reducing the *Spaniards* in the *West-Indies*, that you would not think, becoming home, and leaving your command there, which, without the least imputation upon any body, cannot be supplied by any one, on whom his majesty the na-

tion, and all the king's friends and servants, can have an equal dependance."

THE misfortunes of the British fleet and army did not terminate in their abandoning the siege of *Carthagena*. Their infectious distempers acquired new strength every day, and great numbers were swept off soon after their arrival at *Jamaica*. It is but doing justice to *Vernon's* memory to acknowledge, that this mortality must have been far greater, had he not exerted himself in the preservation of the health of his crews, by distributing among them wholesome, proper, provisions, and diluting their spirituous liquors, so as to prevent the distempers that attend the too free use of them in that hot climate. His pride was hurt by the miscarriage at *Carthagena*, though he and his friends drew the whole blame of it upon *Wentworth* and the land troops; and therefore he resolved to continue some time longer in the *West-Indies*, till he might have an opportunity, by some signal expedition, to retrieve his popularity. By this time, the greatest part of the Spanish and French ships of war had returned to *Europe*, and the large unsheathed English ships were exposed to great danger by lying at *Jamaica*, where a numerous fleet of merchantmen was likewise lying, waiting for a convoy to *England*. Commodore *Leflock* therefore took under his command seven of the eighty gun ships, the *Princess Carolina*, *Russel*, *Norfolk*, *Shrewsbury*, *Princess Amelie*, *Torbay*, and *Chichester*, together with the *Kampten-Court*, *Burford*, *Windsor*, and *Falmouth*, the *Success*, *Eleanar*, *Cumberland*, *Terrible*, and *Goodley* frigates, which were all unsheathed, with the fleet of merchantmen, and all the officers and soldiers that were sick or disabled.

*Expedition against St. Domingo de Cuba proposed.* DON RODERIGO *de Torres*, the Spanish admiral, while *Vernon* remained at *Jamaica*, was lying with a powerful squadron at the *Havannah*, for the protection of that important harbour; and Mons. *Roqueville* was stationed with a French squadron at *Hispaniola*: but neither of them thought proper to act offensively; though the squadron under *de Torres* was equal to that under *Vernon*, after commpdore *Leflock's* departure for *England*. The instructions that had been sent to *Vernon*, left it optional to him, and the council of war, to attack the *Havannah*, *la Vera Cruz*, *Mexico*, *Carthagena*, or *Panama*. Even after the miscarriage before *Carthagena* was known in *England*, the government was so intent upon striking some important blow in the *West-Indies*, that 2000 fresh troops were sent to *Jamaica*, together with additional stores and ammunition. But the force under *Vernon* and *Wentworth* was far unequal to an attempt upon any of the places mentioned in his instructions;

notes; and Sir Charles Wager had always been of opinion, that an attempt ought to be made against St. Jago de Cuba, which, if successful, might have been attended with the conquest of the *Havannah* itself upon the same island. In all events, an English settlement upon *Cuba* must alarm the Spaniards so much, that they would speedily make for peace without the intervention of *France*. Not only Sir Charles Wager, but the British ministry in general, thought that such an attempt was practicable, but the making it, in a great measure, was left to *Vernon's* discretion. The people of *Jamaica* were much bent upon some signal expedition against the *Spaniards*, and the council there had voted, that the admiral should receive a supply of a thousand of the most serviceable blacks upon the island; but it is probable, that when this vote passed, they did not foresee that the storm was to fall upon St. Jago. In the mean while, *Vernon* was most indefatigably employed in refitting his ships, and in every measure for recovering the health of his seamen, in which he was very successful.

Every thing being now ready for sailing, a council of *And re-*  
*view* was held at St. Jago de la Vega, on the 26th of May, solved on  
1741, at which were present, vice-admiral *Vernon*, Sir Cha- *in a coun-*  
*loner Ogle, general Wentworth, general Guise, and governor cil of war.*  
*Trelawny*; when the following resolution was agreed to.  
"The council, after maturely deliberating upon their in-  
structions, letters, intercepted intelligences, and ad-  
vices; and having regard to the great reduction of their force,  
and of opinion, That, in regard to the diminution of the  
forces, the ~~country~~ *Jamaica*, the *British trade*, and of all sup-  
plies coming to them; and also the preserving a communication  
with *Jamaica* for their supplies; the only expedition that  
could be thought advisable to be undertaken, was against  
St. Jago de Cuba, a port of great importance to the security  
of the *British trade*, and cutting off the baneful correspond-  
ence between the *Spaniards* and *Hispaniola*. And though in  
regard to the general sickness, that spreads itself through fleet  
and army, they were not in very good condition for under-  
taking any new expedition; yet, on the assurance given the  
council by governor *Trelawny*, that they might rely on a  
supply from *Jamaica* of 1000 of the most serviceable blacks  
they could raise in the island, to be all chosen men, and to  
have proper officers; and through a sincere zeal for doing the  
utmost in their power to answer the expectations of their  
royal master for the great expence of this expedition; it  
was the resolution of the council to undertake this expedition  
against St. Jago, and to push it forward with all the dispatch  
the situation of their affairs would admit of."

*Opposed by Trelawney.* I HOUCH the two admirals and the two generals signed this resolution, yet it was dissented from by governor *Trelawney*, whose opinion was, "That since the forces had been so reduced by sickness, the remaining number ought not to be hazarded, but on a service, that, if it succeeded, might be of great benefit and importance to Great Britain. He could not think St. Jago de Cuba of consequence, while the English were masters at sea; and took it for an inviolable maxim to be superior, as they might be, at sea in the West-Indies; or else, possessions there would be a detriment, instead of a benefit, to Great Britain; and no possessions, but such as are useful in commerce, are for the benefit of England. Panama is of that nature, as it would command the isthmus of Darien; and therefore, if there was force enough, with the help of the Musqueto Indians, and negroes, under proper officers from Jamaica—an attempt upon that place would be, in his opinion, most adviseable." It is thought, that the governor was not a little induced in this opposition, not only by personal resentment, but the apprehensions he was under, "that a settlement upon Cuba, if effected, might reduce the importance of his own government; but this was far from being the opinion of the people of Jamaica in general, who most ardently wished that St. Jago might be reduced. The question being carried in the council of war, all measures were put in execution for sailing, but with a force disproportioned to the enterprize, the land troops being now reduced from 12,000 to 3000. Such was the size of the Jamaican fleet, the force of this expedition, that instead of 1000, they offered 5000 negroes to serve in it; but the smaller number was judged sufficient. On the 28th of June, a strong squadron being left under commodore *Davies* to protect the island of Jamaica, the armament sailed, and on the 18th of July, the whole fleet got into Walthamham harbour, one of the finest and most capacious in all the West-Indies; and the admiral gave it the name of Cumberland harbour, in honour of his royal highness the duke.

*The fleet sails.*

ST. JAGO is the capital of the island of Cuba, though far inferior in populousness, strength, and riches to the Havana, where the Spanish squadron, under de Torres, will continued to lie. The knowledge of the island of Cuba itself, especially in its inland parts, had been so carefully concealed by the Spaniards, that the accounts of it are various, and sometimes contradictory. But, upon the whole, it is unequal as to its soil and produce; some spots of it being as rich and delightful as any in the world, and others bleak and barren. St. Jago city was far from being strong towards the land,

land, but it lay conveniently for privateers, which did infinite damage to the Jamaica trade. An English mariner, who said he had resided there for thirteen years, represented the march from Cumberland harbour to St. Jago as being very practicable, by means of a fresh-water river, which could carry boats a considerable way up the country. Other mariners, who had been prisoners there, and worked upon the fortifications, gave accounts of the strength of the place; but it was judged on all hands impracticable to attack it by sea; and therefore, though Cumberland harbour was at a considerable distance, it was resolved to march the troops by land, especially, as it was judged the Spaniards would be unprovided to receive them, and the roads very passable. On *Council of war held.* the 20th of July, was held a council of war, composed of vice-admiral *Vernon*, general *Westworth*, Sir *Chaloner Ogle*, general *Blakeney*, colonel *Browther*, colonel *Cudran*, captain *Mayne*, and captain *Cotterel*. Here captain *Mayne*, and lieutenant *Loweher*, who had been sent to reconnoitre as far as the approaches to a village called *Catalina*, where there was a battery, reported, that they had found every thing exactly to agree with the *survivour* of *Drake*, the mariner abovementioned, while captain *Renton* gave his opinion, that it was impracticable to attack the harbour of St. Jago immediately by sea; but it was found, that before they could possess themselves of the harbour of St. Jago, they must become masters of the strong castle of *Moro*, and the batteries erected for its defence.

UPON the whole, it was unanimously resolved, *to commence its resolution*, to set about doing every thing in their power, to comply with the principal view of his majesty's instructions, that of possessing themselves of the island of *Cuba*; and for advancing to attempt to surprise and take the batteries above the *Moro* castle, if the approaches to them were found practicable for the forces; to get up to the village of *Catalina* with the utmost expedition, and, at all events, to secure that, and a communication with *Walthenam* harbour, as a probable foundation to acquire a footing in the island of *Cuba*, and waiting for further succours, to enable them to complete the reduction of it. And resolved, that the general by desired to acquaint the respective governors of the northern colonies, with their resolution to establish themselves on *Cuba*, and wait for his majesty's further instructions, and desire them to send what recruits they could raise; and to assure the inhabitants of their respective colonies that were willing to endeavour to settle themselves in *Cuba*, that they should be sure to meet with all possible encouragement; unanimously re-solving,

solving, & do all jointly in their power, to secure a footing in this island, till they received his majesty's further instructions."

*The English reconnoitring party.* THE forces being landed without any difficulty, a fine camp was formed on the side of a fresh water river, in a most wholesome situation, which afforded every thing that could contribute to the health and refreshment of the troops, and about three leagues from the mouth of the harbour. It is uncertain what the event might have been, if the forces, instead of enjoying this delightful spot, had immediately marched to the object of their destination. But while they lay encamped, the Spaniards took the alarm, and sent out flying parties to observe the English. Wentworth, on the other hand, thought it was unfeelerlike to enter upon a march, in an unknown country, before the ground was reconnoitred, and sent out a considerable detachment for that purpose. They discovered some of the flying parties of the Spaniards, who retreated before them, and having advanced a good way up the country, major Dunster, who commanded the detachment, thought proper to return to a village called Guantanamo. There he found the colonels Cochran and Whitford, with 250 soldiers, and upon consultation, though the whole detachment was now no strong, they resolved to return to the camp, where they made such a report of the country as determined general Wentworth against the enterprise.

THE state of this expedition was now pretty much the same with that of the fatal attempt upon ~~the~~ <sup>the</sup> ~~country~~. The admiral had made an excellent disposition of his ships to prevent any surprize from de Torres, and was every hour representing by messages to the general, the necessity of putting the troops in motion. In answer to those admonitions, the general, on the 5th of August, informed the admiral by a letter, that being diffident of the success of the enterprize against St. Jago, and finding it impossible for the troops to subsist much longer where they were, he intended to call a council of war to come to a final resolution. It appeared by this letter, and by others sent from the camp, that the general, and his principal officers, were determined against attacking St. Jago; and this opinion was confirmed by a council of war of the land-service, which assembled on the 9th, where it was resolved, " That they could not march any body of their troops further into ~~the~~ <sup>the</sup> ~~country~~, without exposing them to certain ruin; and that they were firmly of opinion, that their advancing with the army to St. Jago, in their present circumstances, was impracticable." It would be

Wentworth declines the attack of St. Jago.

It had been hard to express the indignation of *Vernon*, when he received those accounts. He had offered to cruise off the mouth of the harbour of *St. Jago* to favour the attempts of the army. The country between the camp and the city was entirely deserted by the inhabitants, and it was said, upon the strength of intercepted letters, (which, however, might have been written with design,) that the governor, and the principal officers in *St. Jago*, gave the place up for lost, and were ready to abandon it, and that the city itself was in great want of ammunition. The general, on the other hand, represented that he could not be answerable to march without artillery for attacking the place, which it was impossible to bring up; and that, notwithstanding all the endeavours that had been used, he was still destitute of information as to the country through which he was to march; and that he had no reason to lay any stress on what was reported concerning the despondency and inability of the Spaniards. The truth is, that *Vernon*, and the sea-officers, had always proposed that the land troops should attempt to take the batteries without heavy artillery; a method proceeding which *Wentworth*, and the land-officers, considered as being contrary to all the rules of war.

In the meanwhile, the unhappy season now began, by Resolutions which the troops suffered more than, perhaps, they would of the war done by an unsuccessful attack; and animosities between council of the admirals and general had risen to such a height, that it was plain each would have rather fought the other than ~~the~~ <sup>in</sup> guinst the enemy; nor were these differences confined to them, for they grew general between the land and sea-service. The soldiers were dissatisfied at seeing the rich prizes which were every day brought in by the sailors, without their having any share in them; and some quarrels had happened between the European and American troops employed in the expedition. As the last tentative, another council of war was held, consisting of the officers of the navy and army, in which the latter plainly declared, that it was impracticable to march farther up the country. *Vernon*, having no power over the land service, could do nothing but remonstrate verbally against this opinion; and laying before the general, and his officers, copies of all the evidence he had procured, he exhorted them to act in the manner they should think most conducive to the honour and interest of their country; but all was to no purpose; for the council broke up without coming to any new resolution.

*VERNON* appeared enraged at the cowardice and treachery (as he call'd it) of the general and his officers, and declared, though

~~Vernon reconnoitred the harbour of St. Jago.~~ though inconsistently enough with the information he had received, that he would sail in person to view the harbour of St. Jago, whether it was practicable to enter it with the shipping. He accordingly sailed thither on the 4th of September, with the Oxford and the Montague; and soon was confirmed as to the truth of his intelligence, that it was impossible for a squadron to enter that harbour, which was unsafe even for friendly ships. But Vernon seems, at this time, to have been sensible that Wentworth had as little power over the operations of the fleet, as he had over those of the army, which was now in a most lamentable condition, 200 of its officers having died, besides common men, during their inactive encampment; and Wentworth declared, that if they continued where they were, he must soon be without men to do camp-duty. Vernon, on his return from reconnoitring the harbour of St. Jago, produced a letter from Sir Charles Wager, intimating, that 2000 troops had been sent to reinforce him, and that insisted upon the army remaining as the advantages could be possessed till the arrival of those troops, which would enable them to reduce, at least, the eastern part of the island.

*The expedition laid aside.* THOUGH this proposal was agreed to in a council of war held on the 22d of October, yet it certainly was a most ruinous scheme, considering the growing mortality of the army, which obliged the general to summon a new council of war, consisting of the land officer only, which met the 7th of November following, and declared their opinion, "That no time ought to be lost in embarking the troops on board their transports; and that it might be done with the utmost expedition, they thought all the assistance which could be had from the fleet was necessary, for which end proper application was without delay to be made to vice-admiral Vernon." The necessity of this resolution was so apparent, that on the 20th of November, the re-embarkation was effected on board the transports, without the least difficulty. On the 25th, a general council of war was held, in which the land officers came to a resolution of proceeding directly for Jamaica, while the admiral declared his intention to cruise till he was joined by the reinforcement he expected. It was the 28th, before the transports sailed for ~~Jamaica~~, where they arrived safe, while the admiral on the 1st of December with eight ships of the line, continued to cruise off Hispaniola, to meet the reinforcement from England.

IT is hard to pronounce whether the resolution of the admiral or the general suffered most from the miscarriage of this expedition. The former it is true, had the populace on his side, but their opinions were but short-lived, while the more

more thinking part of the nation thought that he gave too much way to his hatred of the land-service, and that he had sacrificed the interests of his country to the great desire he had to render Wentworth and his officers contemptible and ridiculous. The forbidding manner he assumed on all occasions, his imperious behaviour and disregard, for all, even in the sea-service, who differed from his opinion, evinced, that he was not formed to command with an associate; and though he had the precaution to screen his own conduct from reproach, yet it was easy to perceive, that the national service was a consideration secondary to the gratification of his resentment, and (as some said) his avarice. The conduct of the land-service was equally indefensible. The general's inexperience and irresolution were attended with all the effects of cowardice and treachery; and through the long peace that had preceded the war with Spain, very few of the land officers were acquainted with service. They considered the West-Indies as being little better than their graves. A general notion prevailed among the regulars, that all the burthen they underwent, were, in order to obtain for the Americanian establishment on the Spanish settlements; and this prepossession (which was not entirely groundless) rendered them languid and backward in all their operations. To many of them, life or death seemed to be indifferent, and though few had perished by the enemy, yet it was computed, on a moderate calculation, that before they reached Jamaica at least 20,000 English subjects had died since their first embarkation upon *Cayenne*.

NOTWITHSTANDING the immense national loss sustained *A reino* by the two expeditions against Cartagena and Cuba, the people of Jamaica were very considerable gainers by the prizes sent to Jamaica. taken from the Spaniards that were carried into their island; and this consideration rendered them exceedingly alert in promoting any expedition from Great Britain that could give a diversion to the Spaniards. The reinforcement sent to Vernon embarked from Ireland and Scotland, and after rendez-vousing at Cork, they arrived at Jamaica on the 15th of January in fifty-five transports, which carried near 3000 land-forces, to cover the convoy of the Greenwich, St. Albans, and Worcester, men of war, with four bomb-ketches. A general court-martial was held on their arrival, where a letter from his grace the duke of Newcastle was read, informing admiral *Vernon*. That his Majesty had commanded his grace to acquaint him, and general Wentworth, that he saw, with great concern, the heats and animosities that had arisen between his officers by sea and land, contrary to his order, whereby the

Dated 31st  
of Oct.  
1741.

the service could not but greatly suffer; ordering his grace to recommend it to them, in the strongest manner, carefully to avoid the like for the future; and that, in case of any differences of opinion, all acrimony, and warmth of expression, to be laid aside."

*Schemes of operations proposed.* A COUNCIL of war was held upon this letter, which obliquely glanced at the too free expressions which Vernon had made use of against Wentworth's person; and it was composed of vice-admiral Vernon, general Wentworth, brigadier-general Guise, and governor Treloawney. Here a scheme, which had been encouraged by Sir Charles Wager, who had recommended the same to admiral Vernon, was submitted to their consideration. It had been suggested to Sir Charles by one captain Lee, who had been in the service of the South-Sea company as a ship-master, and was well acquainted with Guatemala, and all the coasts of Honduras and Campeachy. Sir Charles Wager had so good an opinion of Lee, that though he never had been in the government's service, he was made commander of the Bonetta sloop, and sent to Jamaica to lay his project before the council of war; and Sir Charles, though otherwise an able seaman, was of opinion, that it might create a very favourable revolution in Peru and Mexico; and other dominions of the Spaniards in South America. The substance of it was, to attack the Spanish fortifications upon the river Dulce and the lake of Nicaraqua, where the English might, from that rich continent, open a gainful communication with the Spanish natives there, who had almost forgot their own original and the Indians, both of whom being a great service to the government of Old Spain, that, but a few years before, they had revolted, to the number of 30,000 men, and were not reduced even at the time when this project was communicated. To carry it into execution, Lee required that no more than one ship of war and sloops should be employed, with 1000 land-troops on board, commanded by proper officers, and a supply of arms for the use of the insurgents.

ANOTHER plan was proposed, formed by one Lieutenant Lowther, that as the trade with Porto Bello still continued open, a man of war should go along with the traders, and that the Musquito Indians, who were acquainted with the river Chagre, should be employed in carrying up the artillery to Cruces, from whence there was an open road to Panama, which might be attacked. Lowther obtained, upon proper terms, (to enable him to hire guides and procure intelligence,) to engage the Musquito men in this expedition, which, he said, would require 3000 regulars, and 500 negroes, to execute

late. The council of war, before which those plans were laid, happened to consist chiefly of land officers, and the majority of voices approved of Lowther's scheme, preferably to that of Lee. This resolution was attended with a vast number of unseemly altercations, and contradictory resolutions, which evinced that the members were more actuated by a spirit of discord than a regard for their country: but as all parties were sensible that great matters were expected from them at home, it was resolved to lose no time in carrying Lowther's scheme into execution; and about the 8th of February, Vernon made all the proper dispositions for that purpose, and most earnestly pressed Wentworth to give orders for the embarkation of the troops. About this time, intelligence came, that six Spanish men of war, with 4000 troops, were arrived at *Laguna*, destined for reinforcing the garrison of *Cartagena*; and this proved a fresh obstacle to Wentworth's giving orders for the embarkation of the troops. Vernon undertook to cruise off *Cartagena*, to intercept the Spanish reinforcement, while Sir Chaloner Ogle was to forward the embarkation of the land-troops under Wentworth, and to proceed to sea with the transports and storeships under his command.

As an expedition to *Panama* was the favourite scheme of *Expedition*, governor Treloarney, he voluntarily embarked in this as a undertaken *transplant*; while Vernon, who saw only one unrigged ship at *Cartagena*, blocked up that harbour; and it was the 25th of March before he was joined by the armament under Sir Chaloner Ogle. The whole of the British fleet then consisted of two eighty gun ships, two of seventy, and four of sixty-three fireships, two hospital-ships, with four sail of transports, having on board about 3000 land troops, and 500 negroes, commanded by governor Treloarney. By this time, lieutenant Lowther had been dispatched, as a private trader, with thirteen men, to gain intelligence as to the probability of success; but before he could return, Vernon acquainted the general, that he must proceed directly to *Porto Bello* with his fleet, where he would call a council of war, and accordingly he sailed there on the 28th of March. This measure seems to have balked the expedition. It had not been foreseen by Lowther, that the moment the British fleet appeared off *Porto Bello*, the Spanish governor there, with his garrison, numbering 1500, would make the best of his way *to the Panama*; and therefore his advice was, that 500 British troops should be landed at *Nombre de Dios*, to intercept them, but this measure was neglected.

~~which mis-~~ ~~carries;~~ WHEN Vernon appeared off *Porto Bello* on the 28th ~~of~~ <sup>March,</sup> he found the inhabitants ready to abandon the place, which being by no means for the interest of the British ~~traders~~, an officer and an interpreter were sent ashore to promise them protection; but it must be observed, that by this time, the governor of *Porto Bello*, who was an officer of merit and experience, and his garrison, had retired towards *Panama*. The inhabitants, being thus left defenceless, sent a deputation to the admiral and the general, to settle the terms of their protection; and it was agreed, in a council of war, that it should be granted, if they did nothing to forfeit it; and that the council expected the town to furnish mules for common stores, and cattle for the sick; and to return an account the next morning, what number of mules they could provide when required. A council of war was likewise held the day the fleet appeared off *Porto Bello*, in which it was agreed, that it would be most for the service, to have a detachment sent up the river *Casabah* the next day, for cutting off the communication between *Porto Bello* and *Panama*, and to take possession of the custom-house, and to place a guard there. But this measure was entirely neglected, and Vernon threw the blame upon *Wentworth*, while fourscore soldiers were sent to take possession of the custom-house, which the British officers pretended was not included in the protection granted to the inhabitants of *Porto Bello*.

~~through~~ ~~what~~ ~~means.~~ WHILE those frivolous operations were carrying on, ~~Lam-~~ <sup>the</sup> he returned to the fleet, and gave it as his opinion, <sup>that</sup> the Spaniards having been alarmed, the expedition he had proposed against *Panama* was impracticable for that year. This coincided with *Wentworth's* intelligence, which not only informed him of the arrival of the governor and garrison of *Porto Bello* at *Panama*, but of a strong reinforcement that it had received from *Lima*, and that fortifications had been thrown up for the defence of the place by land. This revived the altercations between *Lam* and *Wentworth*; and indeed, the former seems to have been indefensible in not landing the 500 men, according to *Lam's* advice, at *Nombra de Dios*; while Vernon laid the blame upon *Wentworth's* having neglected to send a detachment up the river *Casabah*, which would have equally intercepted the Spanish governor and his garrison. Upon the whole, it was resolved in a council of war, held by the land-officers, to lay aside the expedition against *Panama*, because their force was insufficient for carrying it into execution, and the ~~expedition~~ <sup>ships</sup>, being ~~barked~~, returned to *Jamaica* on the 15th of May. It was generally thought that this shameful event of so promising an expe-

expedition, would have brought either the admiral or the general both to a trial. But *Vernon* was protected by his popularity, and his strict adherence to his instructions, and the rank of his profession, in which no man excelled him. *Wentworth*, on the other hand, sheltered himself behind the opinions of the councils of war, in which the land-officers had always a majority.

Upon the return of the armament to *Jamaica*, captain *The island Rattan* scheme, which we have already mentioned, was in part resumed; and it was resolved, that lieutenant *Hodgson*, settled, properly attended, should once more repair to the *Musquito* coast, to consult with the Indians there, and the logwood-cutters in the bay, about settling the island of *Rattan*, in *Guatemala* of *Honduras*; a measure which promised great advantage to the people of *Jamaica*. This island lies about 150 leagues south-west from *Jamaica*, and 14 to the north-west of *Truxillo Bay*, on the Spanish Main, and is about 30 miles long, and 13 broad, being healthy, and well-watered. Besides the logwood trade, the *Jamaicans* promised themselves, an opening for a commerce with the Spaniards at *Guatemala*. *Vernon* was a great friend to this undertaking, and *Hodgson* carried out a captain's commission to one *Pitt*, an eminent English logwood-cutter, who having been long settled in those parts, had great interest with the *Mosquitos*, and undertook for their assistance in the intended project. This being known at *Jamaica*, by admiral *Vernon's* advice, 200 of the *American* regiment, with 50 marines, were sent under the convoy of the *Litchfield* man of war and the *Bonetta* sloop, to *Rattan*, with an engineer, arms, ammunition, and all other necessaries, and some cannon, for a fortification, besides six months provisions. The settlement was effected with great success; a town, and fortifications for its defence, were raised, and the government of the whole was confirmed upon Mr. *Pitt's*. After this, on the 23<sup>d</sup> of September, admiral *Vernon* and general *Wentworth* were ordered home to England, while Sir *Chaloner Ogle* was to remain at *Jamaica* with the fleet, and as many marines as were necessary for its service; and the eight independent companies, for the security of *Jamaica*, were completed from the regulars.

WHEN *Vernon* and *Wentworth* arrived in England, both of them were most graciously received at court; and notwithstanding the mutual recriminations that passed between them, both of them were preferred. *Wentworth* found more friends than his antagonist, for he had all the officers of the land-service to back him; while *Vernon* was hated by many of his own profession, for his haughty, unamiable disposition. The

*The History of America.*

spirit of discord which had possessed them, seems to have entered into Sir Chaloner Ogle and the governor of *Jamaica*; and even swords were drawn in their quarrels. Ogle, though brave, was excessively ignorant of every thing that did not immediately relate to his own profession; and Mr. Trelawney, though a man of some sense, was of a hasty, unforgiving temper; nor could he by any means be brought to a reconciliation with Ogle, which proved of infinite detriment to *Jamaica*. Little occurs with regard to the history of that island, during the remaining part of the war.

*Knowles, governor.* MR. TRELAWNEY was succeeded in his government of *Jamaica* by Charles Knowles, Esq; whose services, as a sea-officer, we have often had occasion to mention. Under him the island enjoyed a tolerable share of tranquillity; but the war being transported elsewhere, the inhabitants no longer partook of the benefits which their situation threw in their way, and several heart-burnings arose between them and their governor; but we shall not venture to pronounce as to the merits of the dispute. It is certain, that the administration at home was daily troubled with complaints against the planters of *Jamaica* by the sugar-refiners and grocers of London, Westminster, and Bristol, on account of the high price of sugars imported from *Jamaica*. The affair at last came before parliament, where the cause of the *Jamaicans* was vigorously supported by one of their countrymen, an alderman of London. A petition was presented to the house, of *copy rights* from the said sugar-refiners and grocers, praying, that the proprietors of land in *Jamaica* might be obliged to cultivate greater quantities of sugar-cane grounds, in order to reduce the price of that, almost universal, commodity, or that the petitioners might be at liberty to import mufcovado sugars from other countries, when those imported from *Jamaica* should exceed a certain rate.

*Proceedings in the British parliament relating to Jamaica.* On the 19th of February, 1753, an address was ordered to be presented to his majesty, that he would be graciously pleased to give directions, that there should be laid before that house, the printed acts of assembly, passed in the island of *Jamaica*, from 1681 to 1737 inclusive. This address was occasioned by the complaints of grievances, sent over from time to time from the assembly at *Jamaica*, in answer to the several representations that had been made against them on the subject of sugar, and several other heads; in which they represented, that the imposts they paid, and the restrictions they lay under, rendered them unable to answer the expectations of their mother-country, by subjecting them to the greatest inconveniences and hardships. So great a regard was paid by the house to those repre-

representations, that they served as a foundation for an address to his majesty, concerning the present state of the island of *Jamaica*, and for copies of the several accounts relating to the same of the said island. This address was referred to the commissioners of trade and plantations, who drew up a report accordingly, which was presented on the 23d of February, by Mr. John Pitt, one of the said commissioners, together with several acts passed in that island, for encouraging white people to come over and settle there, and likewise the printed acts. Those papers were not thought sufficient by the friends of the *Jamaicans* for their vindication, and when the report and papers were referred to a committee of the whole house, on the 27th, Mr. Rockford moved for an address to his majesty, that he would give directions for laying before the house, a copy of the address to his majesty, from the council and assembly of the island of *Jamaica*, representing to his majesty, the state of the said island; in which motion he was seconded by Sir Francis Dashwood; but was first being objected to by the lord Duperreux, Charles Townshend, Esq; Sir William Longe, Robert Nugent, Esq; Edward Elliot, Esq; and Henry Pelham, Esq; the question was carried in the negative. On the 8th of March following, Mr. John Pitt proposed the resolutions of the said committee of the whole house, and the same were agreed to, as follows : 1. That *Resolved*, peopling the island of *Jamaica* with white inhabitants, *agreed to*, and cultivating the lands thereof, is the most proper measure for the security of that island, and for increasing the trade and navigation between that island and *Great Britain*, as well as to and from other parts of his majesty's dominions. 2. That the endeavours hitherto used by the legislature of the island of *Jamaica*, to increase the number of white inhabitants, and to enforce the cultivation of lands, in the manner which may conduce best to the security and defence of that island, have not been effectual for these purposes. Mr. Pitt then moved, by direction from the committee, for leave to bring in a bill for the better peopling the island of *Jamaica* with white inhabitants, for encouraging the cultivation of lands, at present uncultivated in that island, and for making a proper distribution of such lands. A bill was accordingly ordered in, and was read a first time, the 9th of May. During the course of the debates on this affair, many severe reflections were thrown out against the planters of *Jamaica*, for not complying with the terms of the original grants from the crown, in cultivating a certain proportion of the lands so granted. But the representatives of the council and assembly at *Jamaica*, had so much weight in them, that it was

thought proper, not to proceed upon the bill till the house received farther information concerning the state of the island.

WHILE those affairs were transacting in England, the people of *Jamaica* were pestered with Spanish depredations, and had, in vain, sent repeated complaints on that head to *England*, there being, at that time, peace between the two crowns. Either the ministry of *England* did not believe that the complaints were well founded, or they thought them not of sufficient importance to embroil the nation with *Spain*, and therefore the government of *Jamaica* was given to understand, that they might proceed by their own admiralty-powers against the delinquents, the chief of whom were two Spaniards, *Simon de Guena*, and *Domingo de Guena*, who, after committing the most flagrant acts of piracy against the island, and the impudence to come upon it to trade; but were apprehended and brought to their trials. They had no other defender or offerer, than that they acted under commission from his Catholic majesty; but as this plea was ridiculous in time of peace, and as they could not produce even the pretended commission, sentence of death was passed upon them. The execution, however, was suspended till his majesty's pleasure should be known; but though the Spanish admiral interested himself greatly in their favour, orders were sent from *England* for their execution. During the time that *Mr. Knowles* was governor of *Jamaica*, many differences happened between him and the inhabitants; and this variance was one of the reasons why the house of commons addressed his excellency, for several papers relating to the disputes between his excellency and some of the principal inhabitants of the island of *Jamaica*.

*Differences between the governor and the assembly of Jamaica,*  
 WE are here to observe, that even in the island itself, there was a difference of interests between the landholders or planters, and the merchants; and admiral *Knowles* seems very properly to have favoured the latter, upon the following occasion. The seat of government, from a mistake, which seems to have subsisted since the island was reduced by the English, was at *Spanish Town*, which we have already mentioned, under the name of *St. Jago de la Vega*. As the island increased in commerce and populousness, this situation being in an island part of the island, was found to be extremely inconvenient for the merchants, who generally resided at *Kingston*, which was the center of all commerce upon the island. They complained of the expence attending their taking out clearances at *Spanish-Town*, and the great trouble they were put to in going thither to attend the assembly and the courts of law, and therefore applied to the governor, that the seat

Terror of government might he removed to *Kingston*, to which he agreed. This raised him a vast number of enemies among the planters, whose estates and properties lay near *Spanish Town*; and nineteen members of the assembly sent over representations against him to his majesty, while his enemies in *England* painted him in the most frightful colours. But a dispute of a still more important nature sprung up between them.

It had always been the custom at *Jamaica*, as we have seen, in the preceding part of this history, that the laws passed there were to be in force until they got his majesty's assent; but, if that was refused, they were no longer binding. The government of *England* had sometimes found very bad effects arising from the execution of those laws in the intermediate time between their passing them at *Jamaica*, and their being examined in *England*; and therefore an article was inserted, requiring him not to give his assent to any bill of an unusual or extraordinary nature and importance, wherein to his majesty's prerogative, or the property of his subjects, might be prejudiced, or the trade or shipping of the kingdom any ways affected, unless there should be a clause inserted, suspending the execution of such a bill, until his majesty's pleasure should be known; that such suspension was just and necessary, and no alteration of the constitution of the island, nor any way derogatory to the rights of the subjects in *Jamaica*. The governor, in adhering to those instructions, embroiled himself with the assembly, who pretended, that they had a right to raise and apply public money without the consent of the governor and council; and on the 29th of October, 1753, a resolution was passed by the assembly for that purpose. The ancient practice abovementioned was brought to justify this resolution. It was farther alledged, that if it was not in the power of the assembly to execute their own votes; if they were to be tied up to wait for an answer from *England*, nor in case of invasion to raise either men or money for the defence of the island, it might thereby be ruined and reduced in the intermediate time. For these, and a variety of other reasons, some other votes were passed by the assembly, which were highly derogatory to the royal prerogative.

AFTER this, the altercations between the governor and the assembly arose to great indecencies: he was accused of arbitrary proceedings, and several malversations in his government; but he was strenuously vindicated, especially, in tween the removing the seat of government from *Spanish-Town* to *Port Royal*, by the principal merchants of *London* and *Liverpool*, and the

## The History of America.

Matters, at last, came to such an extremity, that he was obliged to dissolve the assembly, upon allegations against the members, which fell little short of a charge of high treason. He accused them of invading the prerogative of the crown, and the liberty of the people; of attempting to alter the established constitution of their country, of their having entered into a combination to govern independently, by having formed a wicked, but secret, association, that was destructive of the rights of the inhabitants; and in short, that they were endeavouring to subvert the government, and to wrest it out of the hands of the sovereign. From those general charges, he proceeded to others that were more particular; such as having squandered for years past, upwards of £200,000 of the public money, in dotations and gratifications to particular favourites, and in making jobs of their fortifications, and their other public buildings, to the great grievance of the publick, who ought to have another opportunity of choosing more faithful representatives, as the whole power of the assembly centered in a decemvirate.

THOSE charges, though, perhaps, some of them were overstrained, were not without foundation; for it is plain, that there was upon the island a very powerful faction, which had entered into measures not a little inconsistent with their dependence upon their mother country, and that they had actually formed the association mentioned by the governor. This association, under the plausible pretext of preserving the tranquillity of the island, obliged the members to be determined in all their proceedings by three fourths of their own number; they were to support the governor in carrying on his administration as long as he appeared to them to have at heart the public service; but, if they thought otherwise, they were to join in opposing him, but first giving notice to the other members. Besides this association, which was signed by ten or twelve of the chief gentlemen of the island, an extraordinary paper, as it was called, was drawn up, distributing the several partitions of business to be allotted to the subscribers, all which engagements were undoubtedly unconstitutional and disrespectful to the government. The next assembly, however, did not prove more agreeable in its complexion, and was, in like manner dissolved. It had met together with great professions of duty, which the governor acknowledged; but, said he, in his speech, in which they were dissolved, " However well I may be satisfied with you in other respects, my duty to the best of kings, in the office I have the honour to hold, leaves me not at liberty to act in concert with you, whilst you suffer a man, who was convicted

*The go-  
vernor just-  
ified.*

viced of disaffection, and treasonable expressions against his majesty's royal person and government, to sit among you, and was publickly punished for it, and is still under a recognizance for his good behaviour." I do, therefore, in his master's name, by, and with the advice of his council, dissolve the assembly, and you are hereby dissolved accordingly." The person alluded to here is said to have been a young gentleman, who had been tried and punished for an inconsiderate frolic, which bore the face of disaffection, committed by him at Oxford a year or two before; but we shall not care upon us to determine, as he has suffered the penalty of the law, how far the governor could except in his sitting in the assembly house, on account of his being still under a recognizance for his good behaviour. Upon the whole, the British parliament, by their resolutions, condemned those of the government of Jamaica, concerning the raising and application of money without consent of parliament, and justified the governor in the several checks he had given to their proceedings, but to fore to pronounce any thing concerning the propriety of removing the seat of government from Spanish Town to St. John. We have little more historical matter to record concerning Jamaica, farther than that Sir Haldane, ~~Gardiner~~, was appointed to the government of it, and governor, that he attended General Hopson in his expedition against Guadalupe, but died before he entered upon the exercise of his government. William Littleton, Esq; who had been go. ~~governor~~ of South Carolina, was afterwards appointed governor ~~of~~ of Jamaica.

BUT though the intestine divisions of that island seem to *Inferretti-* be now entirely at an end, yet enemies broke out in its *on of the* bowels, which threatened it with destruction. These were *negroes*, the negroes, who, since the last treaty with them in Mr. Trelawny's government, not having been sufficiently watched had become so numerous and strong, that they now meditated no less than the extirpation of all the white men upon the island. Two Cormantine negroes, called Tacky and Jamaica, were the projectors of this conspiracy. At first they seemed to be very cautious, because great numbers of the original negroes who had been comprised in the late treaty, continued faithful to the English government. They were therefore, obliged to invite to their assistance all the negroes on the island, and it is next to incredible, with what secrecy their consultations were conducted. Being assembled on Easter-Munday, the day appointed for their rising, to the number of ninety, they marched to Port Maria, where they killed the sentinel of the fort, took from thence four barrels

*which is  
quelled,  
but*

of powder, a keg of musquet-balls, all the small-arms in the fort, forty of which they found to be serviceable, and then they proceeded to plunder all the plantations in the neighbourhood; but the chief booty they va'iled was fire-arms. Such of the conspirators as belonged to captain *Forty's* estate, suddenly butchered the overseer as he was at supper, and all the company that was with him. One Mr. *Bayly*, a considerable planter, endeavouring to approach them, that he might persuade them to lay down their arms, together with a friend who was with him, narrowly escaped with his life; and being intoxicated with the liquors they had seized, now murdered all the defenceless white men who had the misfortune to fall into their hands. Mr. *Bayly*, after he had collected together about 130 whites and blacks, while the insurgents were regaling themselves at a place called *Baldwin's Valley*, now drove them into the woods, where they rendezvoused, after losing about twelve of their number.

As the rebels were far from being ready for this attack, and as intelligence came that their numbers were hourly increasing; the governor, as is usual in such cases, ordered martial law to be proclaimed all over the island, and a general stop was put to all business but those of war. On the 10th of April, the governor, to save as much as possible the white inhabitants, set a price upon the heads of the rebels, and employed against them the free negroes of *Crawford Town*, who attacked the rebels, but being inferior in number they were defeated. Till greater numbers of the free negroes could be assembled, the militia of the island had daily skirmishes with the insurgents, who never could be brought to stand their ground, but seldom failed to do some execution by their bush-fighting. The free negroes being at last reinforced, and commanded by white officers, on the 12th came up with the rebels, who were posted in a rocky gully, between two steep hills within a wood. Here they were attacked by one captain *Hynes*, and driven, but with very little loss, from their post into the wood. By this time, some regular troops had come up with supplies of arms and ammunition for the free negroes, and the wood, where the rebels were posted, was surrounded, so as to prevent their escaping, while the free negroes, headed by one Mr. *Sweigle*, attacked them so furiously, that the rebels were entirely defeated, their two leaders, *Tacky* and *Jamaica* killed, and all their baggage, stores and ammunition taken, and so many of them made prisoners, that it was thought not above eleven of that party escaped. It appears, however, that several parties of them, still more numerous, remained in the woods, where, being distressed

diseased for provisions, they were guilty of the greatest cruelties upon one another, by killing all who were sick or weak, and many of them put themselves to death.

IT IS reasonable to suppose, that the negroes were encouraged in this insurrection, by the hopes that the free negroes would join them; but the *Jamaicans* were deceived in thinking, that they were subdued by their late defeat. In June their rebellion broke out in *Westmoreland* and *Hanover* parishes with more fury than ever. Their numbers, in men, women, and children, consisted of about 700, and they proceeded as formerly, to murder all the whites they could master. The regular troops and the militia again ran to arms, and were led by colonel *Spragg*, being joined by a body of sailors. Great numbers of the rebels were killed or taken; but the survivors, as before, found shelter in the woods and mountains, and soon of them as were taken prisoners, and found guilty, were put to the most excruciating deaths. It is evident what had passed, that the insurrection of the negroes, owing, in a great measure, to the indolence, rather than the indulgence, of their masters, who had given them so many opportunities of associating themselves to concerted operations. It was known, that numbers of them had been lurking in the woods and mountains, from whence were necessary, had they no other motive, obliged them to make irruptions that were attended with robberies and murders of the whites, and it was very justly apprehended, that without the greatest precautions on the part of the planter, they might form a new conspiracy, and debauch even the negroes who remained in their duty, but who were not to be trusted with such liberties as they had been indulged in heretofore. The justices of the island, in whom the executive power for the preservation of the peace is lodged, to prevent such consequences, established in their sessions certain regulations. These import, that no negroe should be found out of his own plantation, without a white conductor, or a *one day* com-ticket of leave, on pain of being severely punished. That *any* negroe playing at any kind of game should be publicly whipped; and that every publican, suffering such gaming in his house, should pay a fine of forty shillings. That every proprietor of negroes, who should suffer *any* of them to beat a drum, or blow a horn, or to make any extraordinary noise in his plantation, and that every overseer suffering such irregularities, should forfeit 5*l.* the same to be demanded or distrained for by any officer civil or military. It was further ordered, that every free negroe, or mulatto, should, on pain of being imprisoned, wear upon his right shoulder a blue

blue cross, as a badge; and that every mulatto *Indian*, negroe, hawking or selling any thing but flesh fish, or milk, should be publickly whipped; and that a penalty of twenty shillings should be imposed upon the owners of rum, or which-houses, who did not shut them up on Sundays, during their service, and that all who had petty licenses should shut up their houses every night at nine.

*State of Jamaica at the end of the war.* THOUGH those regulations were the best that could be devised, yet they were far from bringing internal security to the island. The government thought it unsafe to trust the free negroes too far, and the rebels still continued in full force, that were inaccessible to the regular troops and militia, so that the planters were obliged to be incessantly on the alert against the negroes, while rear-admiral *Holmes*, who was stationed at *Jamaica*, made such dispositions of his squadron, as secured them from all attacks from the sea. Five French frigates, which sailed from *Cape François*, the island of *Hipponiga*, with some merchant-ships and their crews, were attacked by his captains, *Nabury*, *Cooper*, *Ad. Willoughby*, in the *Hampshire*, *Liverpool*, and *Boreas*; and the two largest were taken; while the three others were destroyed, and every day brought in numbers of negroes to *Jamaica*. Thus that island, under the prudent government of *Benton*, remained in a more flourishing condition during the latter end of the war, than it had known for almost a century before, in times of the profoundest peace. The definitive treaty of 1763, was greatly in favour of this island, as it left it in all the possession it had ever enjoyed in the sugar-trade, without the rivalship of *Guadalupe* or *Martinico*; nor had it a grievance to complain of, but the too great fondness of its rich planters to spend their wealth in *England*. Their magazines, fortifications, troops, and militia, were in excellent condition, and their trade was secured by ships of war stationed there for its protection. The vast acquisitions of territory that fell to *Great Britain* by the peace, opened new markets for all their commodities, and the stipulations obtained from *Spain* in favour of the logwood trade, secured to them the most important advantages, without their being longer exposed to precarious situations.

*Powder-magazine blows up.* AN accident that happened soon after the conclusion of the peace, somewhat allayed this desirable situation. The powder magazine of *Augusta*, the best fortress in *Jamaica*, or in the *West-Indies*, built by admiral *Knowles*, blew up by lightning. The explosion was so dreadful, that not a single stone of the foundation could be observed on the place where the magazine stood, which was so blown up as to form a large pond

part of upwards of twenty feet deep, fifty in breadth, and at least one hundred in length, from whence many springs of water issue; most of the guns, 24 pounders, on a bastion contiguous were dismounted, part almost buried in the rubble, and one of them carried more than an hundred yards from its place. Within the fort, every thing was terribly shattered, the commandant's house, the officers barracks, a fine brick building, and all the small houses in and about the garrison were shattered to pieces; a great number of men, women, and children, were killed and wounded within the works, and two soldiers far up the bay were killed, and nine wounded within the distance of a mile. Captain *Talbot*, Lieutenant *Dunbar* with his lady, and ensign *Keating* perished in the ruins; the lieutenants *Dunn* and *Mansell* were much bruised; the latter died afterwards. Thirty whites, and eleven negroes were killed by the explosion. The loss sustained, exclusive of 2850 barrels of gunpowder, is supposed to amount to upwards of 15,000*l.* The confusion was felt ten miles to sea; but we are now to attend to the geographical and commercial description of this noble island.

The island of *Jamaica* is divided from east to west by a Descriptive ridge of hills, and several fine rivers stored with fish take *on* of Jamaica. Many of those rivers are navigable by canoes, maica, which renders them extremely commodious to the inhabitants for carrying their goods to *Port-Royal* and *Kingston*. The tops of those mountains are crowned with different kinds of trees; cedar, lignum vitae, mahogany, and the like, which render them equally pleasant and profitable to the inhabitants. A lower ridge runs parallel to the greater, and the vallies are laid out in the most delightful manner. Notwithstanding those advantages, the island is not without its inconveniences with regard to water, which, in some places is very scarce, and in others so mixed with sand and sediment, that it is not fit for use till purified, for some days, in earthen jars, and many cattle, in some dry years, perish for want of water. Some medicinal salt springs, of which salt is made, are found in the island, as are several lakes. As to the soil, the east and west parts of it, containing large tracts of uncleared ground, are the most unwholesome; but the south and north parts are more agreeable and less subject to sudden storms. The soil in general is said to be more temperate, than it is in any country lying between the tropics; and Mr. *Blome* says, it has been observed by some who have lived in the island, that the mountains which run along through the

*The History of America.*

midst of the isle, from one extream point to the other, ~~are~~ much cooler than the other parts; insomuch, that sometimes in the morning early, there are small white frosts. It must be acknowledged, that the weather in Jamaica is extremely precarious, as incessant rains fall sometimes for a whole fortnight, and render the road impassable: winter is to be distinguished from summer only by its rains and thunders; but the eastern breezes, which rise between eight and nine in the morning, is extremely agreeable to the inhabitants, as it enables them to work without inconveniency till five at night. Many other particulars are related concerning these and the land breezes, for which we must refer to Hans Sloane, and others who have written natural history of the island.

*Its soil.* — THE soil of Jamaica in general is excellent, especially in the northern parts, where it is blackish, ~~but~~ in several places mixed with poster's Earth, in others it is ~~blackish~~ and sandy; but it is every where fertile, and answers well the culture of the inhabitants. We have already mentioned the complaints of the mother-country, on account of the scarcity of Jamaican sugars, and by the latest and best account, make not without grounds, though they admit of many exceptions. The plantations are laid out chiefly with a view to the convenience of water-carriage; so that it is thought the fourth of the sugar-ground upon the island is cultivated; and even the grounds lying near rivers and the sea, are in many places over-run with wood, insomuch, that it is said, that a planter who has patented 3 or 4000 acres, has seldom above 100 of them well cultivated. To this objection it is answered by the planters, that the heavy imposts they lie under, with the great improvements made by the French, and the English islands in the sugar-trade, disable them from cultivating more ground than they do, and that the expence of finding an additional number of hands, and of carrying their sugars from the mountains and inland parts, could never answer the expence of the culture. One acre, in some places, has been known to yield several hogheads of sugar. The savannahs, while the natives held the Spaniards held the island, were very fruitful in producing maiz and corn, and for the pasture of horses, hogs, cows, and asses, of which incredible numbers were found in the island, and many still remain; the large level plains are now the most barren spots in Jamaica; but they might by culture be still rendered extremely fertile, as they produce such quantities of grass that the inhabitants are sometimes forced to burn it.

THE products of *Jamaica*, both from nature and cultivation are as numerous, as perhaps, those of any spot in the world of the like bigness. They consist of sugar, rum, <sup>Products.</sup> ~~rum~~, <sup>ca.</sup> ginger, cotton, coffee, indigo, pimento, commonly called *Jamaica pepper*, and cocoa. Besides those commodities, this island furnishes a great variety of woods and medicinal drugs, and some tobacco, which is of a coarse kind, and cultivated only for the sake of the negroes who are fond of it. *Jamaica* likewise produces Indian and *Gyinea* corn, with peas of various kinds, but none resembling those of *Great Britain*, excepting such as are reared with great care and kindness in gardens, together with cabbages, and a great variety of roots. China oranges grow here in great abundance, as do the common and sweet lemon, shaddocks, citrons, pomelgrantes, mameys, tur-sops, papas, pine-apples, custard-apples, star-apples, prickly-pears, alicada-pears, melons, pomelions, and guavas. The woods are stored with berries of various kinds, apples, and those fruits, that are more peculiar to cold countries, thrive but poorly in *Jamaica*. Besides the products we have mentioned, many others of the most valuable kinds may be found in the accounts of *Colonial* <sup>and</sup> *other* naturalists, who have treated of this ~~thing~~.

After all, sugar cane is both the glory and support <sup>Sugar,</sup> of *Jamaica*. This plant is thought to have been known to the *Romans*, and to have been originally a native of the *Canary Islands*, from whence the *Spaniards* and *Portuguese*, after they began to trade with *Africa*, carried it to their own countries. From thence they transplanted it to the *East* and *West Indies*, and it is now become a most valuable branch of trade to *Great Britain*. The cultivation of the sugar-cane is extremely curious, and has employed even volumes to describe it and its different branches, especially that of rum; but, such descriptions do not fall within the compass of this work. The sugar of *Jamaica* is said to be excellent, and naturalists affirm, that in places, where the rain falls for months together, the sugar grows faster in ten days than it does in six months at *Barbados*. The sugars, imported from *Jamaica* to *Great Britain* in 1753, is said to have been worth in *England* 424,275*l.* *sterling*; for which the *Jamaica* planters take *British* commodities. The *Jamaica* rum, which is a branch of the sugar-manufacture, is esteemed the best in the world, and is in greatest request in *England*; and it is said, *Jamaica* exports 4000 puncheons of it a year. Their molasses, they mostly, send to the northern colonies, where they are distilled; but it is impossible to say any thing with precision,

tion, concerning the annual returns of the *Jamaica sugar*-trade, which depend upon the nature of the season, and a variety of other accidents.

*Pimento.*

THE tree which carries the pimento, or *Jamaica pepper*, rises to the height of thirty feet at least, is strait, and covered with a grey, smooth, shining bark. Its leaves, of which it puts out great plenty, resemble those of the bay-tree. The pepper itself is taken green from the stalks of the tree; the grains are larger than juniper-berries, and like them, they become black and smooth. The cocoa and indigo commerce, though peculiarly adapted to *Jamaica*, have been of late much disused, as not being sufficiently profitable.

*Cocoa.*

*Indigo.* At *Jamaica*, there are three sorts, one which creeps along the ground like a vine; the second is a tiny dwarf-tree, about the size of a peach-tree; and the third grows to the tallness of an oak. The down, which cotton, grows in pods, which crack when they are ripe, if the cotton is not gathered, it would be useless.

*Ginger.*

*Salt-petre.* The ginger-plant grows in *Jamaica*, but the roots of it alone are used. Some salt-petre has been found on the land; and the *Jamaica mahogany*, tree, iron-wood, and bulley-tree, are in the woods, and very fit for coach-wheels and mill-wheels.

*Wild cinnamon.*

The cinnamon-woods of *Jamaica* produce the wild cinnamon, of which is about the bigness of that of the *Chinese*; and its bark is esteemed a sovereign medicine for expelling wind, and assisting digestion.

*Cabbage-tree.*

Some of the *Jamaica* cabbage-trees are said to be about 200 feet high, and some naturalists suppose them to be only the palm-tree. It is agreed, however, that what they call the cabbage part of it, is excellent food.

*Manchineel-tree.*

The manchineel-tree has a most beautiful apple, which, if eaten, is a deadly poison. The excellent qualities of manchineel-wood, and that of mahogany, are well known to cabinet-makers and joiners.

*Fustic.*

*Red-wood.* Fustic, red-wood, and logwood, all of them useful in dying, grow in *Jamaica*, which likewise

*Logwood.*

furnishes guiacum, sassafrilla, china, cassia, and tamarinds, with great variety of other medicinal roots and herbs. In short, as large volumes have been written concerning the natural produce of *Jamaica*, it is not to be expected that we can be more particular here.

*China.*

*Cassia.* THE first attention which is paid by the *Jamaicans* to their staple commodities, makes them neglect many advantages, which the soil of their island affords. Their horses, asses, and mules, are plentiful; and, it is said by *Blome*, that

*Tamarinds.*

when the *English* first came to the possession of *Jamaica*, there was greater plenty of cattle in the island, than in most of the *English* plantations in *America*. Oxen and cows in

*Jamaica*

Jamaica are large, but the breed is neglected by the planters. Their mutton is excellent, the wool being good for nothing; & the pork exceeds that of England, or any other nation in Europe.) No deer or hares are to be found in Jamaica, but it abounds with goats and rabbits. Wild-fowl is incredibly plentiful in this island, particularly ducks, teal, widgeon, gulls, turkeys, pigeons, Guiney hens, plover, flamingos, knipes, parrots, parachetos\*, and pelicans, a bird as big as a goose, and of a very particular nature, living on the small fish it picks out of the sea. The cotton and orange-trees in this island harbour vast numbers of those beautiful animals called king-bird, and a kind of cantharides, or flying glow-worms, frequent in the woods.

THE turtle, or sea tortoise, which is found in the bays, roads, and rivers of Jamaica, is now too well known in Europe, to require a description here. When Blome wrote, numbers of it, which of the Caribbee Islands, resolved thither, to virtual and long life with; but the deliciousness of it is now too well known in Europe, for the tortoise to be any longer so cheap. The alligator, a most terrible monster, living upon animal-flesh, preying upon men, when he can devour them, in the rivers and ponds of Jamaica. The reader is not yet acquainted that it is of the crocodile kind, and has to be the most dreadful of all animals, were it not for their novelties in making a circular motion, and a particular strong musky smell, which attends and discovers them, even to the brutes who approach them. The negroes, of Jamaica have a particular dexterity in killing them, either by attacking them sideways with truncheons, or by thrusting into their jaws a sharp-pointed iron, that stables them from biting, and then they are easily killed. The mountains, fens, and marshes, of Jamaica, breed multitudes of adders and animals, which, in other countries, are venomous, but are not so there. The chegoes are likewise plentiful here, and extremely troublesome, not only to the negroes, but sometimes to the white men.

THE island of Jamaica is divided into nineteen parishes. Description of Port Royal, a safe and commodious bay, lies in that of St. John of Bernard's, which is well cultivated, and sends two members to the assembly, and has within it a small fort. The parish Royal of Port-Royal contained the town of that name, formerly one of the finest cities in America, from the commodiousness of its harbour, which can safely contain a thousand sail of ships. Its entrance is defended by Fort Charles, which is

esteemed one of the strongest belonging to the English islands. A line of battery, of sixty pieces of cannon, and a garrison of regulars, maintained by the crown. The harbour itself is about three leagues deep. The chief town upon this harbour now, is *Kingston*, after which it is sometimes called. Into the bay, which forms the harbour, runs the river upon which *Spanish-Town* stands. We have already mentioned the destruction of *Port-Royal* by an earthquake, at which time, it is said to have contained 2000 handsome houses, the rents of which went as high as those of *London*. The secretary to *Jamaica*, or his deputy, keeps his office in the fort, and every person leaving the island, is obliged to set up his name, and to signify such intention twenty-one days beforehand: the receiver-general and the naval-officer, who receive the reports of all trading vessels, likewise reside here. But excepting the harbour, there could be no temptation for the inhabitants to live at *Port-Royal*, there being no wood, fresh water, stones, nor grass near, and the town itself standing on a hot, dry sand. Notwithstanding these inconveniences, and the prohibition of the assembly that *Port-Royal* never should be rebuilt, the harbour up to its nupting, that great numbers of people resorted to it. Her situation; but no building is suffered within thirty yards of high-water-mark. Few towns have been more unfortunate than this; for, besides the calamities which we have already mentioned, it received prodigious damage October 20th - 1744, by a storm, which stranded, wracked, and foundered, eight of his majesty's ships, and ninety-six merchant-ships, in the harbour; and the town itself must have been overflowed, had it not been for the wall. These hurricanes are observed generally to happen about a day or two before the full, or new, moon, next the autumnal equinox, and are preceded by an uncommon smell of the sea.

**Kingston.** THE town of *Kingston*, which was built on the opposite side of the harbour, to supply the loss of *Port-Royal*, from which it is distant five miles by water, and fifteen by land, is now a parish by itself. It stands commodiously for fresh water, and all other conveniences of life: and the plan of it was laid by colonel *Christian Lilly*; who was the chief engineer of the island at the time of *Lillington's* expedition. The streets are wide, and regular, and cross each other in right angles, at equal distances. The town contains about 1200 houses, many of them handsomely built, with porticos, but low, on account of the hurricanes and earthquakes, to which the island is subject, the whole being about a mile long, and half a mile broad. In the bay there are seldom fewer than

two or three hundred vessels; and it is thought, that in a short time, it will be equal in populousness and riches, to what Port-Royal formerly was; though the peninsula that covers the ships in the harbour from the sea, is too low and narrow to secure them entirely from storms. Port-Royal can muster about 1100 men, ten companies of foot, and two troops of horse. It sends three members to the assembly, and contains one church, two Jewish synagogues, and a quakers meeting. During admiral Knowles's government, the harbour of Port Royal received such additional fortifications, as render it now very strong.

~~P~~AINT JAGO DE LA VEGA, or Spanish-Town, stand, Spanish-Town, on the river Cobre, in a fine pleasant valley, and in 1708 it was thought to have been as populous as it was in its most flourishing condition under the Spaniards, though it had then only one church, and a chapel, instead of sixteen churches and chapels, which it contained before the time of its conquest by the English. Though it is a place of no trade, it is the resort of all the chief merchants who have acquired estates round it, enable them to live a pleasurable life; and the number of coaches and chariots belonging to it, are equal to those of the most reputable cities in Europe, which it seems to rival, in the diversions of balls, plays, and assemblies. Before the Duke's house, some part of which was rebuilt by the Duke of Portland, and consisted of two stories, (an unusual thing in this island,) is an exchange, to which merchants, factors, civil and military officers, and gentlemen of fortune, repair to do business. The houses, though but one story high, consist of several commodious apartments, all of them well furnished and finished with mahogany. The jails are comfortable and convenient for the prisoners; and a sennah lies before the town, in which the chief inhabitants take the pleasure of airing, and here the parties for gaming, dancing, and other diversions, formerly too frequent in this island, were generally formed. A patrol attends every night for the safety of the inhabitants, and consists of four horse and seven foot soldiers. Spanish-Town sends three representative to the assembly.

~~S~~AIN'T CATHERINE'S parish contains Passage-Fort, St Catharine's which is mounted with ten or twelve guns, and is so called, because it is the greatest thorough-tare in the Island. A great number of strangers live here, but most of the houses belong to publicans. The other parts of the topography of Jamaica are comprised in the number of parishes it contains, which are, by the latest accounts as follow. 1. Kingston; 2. Port-Royal; 3. St. Catharine's; 4. St. Dorothy's; 5. Clarendon;

don; 6. *Vere's*; 7. *St. Elizabeth*; 8. *Hanover*; 9. *Westmoreland*; 10. *St. George's*; 11. *St. James's*; 12. *St. Anne's*; 13. *St. Mary's*; 14. *Portland*; 15. *St. Thomas in the East*; 16. *St. David's*; 17. *St. Andrew's*; 18. *St. John's*; 19. *St. Thomas in the Vale*. In a supplement to the account of this island in the System of Geography<sup>1</sup>, it is said, that the following parishes, viz. *St. Catharine's*, *Port-Royal*, *Kingston*, *St. Dorothy's*, *Clarendon*, *Vere*, *St. Elizabeth's*, *Westmoreland*, *St. Anne's*, *St. Thomas in the East*, *St. Andrew's*, *St. John's*, and *St. Thomas in the Vale*, have each a parochial church; *St. Catharine's*, *Clarendon*, and *St. Anne's* parishes, have also each a chapel of ease; but the parishes of *Hanover*, *S. George*, *S. James*, *S. Mary's*, and *Portland*, have neither church nor chapel.

*POINT NEGRIL*, in *St. Elizabeth's* parish, is the land's-end of *Jamaica*, and has a good, safe, harbour, where our ships may lie very conveniently during a war with Spain, for intercepting their fleets to and from the *Mediterranean*. *St. John's* parish is one of the most pleasurable, in all respects, in the whole island; and *Port Antonio*, in *St. Thomas's* parish, were it not for the difficulty of entering it, would be the best harbour in *Jamaica*. It is defended by a regular fort, with a small garrison. In the neighbourhood of *St. Thomas's*, lies *Trelawny*, which has the appearance of becoming a thriving place. In *St. David's* parish, on the south-east part of the island, lies the bay of *Port Morant*, where is likewise a fort in time of war, together with excellent plantations of sugar, and cotton, and a salt-work.

### C U B A.

*Situation  
and discov-  
ery of  
Cuba.*

**W**E have had so many opportunities, in the course of this work, to mention this island, and its history, that we shall be as concise as possible in our account of it, that we may avoid repetitions. *Cuba*, *Hispaniola*, and *Porto Rico*, as well as *Jamaica*, form the great *Antilles Islands*. *Cuba*, which begins on the east side, at latitude 20 deg. 20 min. touches on the north at the *Point of Jave*, and extends from longitude 74. to 85 deg. 15 min. about 11 degrees from east to west, or 660 miles from *Cape St. Antonio*, on the west, to *Cape Maize*, on the east; but is very narrow in proportion, being in some parts not above 12 or 14 leagues in breadth, and at most but 120 miles in length. It lies 60 miles

to the west of Hispaniola, 25 leagues to the north of Jamaica, 100 miles to the east of Yucatan, and as many to the south of Cape Florida, and commands the entrance of both the gulph of Mexico and Florida, and the Windward Passage. By this situation of Cuba, it may be justly called the key of the West-Indies. The discovery of Cuba by Columbus has been more than once mentioned. When he landed on this island, he gave it the name of Ferdinandia, in honour of king Ferdinand his master; but it soon recovered its ancient name of Cuba. The natives, at the time of his landing, did not regard him with a very favourable eye, and the weather proving tempestuous, he soon left that island, and sailed to Hayta, now called Hispaniola; where he was better received. The relation of the cruelties which were committed by the Spaniards, before they became absolute possessors of this island, would stain the page of history. By their own accounts, some millions of the inhabitants were cut off; and though this island was discovered in the year 1492, it was not completely conquered till the year 1511. The reader may form some idea of the monstrous cruelties of the Spaniards, from what we are told by the Bishop of Chiapa, who relates, that when an Indian casique or priest, was to be put to death, he chose to go to hell rather than heaven, where, he was told, the Spaniard would not go.

We are to presume, that the innocent, yet free, inhabitants of Cuba, made a brave resistance; for, in the year 1507, of the Spaniards were uncertain whether Cuba was an island or Spaniards not; and therefore, Don de, the governor of Hispaniola, sent Sebastian de Ocampo to discover it. Sailing along the north-side of Cuba, he touched at several places and anchored his ships at the now well known port of the Havannah, which he therefore called de Carenas. He then sailed to the westernmost part of the island, and arrived at Cabo de St. Anton. Then turning to the eastward, along the south-east coast of the island, he arrived at the gulph of Xagua, where he found a very fine port. Here the natives received him with abundance of hospitality, and finding he was not to continue long among them, they supplied him with excellent fish and partridges; and, in a few days, he returned to Hispaniola, with the certainty of Cuba being an island. We may presume, from this time, that the Spaniards being fully apprized of the excellent situation of Cuba, were daily afflicting it with the slaughter of its inhabitants, till it was so thinned, that in

\* BENZONI, apud DE BRY, p. 30.  
I. book 7.

\* HERRERA, decad.

## The History of America.

the abovementioned year 1511, the admiral James Columbus ventured to send *James Velasquez*, with about 300 men, from *Hispaniola*, to plant *Cuba*. Several rebellions (as the Spaniards termed them) of the Indians followed, which were still attended with horrible massacres of the natives. In the year 1517, *Hernandez de Cordova*, by orders of *Velasquez*, governor of *Hispaniola*, sailed from the *Havannah* with two ships and a brigantine, to make discoveries to the westward; but *Hernandez* lost most of his men in this voyage, and he himself died of his wounds when he returned to *Cuba*. The report of his discoveries, however, encouraged *Juan Velasquez*, who was now governor of *Cuba*, as well as *Hispaniola*, to fit out three ships and a brigantine, with 250 men, the command of whom he gave to *John de Grijalva*, who, on the 8th of April, 1518, sailed from *Cuba*, and was fortunate enough to make some very important discoveries upon the coast of *New Spain*, almost as far as *Florida*, and then he returned to *Cuba*. As *Grijalva* had discovered that the coasts of *New Spain* afforded abundance of gold, and that the inland country was immensely rich, and governed by *Montezuma*, his avarice and ambition led him to form a scheme for subduing that great monarchy; and he communicated the same to the famous *Hernando Cortez*, whose history is so well known.

### Expedition of Cortez.

IN 1519, *Cortez* sailed with eleven ships, fitted out at the expence of *Velasquez*, from *St. Jago de Cuba*; and, after taking in some reinforcements at the *Havannah*, he proceeded to the place of his destination. *Velasquez* was equally inconsistent as he was ambitious. He dreaded the great popularity of *Cortez*, his enterprising spirit, and heroic disposition, which he imagined must be attended with a proportionable share of ambition; and therefore sent after him an order to resign his command. *Cortez* consulted his soldiers, who had built all the hopes of their future fortunes on the success of their enterprise, and the vast opinion they had of their commander's abilities; who determined to obey him, without paying any regard to the orders of *Velasquez*. The event of the Mexican expedition does not fall in to this part of our history. *Velasquez*, finding he had been outwitted, fitted out eighteen ships, on board of which he put 800 foot, and 200 horse, a number double to that which *Cortez* commanded, and gave the command of it to *Narvaez*, who had orders to strip *Cortez* of his command, and to send him to *Cuba* in irons as a rebel. *Cortez*, on receiving this intelligence, ordered *Sandoval*, his governor of *Vera Cruz*, to join him with

his small garrison; and, under the mask of treating with *Narvaez*, who was then at *Vera Cruz*, he advanced against him with such secrecy and rapidity, that he routed his army, took his artillery, and made himself prisoner, while most of his men declared for *Cortez*. *Velasquez*, who remained still at *Cuba*, was ignorant of this revolution, and sent out another ship to reinforce *Narvaez*; but the crew of this ship likewise joined *Cortez*, who, about this time, narrowly escaped being cut off by a conspiracy, he being looked upon by the party of *Velasquez*, as no better than a successful rebel. *Narvaez* was at last obliged to resign his command; but we know of no benefit the governor of *Cuba* ever received from the expedition.

In 1521, *Pamphilo de Narvaez* arrived from *New Spain* at *Miseries* of *Cuba*, with 2000 men and 500 horses. He wintered there, the *Cubans* and in the spring he undertook the expedition against *Honduras*, which we have already mentioned. All this while, the court of *Spain* was so sensible of the importance of *Cuba*, that orders were sent not only to fortify it, but to extirpate the few remains of its original natives, which was accordingly executed with barbarous cruelty; so that the history of *Cuba*, at this time, is no other than a relation of the most horrible massacres, which were industriously concealed by the *Spaniards*. But the possession of *Cuba* was far from answering the狂妄的 hopes of the *Spanish* adventurers, whose chief aim was gold. Those monsters, finding gold upon the island, concluded, that it must come from mines, and tortured all numbers of the inhabitants, but without any effect, to make them discover where those mines lay. In short, the miseries the natives suffered were such, that they resolved almost unanimously to put an end to their own lives, but were prevented by one of the *Spanish* tyrants, called *Vasco Pergallos*, who threatened to hang himself along with them, that he might have the pleasure of tormenting them in the next world; worse than in this; and his threatening is said to have diverted the natives from their resolution; so that they returned quietly to their slavery. By the best accounts, no fewer than 600,000 of the natives were put to death in the year of *Velasquez's* arrival. While he remained governor of *Cuba*, he built the city and port of the *Havannah*, by the assistance of *Bartholomew de las Casas*, afterwards bishop of *Chiapa*, and the author of the history of the *Spanish* cruelties in the *West-Indies*, of which he was an eye-witness. But the houses, at first, were of no better materials than wood, and the town itself was so inconsiderable in 1536, that the crew of a *French* pirate-ship took it, and obliged the inhabitants to pay 700 ducats to save it from being burnt. The very day after

the pirates departure from *Cuba*, three *Spanish* ships from *Mexico* arrived at the *Havannah*, and having unloaded their cargoes, they sailed in pursuit of the pirate-ship; but it was the cowardice of the *Spanish* officers, that the pirate took all their three ships; and returning to the *Havannah*, obliged the inhabitants to pay them 700 ducats more.

*The Ha-  
vannah  
plundered.*

THE inhabitants of the *Havannah*, to prevent the like accidents in time to come, then built their houses of stone, and ran up a fort at the mouth of their harbour. But as the town was still open on the land-side, the *English* cutters paid the inhabitants several unwelcome visits, and more than once drove the *Spanish* inhabitants into the woods, while they plundered the place. In the reign of *Henry II.* of *France*, while he was at war with *Spain*, a *Duke* ... with no more than twenty men, plundered *St. Jago*, the capital of *Costa Rica*, and afterwards attacked the *Havannah*; but the *Spaniards* had been so often used to those visits, that they retired to the woods, so that the *French* found no inhabitants in the place. After remaining there for some time, searching for plunder in vain, two *Spaniards* came ~~to the~~, seemingly to treat about ransoming the town, but in reality to observe their numbers. The *French* demanded 6000 ducats for ransom-money, which was more, according to the two deputies, than the inhabitants could raise; and took their leave. Upon their return to their countrymen, the majority came to a resolution to seize the French sword in hand, which 150 of them accordingly did, in the night-time, by stealth. The *French*, after killing four of their number, fled to their arms, and soon put to flight the *Spaniards*. After this, they bedaubed the windows and doors of the houses with combustibles, of which they found great plenty on the island, and set fire to the town, even pulling down the walls and the fort, which the flames did not consume. It is said, that when the *Spaniards* desired the invaders to spare the churches, the *French* answered them, that a people who had no honesty had no occasion for churches, and they were consumed with the rest of the town. The taking of the *Havannah* by the *English* buccaneers in 1669, under *Morgan*, has been already mentioned; and have several other attempts made during the course of the wars in which *Spain* was involved with the *English*, or other European powers.

*Reflections  
on its im-  
portance.*

It is certain that the importance of the *Havannah* to the *Spaniards* was never thoroughly understood, till after the succession of the house of *Bourbon* to the throne of *Spain*, and then nothing was wanting that could contribute to render it impregnable. But, perhaps, the chief strength of the *Havannah* lay in the jealousy which all the powers in *Europe* entertained

dependent of each other, on account of the importance of the conquest, which must have rendered the masters of the *Havannah*, masters, at the same time, of the Spanish dominions in America. This would have been an accession too considerable either for the French or the English; but when the latter were at war with both the French and Spaniards, that consideration vanished. Under king *William*, even before the *Havannah* was fortified, as it has been since, no attempt was made against it by the English, because that prince's politics were diametral opposite to all attempts for weakening Spain in the *West Indies*, as may be seen in the history of the Scotch colony at *Darien*. Under queen *Anne*, the same timid policy was continued; for though we had then war with France, yet the pretender to the crown of Spain, afterwards the emperor *Charles VI.* was our ally, and the dismemberment of Cuba from the Spanish monarchy was too bold a stroke to risk, as he was possessed of no means to indemnify the expense that must have attended such an attempt. And the loss of the *Havannah* was considered as being the same with that of the Spanish Empire in America. Some projects, however, were formed for the reduction of this important place, but none of them was carried into execution, though it was well known that the French king derived from the Spanish America all the revenue by which he was enabled to carry on his wars, during the last ten or twelve years of his life. We have, in our history of *Jamaica*, given an account of the various expeditions formed against Cuba by the English arms, during the reign of *George II.* nor shall we resume it here, farther than to observe, that the whole plan of that war against Spain was defective; because, our strength was not immediately aimed against the *Havannah*, the taking of which must either have shortened the war, or have put Great Britain in possession of the Spanish treasures, as all other places of consequence must have fallen of course.

WHEN the vast success of Great Britain united the three War branches of the house of *Bourbon*, France, Spain, and *Naples*, between in what was called the Family Compact, the mistakes of Spain and the former allies of England against Spain were observed, and it was resolved to begin the operations by the attack of the *Havannah*. This plan was of itself so momentous, and depended so entirely upon military knowledge, that his majesty referred, in a great measure, the execution of it to his uncle the duke of *Cumberland*, whose long experience in the army rendered him, undoubtedly, the best judge of the abilities of the officers who were to be employed in the execution of it. The chief command was given to the earl of *Albemarle*, the

## The History of America.

disciple of his royal highness in the art of war; and some of his brothers had very considerable commands, both in land and sea, in the same expedition. Admiral *Pocock*, who had acquitted himself so much to the honour and interest of his country in the *East-Indies*, had the command of the fleet, and Sir *James Douglas* was ordered to reinforce him with his squadron from *Martinico*. The main fleet sailed on the 5th of *March*, the very day on which the *Grenada* islands surrendered to the English, from *Portsmouth*, and the junction between the admiral and Sir *James Douglas* was happily effected on the 27th of *May*, at *Cape Nickel*, off the north-west point of *Hispaniola*; the whole armament consisting then of nineteen ships of the line, eighteen smaller ships of war, and about 150 transports with 10,000 regular troops on board, which were to be increased at the time the operations were to commence by 4,000 troops more, who were ordered from *North-America*.

AFTER this junction, time was precious, that instead of keeping to the south of *Cuba*, falling in the track of the galleons, which was by far the easiest navigation, the admiral resolved to run along the northern shore of the island, through the old straits of *Bahama*, which form a narrow passage, bounded by the right and left by dangerous sands and shoals, and about 900 miles in length. This navigation had been always esteemed too hazardous even for the Spanish, excepting those who were accustomed to their coast, to undertake it. But the approach of the armament to the entrance of these straits, procured from solid information of the state of the straits, he made the most diligent enquiry that the skill and skill of man could provide, over a large space. A vessel was sent before to reconnoitre the channel, and to take the lead, while small sloops were posted on each side to give notice of the shallows by signals; and thus the grand fleet moved in seven divisions, with a course so fortunate and judicious, that though they entered the straits so late as the 27th of *May*, they got clear & all danger by the 5th of *June*, and next day the fleet came in sight of two small forts to the eastward of the *Havannah*, situated upon two rivers, at the distance of three miles from one another.

*Siege and* FOURTEEN Spanish men of war, besides smaller ships, were then lying in the basin of the harbour, which had been sent from *Old Spain* for the protection of the place, as soon as a war between *Great Britain* and *Spain* appeared probable; but the Spanish commanders, trusting to the tediousness of the navigation, and their own intelligence, if the

*English*

English had sailed by the common tract, were, at this time, unprovided for a defence; while, the admiral, with twelve sail of the line, some frigates, and all the store-ships, bore away for the mouth of the harbour to block them up, and to make a diversion on the one side, while the landing was effected on the other. The Spaniards, by this time, could be at no loss to know the intention of the British armament; and their fleet was but little inferior to that under Sir George Pocock; yet they made no efforts to fight him, though an engagement, even supposing them to be worsted, might have disabled the British fleet from undertaking the siege. Commodore Keppele, brother to the Earl of Albemarle, with seven sail of the line, and some smaller vessels, had effected the landing, which was effected between the *Caravans* and *Coxenay*, the first of which was a man of war, and the second a vessel which consisted of armed boats and small woods. In the mean while, the English were engaged by the fire of the *Dragon*, which lay unopposed near the shore, with the piquets advanced into the woods; but before the operations of this siege can be fully understood, it is necessary to give the reader some idea of the strength of the place and harbour.

THE *city* of *Lima* stands on the west-side of the harbour, in a narrow valley, opening with the sea on its *Ilan* or *bay*; the town is surrounded by a *river* *Laq.* ... The vannah, or *marshy land*, is said to be the best in the world, but not on account of strength, but because it is capable of holding a common *1000* ships, without crowding; there being generally six fathom water in the channel since into the harbour is by a narrow opening, and an open sea, and fortified strongly with towers, bastions, and artillery, for half a mile, which is the length of the passage. The mouth of this channel is secured by two strong castles, one on the east-side is called the *Moro-Fort*, which is built in the form of a triangle, fortified with bastions, and, at the time it surrendered to the English, it is said to have weighed forty pieces of cannon almost level with the water, and each carrying a thirty-six pound ball, besides other artillery. On the opposite side of the channel, lies another strong fort, called the *Puntal*, joining to the town, which is situated to the westward of the entrance of the harbour, and is surrounded by ramparts, bastions, and ditches. Besides these fortifications, there are many other forts and platforms, all of them furnished with cannon, even to profusion; and upon the whole, it may be said with great truth,

truth, that the Spanish treasures and engines had been employed for sixty years before in rendering the *Havannah* pregnable. The reader, perhaps, needs not to be informed, that in the harbour of the *Havannah*, the Spanish galleons and flota, containing all their American treasures, assembled and sail from thence to Europe, and that the *Havannah* itself, is, consequently, the most populous and richest town that the Spaniards have upon their West Indian islands, and it had been always the chief care of the court of Spain to provide it with a strong garrison, commanded by the ablest officers they had in their service.

*Continuation of the siege.* On the 8th of June, lord Elliot marched to *Guanamana*, about six mil's from the landing-place, and saw the enemy, to the number of 6000, drawn up very advantageously,

as if they intended to dispute his passage to that village, but they were soon dispersed; and next day his lordship formed the army into two bodies, the one was commanded by general Elliot, and lay towards the south east of the harbour, extending considerably into the country, not only to cover the siege, but to secure the foraging parties who were sent out for provisions. The other division encamped in the woods, between Coacmar River, and the *Moro Castle*, which was to be the grand obj<sup>t</sup> of the British operations under general Keppel, another of his lordship's brothers; while colonel How was posted with a detachment, so as to cut off the communication between the town and the country. In the mean while, the Spaniards were unrigging their ships in the harbour; at the mouth of which they sunk three vessels, and drew a strong boom across it. A post upon the *Moro* hills, called the *Cavannon*, was attacked and taken by the assistance of the shipping, (which gave a diversion) by colonel Curwen with very little loss. A post being established here, his lordship gave orders for again reconnoitring the *Moro* fort, which was the more difficult, on account of the bush and wood that surrounded it. Enough, however, was discovered to make it adviseable to erect a battery against it as near as the cover of the woods would admit. This proved a work of infinite labour, and the hardships which the British troops had to surmount are almost incredible. Earth was so thin on the surface of the ground, that it was with difficulty they could cover their approaches, while, in that dry parched season and country, they were obliged to bring their water a great way, and at last to be supplied by the ships. The artillery and stores were all this while landing, but the labour of bringing them up to the works was inexpressible. The cannon and carriages were to be dragged up, for a vast way, from a rough

rocky shore, and many of the men in this painful operation, and in cutting out communications through thick woods, dropped down dead with heat, fatigue, and thirst.

It would be equally uninstructive, and unentertaining, to lead the reader through all the particulars of this laborious siege. The loss of men, though beyond what could have been expected, as the season that year was uncommonly favourable, seemed only to give the greater spirit to the survivors, so that the batteries by the 29th of June were ready to be opened, and were so disposed, all along the hill, as to play upon the enemy's ships, to oblige them to retire so far up the harbour, as not to be capable of interrupting the operations of the siege. Those were works of incredible labour, but cheerfully submitted to both by the soldiers and sailors, who imagined that the spoils of the place would reward all their fatigues. On the 29th, the enemy in the fort, who kept up a communication with the town, landed two detachments of 500 men each, of grenadiers, and chosen them, and a detachment of armed negroes and mulattoes for each corps, to attack the works of the English on the right and left, but they were defeated with the loss of above 200 men, and a great number wounded, who escaped to the woods. All this while, the fire continued with equal fury on both sides; but 500 blacks, who had been purchased by the earl of Albemarle at Martinique and Antigua, were extremely serviceable to the soldiers, in assisting them to bring up ammunition and necessaries to two new batteries, which were opened upon the first of July. To give the greater effect to those batteries, the admiral, in concert with the general, ordered the *Dragon*, *Marlborough*, and *Cambridge*, to lay their broadsides against the north-east part of the *Moro*, under the direction of captain *Hurry*, who made excellent dispositions for the attack. A most dreadful cannonading ensued for seven hours, and the fire was kept up with equal steadiness on both parts; but the situation and strength of the castle gave it vast advantages over the ships. The *Cambridge* of 80 guns, and the *Dragon* of 74, were terribly shattered; and some failure having happened in the conduct of the *Stirling Castle*, which was to have led in the ships, and then to have made sail off, the attack on that side was discontinued. The *Cambridge* was first ordered off, and afterwards the other two; captain *Gosfrey* of the *Marlborough* being killed, with a great number of men, and the ships themselves disabled from continuing the attack, without apparent danger of being sunk. It was, however, on all hands agreed, that never was a desperate service performed with more courage and coolness than both officers

*Attack of  
the ships  
upon the  
Moro-  
Castle,*

officers and men discovered, and though it was unsuccessful on the side they attacked, yet, by diverting the enemy's fire from the land-side, the batteries from the army obtained a vast superiority, and displaced many of the enemy's guns, which, on the 2d of July, were reduced to two, and those fired but seldom. It was now thought that a speedy period would be put to the immense labours of the besiegers; but an unforeseen accident soon defeated that prospect. The enemy found means to replace their fire, which obliged the English to continue theirs in so furious a manner, that their grand battery on the 3d of July unfortunately took fire; the timber and fascines, of which it was constructed, having been reduced almost to tinder, by no rain falling in that dry climate for fourteen days. At first, the besiegers thought they had mastered the fire, but it broke out again so furiously, that their endeavours to stop it proved ineffectual; the battery was almost consumed, and in it the labour of 600 men for seventeen days; so that the besiegers, at the very time when they expected to be at the end of their fatigue, perceived they were to begin it anew, without having in it even a reasonable prospect of success.

THE hardships of the siege, the increase of the sickness, the badness of provisions, and the scarcity of water, with the heat of the climate, had killed, or rendered useless, two thirds of the army, and the seamen were in very little better condition; while the growing distempers of the season, and the exposed situation of the ships, threatened destruction both to the fleet and the army. Notwithstanding all those discouraging circumstances, under which any but British troops and sailors would have thought it worse than madness to have persevered, the officers, and common men applied themselves with as much spirit and assiduity as they had shewn at the beginning of the siege, while the fire of the enemy encrusted, especially from the *Puntal-Castle*, and the batteries on that side. After inexpressible toils, the works of the besiegers again took fire, and now they had nothing to trust to but the arrival of their reinforcements from North-America; because, whatever losses the Spaniards sustained in the day-time, they were replaced in the night, by the communication which was still kept up between the castle and the town. Even this did not damp the ardour of the besiegers, who proceeded with as much perseverance as if success had been within their reach, and though they were obliged to work all above ground, under the covering of gabions, junk, blinds, or mantlets, and bales of cotton, which served as woolpacks, they replaced all their batteries, and renewed their fire so furiously, that by the

19th of July, were in possession of a covered way, and made a lodgment, and continued their operations so successfully, that two days after, had not the enemy been alarmed, the place must have been taken by surprize; and the arrival of the Jamaica fleet, which furnished them with several useful necessaries for the siege, inspired the troops with fresh hopes. On the 22d, a vigorous sally of 1500 men, divided into three parties, was made from the town, to interrupt the operations against the castle; but they were repulsed with the loss of 400 while that of the besiegers did not amount to more than fifty men. This loss was far from damping the Spaniards, who defended themselves so well, that the success of the siege began to be again doubtful; when on the 27th of July, brigadier Bu<sup>t</sup> arrived with the first division of the troops from North America.

By this time, the miners of the besiegers had conquered Mowwhat appeared an almost insuperable difficulty, by passing a Castle small ridge of rock, which, towards the sea, covered a protracted digious ditch, most of it cut in the rock, and about seventy feet deep, and forty wide; so that it would have been impracticable to have passed it, had not the ridge, abovementioned, led the miners to the foot of the wall. After this, and the repulse of the sally, the Spaniards made no efforts from the town to save the castle, which, however still held out. On the 20th, the enemy sent two boats and a floating battery out of the harbour, to fire grape-shot and small-arms into the ditch, where the miners were at work; but the party which covered the latter plied the Spaniards so briskly, that they were obliged to retire. This was the enemy's last effort for saving the castle, for by two in the afternoon that same day, a mine was sprung, which threw a part of the wall into the ditch, and left a breach, which, though small, the general and chief officers judged to be practicable, and the troops were ordered to storm it. The garrison of the Spaniards, within the castle, was still considerable, and the brave defence they had made left the besiegers no room to doubt of the resolution and courage of their commanders. But danger itself seemed trivial to our troops, when it was to finish the dreadful toils they had undergone. The soldiers prepared themselves for the storm, under major-general Keppe, with the greatest alacrity, mounting the breach, and entering the fort with such amazing intrepidity and order, that the Spaniards, who had been regularly drawn up to resist them, lost all the spirit they had before exerted. Four hundred of them were cut in pieces, or perished in the water; four hundred threw down their arms and received quarter. The marquis

*de Gonzales*, who was second in command, was killed, in endeavouring to stop the shameful flight of his men; and *don Lewis de Velasco*, the governor, with about 100 of the garrison, bravely defended his colours, till he was killed, to the extreme regret of his generous conquerors, who even mourned over his body. The dastardly behaviour of the Spaniards, when the place was stormed, evinced that the obstinate defence it had made, was owing to those two gallant noblemen. This glorious conquest happened on the 30th of July.

*Siege and  
capture a-  
gainst the  
town.*

THE Spaniards in the town and the *Puntal Castle*, perceiving the *Moro Castle* to be in possession of the English forces, after a siege of forty-four days, directed all their fire against their new acquisition, while the English were busied in erecting batteries upon the *Cavannas*, and dislodged a twenty-four gun ship, which had been sent down to fire upon the *Moro* likewise. The arrival of the rest of the provincial troops did great service, by diminishing some part of the infinite fatigue the others had undergone; but the materials for the works, batteries, and platforms, became now to be so scarce, that the admiral was obliged to supply them from the fleet. The besiegers still were greatly retarded for want of tools. Even this inconvenience was at last conquered, though the sickness then raged like a pestilence; and by the 10th of August, the English batteries, erected along the *Cavannas*, and to the westward of the town, were ready to play upon it with about fifty pieces of cannon. To prevent any unnecessary carnage or destruction, lord Albemarle sent a flag of truce by his aid de camp, to summon the governor to surrender, and to lay before him the unavoidable ruin that was ready to fall upon the place. The governor detained the messenger for some hours, but without suffering him to approach his works, and declared his resolution to defend his trust to the last extremity. Next morning, lord Albemarle, to convince the Spaniards that it was in his power to perform all he had threatened, battered both the *Puntal* and the town, from forty-three pieces of cannon and eight mortars, with such execution, that flags of truce appeared in all quartets of the *Havannah*, and a messenger was sent to the British camp to settle the capitulation. Some difficulties occurred in this, which made the troops apprehensive that hostilities would be renewed. The Spaniards struggled hard to preserve their men of war in the harbour, but were made to understand, that unless they were immediately given up, there was an end of capitulating. They likewise endeavoured to procure a neutrality for the fort, but this condition being likewise rejected, the capitulation was signed; and, on the 14th of August, general

*Keppe*

Kappel took possession of the Punta Fort gate and bastion, while Brigadier Newe, much about the same time, took possession of the land-gate with two battalions of grenadiers, and the British colours were hoisted at both places; and thus a prophecy, which had been long current with the Spaniards of those parts, was fulfilled, viz. that the English should one day, as masters, walk through the streets of the Havannah.

By this capitulation, the officers of the garrison, with their effects, equipages, and money, were to be put on board his Britannic majesty's ships, which were to transport the garrison to the nearest port of Old Spain, and the same liberty was to be granted to the marines, and ships crew's in the harbour; but the ships themselves, with the money and effects belonging to his Catholic majesty, were to be delivered up to the admiral and the general, together with all the artillery, arms, ammunition, and naval stores, without reserve. The late viceroy of Peru, and the late governor of Cartagena, who happened to be then at the Havannah, were to be conveyed to Old Spain, with all their effects, money, and attendants. The exercise of the Roman Catholic religion was secured. The inhabitants were to be allowed to continue in their offices of property, as long as they behaved well; they were likewise at liberty to dispose of, or remove, their effects to any part of his Catholic majesty's dominions in ships, at their own expence. All the Spaniards, who served in the militia, were to be safe in their rights, properties, and privileges; but all public papers were to be inspected by the secretaries of the admiral and general, and returned, if not found necessary for the government of the island. The sick in the hospitals were to be taken care of at the expence of his Catholic majesty. Safeguards were given for the security of the churches, convents, and other places.

The reader may perceive, from the nature of the capitulation, (which must be acknowledged to have been favourable to the Spaniards) that the British commanders were too sensible of the value of their conquest for the nation, to risk *restitution* it by any unseasonable disputes, that might have rendered the enemy desperate. It was owing to this judicious consideration, that the prize and plunder-money of this important place, was far from answering the expectations of the captors, or, perhaps, of the public. The terms of the capitulation, undoubtedly gave the Spaniards (besides securing their own effects) great opportunities of secreting those of their king; and yet, after all the plunder and prize-money of the place, which fell into the hands of our troops and sailors, without violating the terms of the capitulation, amounted to an immense

mense value, though perhaps, those who rated it at three millions sterling, have exceeded the truth. They had sunk three of their largest ships, as we have already mentioned, in the mouth of the harbour; but nine of the finest ships in the world, with four frigates, fell into the hands of the English, who destroyed two more that were in forwardness on the stocks. Upon the whole, we may venture to say, that the reduction of the *Havannah*, which was attended by the cession of a district of 180 miles westward, was, if not the most important, the most difficult conquest, that ever was made by the British arms. But though the conquerors had lost but few men by the enemy, the acquisition cost them dear, on account of the disability they were under to improve its consequences. The British troops, who survived the capitulation, were scarcely sufficient for keeping possession of the place; nor had their ships of war a number of hands sufficient to carry the fleet to Europe. Thus, without a reinforcement, there was an end of all hopes of improving this conquest, on the side of America; while intermediate events in Europe rendered it absolutely necessary to restore it.

*of the  
Havannah.*

THE Family Compact, which we have already mentioned, produced joint efforts of the French and Spanish arms against Portugal, the capital ally of Great Britain in Europe. The re-union of that crown with that of Spain could not have been compensated to this nation, by keeping possession of the *Havannah*; and the waste of men, which the war, though successful through all parts of the globe, had occasioned, rendered it impossible for us to carry our arms into the dominions of Spain in America. It is true, the valour of the British troops saved Portugal from being reduced in one campaign; but this was done at a vast expence, which his Most Faithful majesty was in no condition to reimburse. Besides those events, many others, foreign to this part of our history, contributed towards making peace desirable, which could not be obtained, without the restitution of the *Havannah*, as the French and Spaniards, and indeed, all the rest of Europe, looked upon the English possession of it as a locking-up the resource of all their treasures, which one day or other they might finally lose. So many important considerations, but above all, the vast depopulation of British subjects, by the war, at last determinnd our ministry to give ear to a treaty, in which, the restoration of the *Havannah* to the crown of Spain, was to be an article. The evacuating Portugal was not thought to be a sufficient equivalent for this mighty concession. His Catholic majesty gave up to the British subjects the long disputed right of their cutting, load-

ing,

ing, and carrying away logwood in the bay of Honduras, and, relinquishing the claim which his subjects had to the Newfoundland fishery. He likewise ceded and guaranteed, in full right, to his Britannic majesty, Florida, with Fort St. Augustine, and the bay of Pascuola, as well as all that Spain possessed on the continent of North America, to the east, or to the south-east, of the river Mississippi; and, in general, every thing that depends on the said countries and lands, with the sovereignty, property, possession, and all rights, acquired by treaties or otherwise, which the Catholic king, and the crown of Spain, have had, till now, over the said countries, lands, places, and other inhabitants; so that the Catholic king cedes and makes over the whole to the said king, and to the crown of Great Britain, and that in the most ample manner and form. Such were the indemnifications granted in America, besides the evacuation of Portugal by the Spanish and French troops, in consideration of the restitution of the Havannah by the 19th article of the definitive treaty, which was as follows.

"THE king of Great Britain shall restore to Spain all the territory which he has conquered in the island of Cuba, with concerning the fortress of the Havannah; and this fortress, as well the rest of the other fortresses of the said island, shall be restored in <sup>return of</sup> the same condition they were in when conquered by his Britannic majesty's arms; provided, that his Britannic majesty's subjects, who shall have settled in the said island, restored to Spain by the present treaty, or those who shall have any commercial affairs to settle there, shall have liberty to sell their lands and their estates, to settle their affairs, to recover their debts, and to bring away their effects, as well as their persons, on board vessels, which they shall be permitted to send to the said island, restored as above, and which shall serve for that use only, without being restrained on account of their religion, or under any other pretence whatsoever, except that of debts, or of criminal prosecutions: and for this purpose, the term of eighteen months is allowed to his Britannic majesty's subjects, to be computed from the day of the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty. But, as the liberty granted to his Britannic majesty's subjects, to bring away their persons and their effects, in vessels of their nation, may be liable to abuses, if precautions were not taken to prevent them; it has been expressly agreed, between his Britannic majesty and his Catholic majesty, that the number of English vessels, which shall have leave to go to the said island, restored to Spain, shall be limited, as well as the number of tons of each one; that

they shall go in ballast; shall set sail at a fixed time; and shall make one voyage only: all the effects belonging to the English, being to be embarked at the same time: it has been further agreed, that his Catholic majesty shall cause the necessary passports to be given to the said vessels; that, for the greater security, it shall be allowed to place two Spanish clerks, or guards, in each of the said vessels, which shall be visited in the landing-places and ports of the said island, restored to Spain, and that the merchandize which shall be found therein shall be confiscated."

*which is  
evacuated  
by the  
English.*

THE evacuation of the island was most punctually performed on the part of England; but the British merchants complained of some delays that were thrown in their way by the Spaniards, of which they were promised a ready redress, though the public is not yet informed as to the event. As to the town of the Havannah itself, distinct from the fortifications, it is about two miles in circuit, and contains about 26,000 souls, besides the garrison. Though St. Jago is the capital of the island, yet the Havannah is the residence of the bishop, and all the principal inhabitants of Cuba. Though its port is very secure within, yet the narrowness of its passage has rendered it so difficult of access, that the galleons have often been insulted and taken within sight of it, without receiving any assistance from the fortifications. In 1629, the flota was met with by a Dutch privateer, the commander of which was called Pie de Pelo, or Wooden Leg, whose crew ran the Spanish ships ashore, and made themselves masters of their treasures, which amounted to some millions of pieces of eight. The Spanish admiral, whose name was Guzman de Torres, then proceeded on his voyage to St. Jago, where he was imprisoned, and lost his head.

*Description of the  
island.*

THOUGH the churches of the Havannah are inconceivably magnificent and rich in plate and ornaments, yet the houses are ill-furnished, and the streets narrow, crooked and straight. The jurisdiction of the town extends to half the island, the other half belonging to the capital, St. Jago. While the galleons lie here, a fair is held, in which vast sums of money are spent, and every thing is excessively dear; but at all times, the price of every necessary. A life at the Havannah is extravagant; bread particularly; neither have they any great variety of flesh meat, nor is what they have of the best kinds, excepting their pork. This is not owing to any defect in the soil of the island, but to the indolence of the Spaniards in all the arts of cultivation. The inhabitants of the Havannah are, in general, far more sociable and conversable, than those of the other Spanish dominions in America.

ica ; and though the women seldom go abroad without veils, they behave in all other respects like the French ladies ; and this difference in manners from the other American Spaniards, is imputed to the accession of the house of Bourbon to the crown of Spain ; for though the other parts of the Spanish dominions in America are equally subjected, as Cuba is, to his Catholic majesty, they are more remote, and the inhabitants more attached to their ancient Spanish customs. At the same time, the *Havannah* was reduced, the English possessed themselves of the harbour of *Mariel*, which served as an excellent protection for their transports and some of their men of war, though the Spaniards endeavoured to ruin it, by sinking ships in its entrance. As to the Spanish commodore, and their other great officers, they were sent by the admiral to *Old Spain* in his majesty's ships the *Sutherland* and *Dover*, which were fitted up as flags of truce for their accommodation.

THE other towns of this island, the whole of which is *Its chief* but thinly peopled, are *Santa Cruz*, which lies about sixty towns and three miles east of the *Havannah*, and has a tolerable good places. harbour at the bottom of *Mutanza Bay*. *Porto del Principe* lies on the same coast, but about 300 miles south-east of the *Havannah*, and was formerly an opulent town, till plundered by the English buccaneers under *Morgan*. Near this place are bitumen pits, the substance of which is medicinal, and often applied to ships instead of pitch. *Baraca*, which lies on the north east part of the island, has a convenient harbour for small ships ; and *Cumberland Harbour* has been already mentioned. *St. Jago*, the capital of Cuba till the *Havannah* was built and fortified, was the residence of its government. It was founded by *Velasquez*, the first, but inhuman, governor of the island, who rendered it the shambles of the innocent natives ; some hundred thousands of whom he sacrificed to his avarice and ambition. It stands at the bottom of a large bay, about two leagues from the sea, on the south-east side of the island ; and we have already mentioned the unsuccessful effort made by the English under admiral *Vernon* and general *Wentworth*, to reduce it. It appeared, by accounts received from *Spain*, after this attempt failed, that had our troops advanced, the place must have fallen into their hands almost without resistance ; and no sooner were they reembarked, than 400 men were employed in repairing its fortifications, so that it is said now to have regained some degree of its former lustre.

PERHAPS, no civilized people in the world, but the Spanish, would suffer so fine an island as *Cuba*, to lie so uncultivated in its interior parts, that its product scarcely sup-

## The History of America.

ports its inhabitants, which well accounts for its depopulated state. It has been often observed, that the island contains more churches than farms, more priests than planters, and more lazy bigots than useful labourers. In ecclesiastical matters, the bishop of St. Jago is subject to the archbishop of St. Domingo, as the civil government is to the Spanish audience of the same island, and yet nature has provided Cuba with every thing that can render it rich and powerful. It is, like most islands in the West Indies, subject to storms; but though there is here no winter, the air is rendered cool by rains and breezes. The soil is capable of producing, in the greatest plenty, every thing that we have mentioned to grow in other American islands; but the Culti., commonly called the Havaannah, tobacco, is thought to excel that of all the world. The pine-apples here are excellent, and their sugars would equal their tobacco in goodness, had they hands to cultivate their canes. Some delicious fruits are found here, that are not to be met with upon other islands. The Spaniards, whose industry, in general, seems to be confined to mining, are said to have discovered some copper-mines on the island, which afford them metal sufficient for casting their artillery. It is uncertain, whether Cuba contains any veins of gold or silver, the hopes of which occasioned the butchery of all the ancient inhabitants, who were either unwilling or unable to discover any, though most probably the latter. The rivers and seas about Cuba are reported to abound with excellent fish, of all kinds; and the inhabitants have good conveniences for making salt, but they avail themselves very little of those advantages. Perhaps they are discouraged by the great numbers of alligators that frequent their rivers and coasts.

*and trade.* "CUBA has abundance of mules, horses, sheep, wild-boars, hogs, and fine black cattle; which, of themselves, are a valuable commodity. They run in large herds wild in the woods, and their hides and tallow fetch great price in Spain, while their flesh being cured, victuals their ships. These cattle are not only numerous, but so fat, that they often die through the burden of their grease; and such of them as are made use of, are killed by the negroes; the Spaniards themselves, tho' perhaps starving, being too lazy to take that trouble. After all, the exportations of this large fine island, till lately, never equalled in value those of the small British island of Antigua. The reason of this, next to the indolence of the Spaniards, is the vast facility with which the inhabitants make their money, by means of the galleons and the flota, and the very great contraband trade that is here carried on, in defiance of their laws and regulations, and even with the connivance of

the

the government of the island. Upon the whole, there is reason for believing that the ministers of Old Spain begin now to open their eyes with regard to the infinite advantages they might derive from this island ; and of late, St. Jago de Cuba, and other places of the island, begin to carry on a very brisk trade with Old and New Spain, and above all, with the Canaries ; so that it is hard to say, what the consequence may be, if the Spaniards should adopt other maxims of government and manners of living. We have only to add to our account of this island, that its government affects great secrecy as to every thing concerning it ; and formerly, it is said, that no stranger was admitted into the Havannah, without being blindfolded. But it appears, from the relations we have from Charlevoix, and other travellers, that this ~~pre~~ caution is now diffused. The Spanish galleons, flota, and merchant-ships, that resort to the Havannah, for the convenience of returning to Spain in a body, as well as to take in provisions and water, are commonly between fifty and sixty. They arrive in September, and depart about the end of the same month ; but no person belonging to the fleet is suffered, under pain of death, to remain all night in the town.

### HISPANIOLA, or ST. DOMINGO, TRINIDAD, MARGARITA, PORTO-RICO, and the other Spanish islands in America.

THE ancient name of this island was *Hayti*; but when it was discovered in 1492, by Christopher Columbus, he gave it the name of *Hispaniola*, or Little Spain ; and its chief city being dedicated to St. Dominic, or *Domingo*, that name, in process of time, communicated itself to the whole island. It lies in the middle betwixt *Cuba* and *Jamaica* on the north-west and *Souti*. <sup>D. (cover.)</sup> *well*, and *Porto-Rico* on the east, and is separated from the last by only a narrow channel. It extends from long. 67 deg. 35 min. to long. 74 deg. 15 min. and from lat. 17 deg. 37 min. to lat. 20. being near 400 miles from west to east, and almost 120 where broadest from north to south, and by some reckoned 400 leagues in circumference, exclusive of its bays and creeks, which it is thought would make 200 more. Columbus, as we have already seen, sailed from *Cuba* to *Hayti*, at a time when he began to suspect that some combinations were forming against him by the two brothers, *Martin* and *Francisco Pinzon*, the masters of two sloops in his squadron. When he arrived off *Hayti*, he had

\* BENZONI, apud de Bry. p. 33.

scarce cast anchor, when his capital ship was wrecked upon the rocks; but all his men and cargo were saved by the sloops. *Oviedo*, a Spanish author, says that many people imagined, that this shipwreck was privately contrived by *Columbus*, that he might have an excuse for leaving some of his people upon the island.

*and pos-*  
*session of*  
*Hispa-*  
*niola by*  
*the Spa-*  
*nians*

WHILE the wrecks of his ship were floating about, the natives of the island were standing on the shore, struck with admiration at what they saw; but no sooner did they perceive the Spaniards landing, than they ran off; and it was with difficulty that one of their women was taken and carried before *Columbus*, who not only behaved to her with great civility, but gave her some handsome apparel, and sent her on shore, making her understand, as well as he could, by signs, that the other natives ought, without any danger, repair to his ships. It appears from what happened immediately after, that she made an excellent report, of her benefactor to her country-people, who soon thronged round, and came on board the Spanish ships in their canoes. The Spaniards, with great pleasure, beheld those natives loaded with gold and silver bracelets, collars, and ear-rings; of which they were very liberal to all the sailors who asked for them. *Columbus*, finding the natives in so good a disposition, went ashore properly attended, and had an interview with one *Guacanilla*, one of the caciques, or petty princes of the island, who gave him a most hospitable and generous reception. Mutual civilities passed between them. *Columbus* presented the cacique with linen-drawers, caps, knives, looking-glasses, bells, and other toys; while the cacique bestowed on him, in return, a large quantity of gold, and ordered his subjects to go in their canoes and recover as much as they could of the wrecks of the Spanish ship, which they did carefully, as it had been their own property. *Columbus* was still without an interpreter; but he made a shift, by signs, to enquire where the natives got their gold; and they gave him to understand, that it was washed down by their inland rivers from their mountains. In the mean while, prodigious multitudes of the savages were daily crowding to see *Columbus* and his companions, being struck with wonder at their appearance, and gaping their gestures in whatever they saw them do. The Spaniards took advantage of their curiosity to teach them their prayers, and to give them some knowledge of their language, while they, in return, furnished them plentifully with gold, and foods of all kind.

' *COLUMBUS* imagining, that he had now succeeded in what he had been so long in quest of, was impatient to be

him-

himself the first messenger of good news to his master the king of Spain. Before he took his departure from Hispaniola, he built, with leave of the cacique, a house, according to my author<sup>4</sup>, of bricks, and called it, "The Nativity," being the first that ever was built by Europeans in America. Here he left thirty eight Spaniards, with orders to behave themselves during his absence, with the greatest caution and moderation; but that they should, during his absence, inform themselves of every thing relating to the island. He then put to sea, carrying along with him the rest of his crews, together with six of the natives, all the gold that had been presented to him by the cacique, some pearls, and cake of maize, or Indian corn, with other rarities, the produce of the island. Two of the savages died in their passage to Spain; but Columbus presented the other four to their Catholic Majesties, together with the gold, which convinced them of the reality of his discoveries; and they shewed very particular marks of respect to Columbus, whom they made high-admiral of the western world, with a tenth of the profits of his discovery; and his brother Bartholomew was appointed to the government of Hispaniola, the only place in America in which the Spaniards settled, as yet, to have obtained a footing.

COLUMBUS, on the other hand, gave their Catholic Majesties entire satisfaction as to the value of his discoveries, in Spain. At the prodigious matters they might expect from them; but desired, at the same time, that he might return with a fleet and appointment sufficient to complete them. A fleet of three ships of war, and fourteen caravels, carrying 1500 men, was accordingly sent out, and plentifully furnished with provisions, ammunition, cannon, corn, seeds, horses, and mares, tools to work in the mines, and commodities that were proper for trafficking with the natives. Among the men he carried out, in which were a few gentlemen, but abundance of priests and monks, the others consisting chiefly of labourers and artizans. In his voyage to Hispaniola, he touched at Gomera, one of the Canary Islands, where he wooded and watered, and took in an additional number of live stock, with some garden-seeds; and, on the 23d of November, after discovering many other islands, he arrived on the coast of Hispaniola. Returns to Here he found a dreadful revolution, all the Spaniards being dead whom he had left on the island. The admiral sent ashore a party to know the reason of this catastrophe, and along with them the four natives whom he had brought back, and who had been baptized in Spain. They

<sup>4</sup> Ibid, p. 35.

were directed to apply themselves to the cacique *Guacanarilla*, who shewed great expressions of concern at what had happened, but imputed all the misfortunes of the Spaniards to their own misconduct. He said, that after the departure of *Columbus*, those he had left behind him had violated the wives of the natives, and had bastinadoed the men, besides treating them ill otherwise, but that he (*Guacanarilla*) had no hand in their massacre ; that another cacique, of more power than him, had come into his province, and seeing the bearded men proceeding to build houses and make settlements on the island, had given orders that they should be all massacred. *Guacanarilla*, at the same time, pretended that in taking part with the Spaniards he had received a wound in the leg, which he shewed all bound up to the messengers, who were constrained to believe that he himself had been the author of the massacre.

*His conduct.* IT is highly probable, that *Columbus* had foreseen and expected this catastrophe, which he gave orders neither should be enquired into, nor punished ; all accounts agreeing, that the people he left upon the island were the most abandoned ruffians in the whole fleet, and, very possibly, the ringleaders of the mutineers who had brought him into so much disquiet and danger during his first voyage. But, as he was now in a condition to command his own terms, he landed with his people, and laid the foundations of a town, to which, in honour of her Catholic Majesty, he gave the name of *Isabella*. After this, he built a town, which he called *St. Thomas*, near the gold-mines of *Hispaniola*, fortifying it with a citadel strong enough to resist the attacks of the natives. Here the Spaniards opened so rich a gold mine, that such of them as were not present did not credit the reports spread of it, till they saw great quantities of pure gold which it contained ; and which, according to *Oviedo*, the natives were not at pains to dig for, as all the gold they had in their possession was found either upon the surface of the earth, or so near it, that it gave them very little trouble to come at it. This part of the Spanish history is well attested ; but it would be difficult to account for the great scarcity of native gold, that is now in *Hispaniola*, as we can scarcely imagine that the Spaniards, ravenous as they were for that metal, could have exhausted the prodigious mines of it, said to have been discovered at the time we now treat of. It has been pretended, indeed, that the Spaniards, finding themselves too weak to work those mines to their own profits, take care to conceal them. But avarice, and a desire of gain, form an irresistible argument against this allegation, as it would be impossible for them to conceal

all knowledge of those mines from their government, who would soon fall upon methods to work them, as well as those of Peru and Mexico.

THIS promising beginning of a colony being effected, *His* ~~far-~~ Christopher Columbus, leaving his brother Bartholomew in his other ~~disco-~~ charge of Hispaniola, put to sea with three ships, in which ~~series~~ he compleated his discovery on the south-side of Cuba, Jamaica, and other islands; and then returning to Hispaniola, he discovered a harbour which he called Port Nicholas, where he refitted his squadron, which had been greatly shattered by his cruise, and then he prepared to set out against the Caribbeans, who were the ~~harmless~~ natives of those and the adjacent islands and continent, intending not only to burn all their canoes, but, if possible, to extirpate the people. Though the humanity, moderation, and justice of Columbus, have been greatly cried up by the Spaniards and other authors, yet we find that he possessed those virtues only comparatively, as he certainly was a better man than many of those masters his contemporaries and successors, whose proceedings are so many apologies for the cruelties of other nations; but the virtues of Columbus were, perhaps, as much inferior to those of a truly humane conqueror, as those of the fiends, we have mentioned, were to his. While he was meditating upon this expedition, he was seized with a dangerous illness, and confined to his new town of Ijubella, where he had nothing before his eyes but the approaching ruin of his colony.

MANY circumstances confirmed the opinion, that the first Spanish adventurers to America were men, who, through their vices and crimes, could not live in Europe. During the absence of Columbus, the colonists upon Hispaniola were guilty of the greatest excesses against the unsuspecting natives, whose resentments were as keen and vindictive as their afflictions had been sincere and generous. Perceiving that the Spaniards were proceeding to build houses and forts, they began to suspect that their intention was to reduce them to slavery, and to take possession of their island; but they received no other answer than blows and ill treatment to any remonstrances they, or their caciques, urged on this head. The insolent colonists, at last, proceeded to murders, rapes, and robberies, and every quarter of the island presented some scenes of cruelty and injustice. The inhabitants, knowing themselves to be no match for their tyrants, formed the scheme of a most extraordinary revenge, which was that of intermitting the culture of their land for a whole season, and of supporting themselves instead of maize, with a root, which our authors call *jucca*, the too frequent use of which produced a disease some-

somewhat like the venereal, and then they retired into the innermost parts of the island; but great numbers of them took the desperate resolution of putting an end to their own lives. The Spaniards, while their provision lasted, paid no regard to this migration; but beginning to be pinched for want of maize and Indian corn, they went a foraging, and found nothing but desarts and empty cottages, while all around the fields and roads lay the dead bodies of the Indians, some murdered, and others starved or dead through the unwholesomeness of their food. The certainty of this calamity being reported at ~~St. Domingo~~, the colonists quarrelled with their officers, and a mutiny against Bartholomew Columbus ensued, while many of them perished, like the Indians, through want of sustenance.

*He is excommunicated.* — COLUMBUS at last recovered, and, after re-establishing his authority, sent men to enquire into the authors of the late mutiny against his brother, and the cruelties committed upon the inhabitants; and finding one Gaspar Eniz to be at the head of them, he ordered him, and the other ringleaders, to be hanged. He did not, however, inflict the same punishment upon a Benedictine monk, one Buil, who resented the execution of the malefactors so highly, that he excommunicated Columbus and all who had a concern in their death; while Columbus, on the other hand, ordered, that neither Buil, nor his brethren, should be supplied from any part of the ship's store, which the colony was now obliged to subsist on. Columbus then sent out messengers to invite the caciques, to a reconciliation, but without any great success. To aggravate the misfortune of the colony, one of the most dreadful hurricanes ever known in those parts attacked the island, with most dreadful peals of thunder, and such flashes of lightning, that the air seemed to be on fire. The new built houses of the Spaniards were blown down, and four of their best ships, with all their crews, were sunk in the harbour. The Spaniards, unacquainted with such visitations, were exposed to all the fury of the storm, by which many of them perished; while the Indians, who saw, from well-known observations, it was approaching, avoided its effects by retiring into caves. It is remarkable, that among the other wrecks which this storm occasioned, that of the sugar-mills is particularly mentioned, which is a proof that the art of making sugar was more early in America than is commonly imagined.

*A hurricane.* — But neither this, nor any other calamity, could subdue the vindictive spirit of Buil, and the other priests, who had formed so strong a party against Columbus, that little regard was now paid to his authority. Peter Margarita, governor of St. Thomas,

mas, and some other leading Spaniards, endeavoured to make matters up; but the reconciliation, if any, was short-lived; for Buil and his brethren opposed Columbus in every exercise of his office, on pretence that he stood excommunicated; and an association was formed among the remaining conspirators for transmitting to Spain a charge of treason and tyranny against him. All that Columbus could oppose to this combination, was, to continue his prohibition against the priests receiving any provisions; but they were supported by their party: and, at last, ships arrived from Spain with plentiful supplies of all kinds. From the course of history, it appears, as if an intermission had, all this time, been kept up between Old Spain and Hispaniola; for Columbus certainly came to the knowledge of the complaints that had been lodged against him, with his Catholic majesty, and his ~~know~~ the power of the church too well to neglect them. He sent back great part of the fleet that came out with him, to Spain, under Antony de Torres, with some gold; and no sooner were his remaining ships refitted after the late fitz, than he prepared to return to Europe; having, according to Oviedo, received an order from his Catholic Majesty for that purpose by a noble Spaniard, one Juan Agnado, who had a commission to carry his accusers, at the same time, to Spain.

NOTWITHSTANDING the great partiality of the Spanish historians towards Columbus, it appears from Oviedo, one of their ~~best~~ earliest and best informed authors, that that great man (for such he certainly was) was not without little failings. He had ordered that the Indians before they went to gather gold, went through a vast number of ceremonies, such as abstaining even from their wives, and undergoing a course of fasting; and Columbus ordered, that no Spaniard should go in search of gold without preparing himself by the like penances, but be confessed and take the sacrament. The Spaniards objected to those orders, particularly to what regarded their fasting, of which they said they suffered too much against their will. The admiral, on the other hand, who, possibly, thought that this rigour might reclaim them, insisted upon the punctual observance of his orders, and severely punished all who ventured to transgres them; by which means, it is no wonder, if he became odious to the libertines he commanded; and some of them accused him of imposing those ridiculous ceremonies upon them, that he might the more securely engross the profits of the mines to himself. Columbus taking leave of Hispaniola, where he left things in great confusion, landed at Cales in Old Spain, from whence he repaired to court, where the gold and the rarities he presented

Returns to the king, with the narrative of his adventures and discoveries, soon effaced all the charges against him. It is said, that the quantity of gold he presented on this occasion was very great, and formed into ingots; and that he produced to his majesty, in a journal kept by himself, an account of all his transactions in America, which fully vindicated him from all imputations of misconduct or cruelty. His majesty seemed to be extremely well satisfied of his innocence; but, at the same time, he hinted to him, that he had been a little too severe upon the adventurers who had gone so far to enlarge the Spanish wealth and empire, and admonished him to be less rigorous for the future. At that time, he renewed his commission, and gave orders for fitting out a new fleet of twelve ships, with which he was to prosecute his discoveries. But we are now to return to what passed in Hispaniola; and we shall throw in what concerns the natives in the same narrative.

*History of Hispaniola.* WHEN Columbus first arrived on that island it was governed by five caciques, viz., Guanarivex, Bebeccio, Guanmorilla, Caigaoa, and Caonabo. The first possessed a territory comprehending a large plain of above seventy leagues in the middle of the island. Bebeccio reigned over the western part of it, as Guanarivex, whom we have already mentioned, did over the northern. Caigaoa possessed the eastern part: this cacique died before the war between the islanders and the Spaniards, and was succeeded in his government by his wife, who turned christian, and was baptized by the name of Agnes de Caiaguan. Caonabo, who was the most powerful nation, and whom, reigned in the highlands, and had under him a deputy-cacique, called Uimatex, an excellent soldier and a great disciplinarian. Those princes seldom had any disputes among themselves, except concerning their boundaries and their fisheries; but all quarrels ceased among them when a descent, which often happened, was made upon their island by the Caribbeans, whom they considered as foreign invaders, and all of them united for their expulsion.

THE mines of Ciboa, or (as the Spaniards then called them) St. Thomas, lay within the division that belonged to Caonabo, who could not bear the thought of the neighbourhood of the Spaniards; but he endeavoured to stifle his resentment till Columbus was sailed for Spain. Alfonso Ojeda was then governor of St. Thomas, with a garrison of fifty Spaniards, and Caonabo, encouraged by the example of Guanarivex, who had cut off the thirty-eight first colonists, got together 5 or 6000 natives, with whom he laid siege to St. Thomas, after destroying all the stragglers he met with, and

burning the defenceless habitations of the Spaniards. The siege was so strait for a month, that the fort was quite blocked up from all access; but Ojeda resolved to wear out the courage of the besiegers by keeping within the walls, where he had, it seems, abundance of provisions. Perceiving their vigilance began to abate, he harangued them with sallies, and found means, by some of the friend'y natives, to insinuate to Caonabo and his army, that the admiral was daily expected with a powerful reinforcement, while Ojeda himself, seeming to be tired of the siege, offered terms to the cacique. Those stratagems had their effect; for Caonabo became not only more remiss in his discipline, but seemed inclinable to treat with the Spaniards, against the express opinion of his tributary caciques, who offered, if he would wait a little, to bring him reinforcements sufficient to ext'minate those strangers from the island. Those remonstrances had weight, and the incautious cacique, upon Ojeda plighting his faith for his safe return, went, with some of his chief officers into the fort, where the treacherous Spaniard immediately put him under arrest.

CAONABO had a brother, a man of courage and very popular among his countrymen; who, hearing of the Spaniard's treachery, revenged the siege of St. Thomas with 7000 men; but Ojeda had, by this time, taken the field, at the head of about 300 men, among whom were some cavalry, sent him by Bartholomew Columbus, and attacking the Indians obtained an easy victory over those savages, who were struck with consternation at the execution made by the horse; animals they had never seen before; and the cacique's brother was taken prisoner. Bartholomew Columbus hearing of this victory instead of generously resolving to make atonement for Ojeda's treachery, by setting the illustrious prisoners at liberty, resolved to lend them to Spain, under pretence that the peace of the island must still be precarious, if they remained on the island, either in prison, or at freedom. This resolution being communicated to the cacique and his brother, they were so affected with grief, that the former died about twelve days before he was to have been put on board, as the other did, in the voyage. The deceased cacique's wife put herself under the protection of her brother the cacique Beheccio, who some time after was put to death with forty of his tributary caciques, by the governor Nicolas Uvando, on pretence of a conspiracy against the Christians. By her flight, the Spaniards remained in quiet possession of her husband's dominions; but the island in general was far from being restored to a state of tranquillity.

WHILE the siege of St. Thomas was carrying on, the cacique *Guarionex* resolved to take that opportunity, before the return of the admiral from Spain, to attack *Bartholomew*, and by the assistance of other caciques, he assembled about 15,000 men, to rescue, as they gave out, their liberties and religion from the oppression and scoffs of the Spaniards, and to drive those invaders from their island. Nothing could be a fairer opportunity for this purpose, than that which then presented itself. The Spaniards were not only reduced in their numbers, <sup>for</sup> the survivors were sickly and eaten up with diseases; nor could *Bartholomew* bring above 500 into the field, <sup>of</sup> these mostly diseased. He wisely, however, resolved not to wait till he was shut up in his fort of *Isabella*; but drawing out his men, he came up, by forced marches, with his cavalry. Understanding that they kept no watch in their camp, he divided his party into two bodies, and taking the advantage of a tempestuous night, he broke into their camp, and obtained an easy victory. Some of the savages escaped, many of them were killed, but the greatest number of them, among whom were *Guarionex*, and fourty tributary caciques, were taken prisoners. Here the earliest accounts differ. Some affirm, that *Guarionex* himself was not present in the action, but that his wife, some time before, had been made prisoner by the Spaniards; some say that at this happened in the absence of the admiral; others, that he was in the engagement, which is most probable. It is certain, that the conduct of the Spaniards, on this occasion, was the reverse of what it had been before; for the terms imposed upon *Guarionex*, were very moderate, and the chief prisoners were set at liberty. *Guarionex* himself, in gratitude, behaved with the greatest humanity and hospitality towards the Spaniards whom he found in his dominions.

BEFORE an end was put to this war, the admiral had left Spain, and intending to visit other places in his voyage to Hispaniola, he dispatched thither two of his ships with supplies to his brother *Bartholomew*. By this time, one *Roldan Ximenez*, whom the admiral had raised from a low condition, (though by all accounts he was a very worthless fellow) to a considerable civil employment, taking advantage of the cloud under which *Columbus* was at court, had prevailed with a number of the malecontents to leave *Bartholomew*, and remove with him to the western part of the island, where he instituted a kind of a separate government, giving a loose to the most shameful excesses and oppressions of the natives, by which he and his companions had amassed very considerable treasures. The two ships sent by *Columbus* happening to

land in the part of the island possessed by them, Roldan invited their commanders and crew to join with him and his companions. The sight of the vast riches they were possessed of, and the plausible stories they invented, at last determined the sailors to accept of the invitation, and landing their store, they joined with Roldan in all the murders, robberies, and oppression, that he and his people committed upon the natives.

COLUMBUS was at this time upon the island of Margarita, then called Cubagua, famous for its pearl fishing; and from thence he sent letters to Roldan, exhorting him to return to his duty; but all his admonitions had no other effect than to make Roldan write over to his Catholic majesty a vindication of his conduct, and the reasons why he separated himself and his company from the governor of Hispaniola. In this vindication, he represented Bartholomew as a most tyrannical governor, and accused him of the most wanton exercises of cruelty upon the Spaniards themselves, and of putting them to death upon the most trivial occasions; and the admiral himself as a man of unbounded ambition, who only sought an opportunity to erect himself into a sovereign of all the islands and lands he had discovered; praying his majesty, at the same time, to take the matter into his own cognizance. Roldan, to give the greater weight and probability to those charges, and many others against the admiral in Hispaniola, added, that Columbus having lately discovered Cuba, where was the richest pearl fishery in the world, intended to secrete the same from his majesty, and to convert all the invaluable pearls he had got there, to his own use; and that both the divers in Cubagua, and the workmen in the mines of Hispaniola, with all the other officers appointed for the public service, were creatures of the admiral, and confederated with him in defrauding the royal revenue. He concluded, by offering to make his charge good in person to the admiral's face.

FERDINAND, king of Spain, one of the most politic and powerful, was, at the same time, one of the most avaricious and self-interested princes of his age. Many circumstances concurred to startle him on receiving this charge from Roldan. He had received, as yet from Columbus no intimation of the discovery of Cubagua, or of the invaluable pearl fishery on its coasts. Columbus was neither born a Spaniard, nor one of his natural subjects; and it appeared by many incontestable proofs, that his government was disagreeable to the generality of the adventurers. In the mean while, several of the Spaniards, who had been at Cubagua, had returned to their

their own country, and carried to court some of the large pearls which that fishery afforded, and which being shewn to his majesty, seemed to give some credit to Roldan's charge against Columbus. The truth is, this admiral was entirely void of all blame, for he no sooner was assured of the value of the Cubagua pearl-fishery, than he sent a friend, one Arroial, to inform his Catholic majesty of the discovery, with some specimens of the largest pearls; but this messenger did not reach Spain ~~in time~~ enough to prevent the bad impressions which the king had received from those who had arrived sooner, in other vessels. It happened still more unfortunately for the admiral, of perceiving the vast plenty of pearls at Cubagua, and that his sailors could purchase them for the merest trifles, he was afraid that, if they remained longer on that island, it would be impossible for him to arrive at Hispaniola time enough to prevent the bad consequences of his absence; and therefore he had used some rough methods to force them on board their ships.

*Columbus returns to Hispaniola.* THE admiral, on his arrival at Hispaniola, found, as we have already seen, his brother involved in a war with the ~~Spaniards~~ ~~courtesies~~, which was soon ended to the satisfaction of both parties. Not to be wanting to himself, he no sooner understood that Roldan had accused him to his Catholic majesty, than he sent over a full vindication of his brother's conduct, laying open, at the same time, the treacherous inhuman proceedings of Roldan, which had occasioned so much bloodshed; and had hazarded the loss of the island to the crown of Spain. As her Catholic majesty was the professed patroness of Columbus, this apology for his conduct might have ~~been~~ ~~been~~ ~~given~~ towards clearing him of all suspicion; but the courtiers, who were his enemies, because he was a foreigner, had conceived such high ideas of the American riches, that each aspired to be a viceroy in the New World. Columbus and his brother being engaged in war with the natives of Hispaniola, it was impossible for them to procure hands for working the mines; and therefore they had, for some time, sent no gold to Spain, which was a fresh matter of accusation, for which the queen herself could make no apology, and therefore the king came to a resolution of sending thither a commissary, to enquire into the state of affairs. For this purpose, he pitched upon one *François Bombadilla*, an old courtier, and a knight of Calatrava, a man of a sour tyrannical temper, and very ill suited for all but the severe part of his commission. It is to this day uncertain, how far his instructions reached, because Ferdinand, in some measure, disapproved of his proceedings. We are, however, to presume, that they were discretionary; but

It is certain, that he had authority to settle the peace of the island, to enquire into the state of the differences between Columbus and Roldan. It appears, however, that he set out on his commission with a determined inveteracy against Columbus and his three brothers, for Diego, the youngest, had now arrived in Hispaniola.

\* Those marks of respect were no other than preludes, intended by the politic prince to their removal from the posts they then held; and, indeed, impartially speaking, though he is justly accused of ingratitude, he, perhaps, by this removal, consulted his own interest, the only standard of his conduct. He saw that the Spaniards never could bear with the severe discipline of Columbus, who used to whip them on very slight occasions, and hang such of them as were found to have maltreated any of the Indians. In short, Ferdinand, though entirely convinced by the integrity and good intentions of Columbus, was apprehensive, that if he ~~was~~ continued in his command, he should reap little benefit from his new acquisitions. When Columbus was admitted into the royal presence, he effectually cleared himself from all charges of concealment, ambition, or avarice, brought against him.

conduct; and their Catholic majesties expressed themselves with indignation against Bombadilla, confirming Columbus in all the dignities that had been conferred upon him (excepting the personal exercise of his government in Hispaniola,) and restoring him to all his appointments and revenues, which were to be accounted for to him from the day of his imprisonment. We are in the mean while to observe, that their majesties had so great an opinion of the abilities of Columbus, that they afterwards employed him in other services.

*Conduct of his enemies.* IN the meantime, Bombadilla and Roldan engrossed to themselves a despotic power over the wretched natives, whom their predecessors had subdued, and whom they now reduced to like brutes, both above ground and in the mines; and at the same time, they tyrannized over all the friends Columbus had left upon the island. They were sensible that complaints were lodged against them at the court; but Bombadilla knew it well, to fear any censure there, while he could make peace with gold, of which he and Roldan amassed great quantities. In this manner they continued till the year 1502, when their tyranny became so insupportable, that being ordered home, they embarked with all their treasures. Their ingots of gold are said to have amounted to 100,000 pounds weight, besides immense quantities of large pieces found in lumps. Before this time, Columbus, who could not be inactive, and whom Ferdinand still affected to treat with the greatest marks of respect, had prevailed with that monarch to give him the command of four ships, for making few discoveries. He sailed with them from Cadiz on the 29th of May, 1502, and before D. mingo in Hispaniola, while the fleet was lying that was to carry Bombadilla and his treasures, the whole consisting of thirty capital ships, manned with Spaniards. Columbus, sending his name on shore, received a message from Bombadilla, absolutely prohibiting him from landing. Columbus, by way of reply, said, that it was a matter of indifference to him where he landed, but that it was his duty to acquaint the governor, that he had observed great appearances of an approaching storm, and advised him by all means to defer his departure till the weather became more settled. Bombadilla rejected this salutary advice, and immediately put to sea, where he, and Roldan, with the general of the island, above 500 Spaniards, and all their immense treasures, perished, and were lost.

*HISPANIOLA* was as yet the only regular settlement the Spaniards had in America, if we except the small ~~settlement~~ they

they had obtained in *Trinidad* and *Margarita*, commonly called the *Pearl Islands*. But the same of those discoveries, and the prodigious riches they contained, had prevailed so much among the *Spaniards*, that his Catholic majesty was obliged to issue out an ordinance, making it highly penal for any master of a ship or pilot, to approach nearer than fifty leagues to any of the discoveries made by *Columbus*, without his special permission. We have, in the history of *Jamaica*, related the farther adventures of that great man, and how he was obliged to send to *Hispaniola* for a ship to carry him to *Jamaica*. *Nicholas D'Uvando*, who had succeeded *Columbilla*, was then governor of *Hispaniola*, and readily sent *Columbus* a ship, which brought him to St. *Lucy*; from whence, after refreshing himself for some days, he set sail for *Spain*, where he died, soon after his arrival. It is said, the purpose of his last voyage was to have procured a passage to the *South-Sea*, which was afterwards found out by *Magellan*.

It appears, that the *Spaniards* were so intent upon acquiring the treasures of America, that very little regard was paid to the ordinance of the king, prohibiting his subjects from approaching to those coasts. All he could do, therefore, was to increase both in *Hispaniola* and *Margarita*, the number of his collectors and tax-gatherers, and to force the trades to pay the customs. Along with those, a great number of monks and missionaries had looked to *Trinidad* and *Margarita*. The *Spaniards*, as usual, had inflicted the greatest cruelties upon the natives, who had received them in the most generous, hospitable manner, by keeping them to intolerable labour, in diving for pearls. The barbarians, simple as they were, soon came to entertain the utmost abhorrence and contempt of the *Spaniards*, on account of their foolish, as they justly thought it, as well as cruel behaviour; and therefore, striking upon them of a sudden, they murdered all who fell into their hands, both clergy and laity; while the survivors escaped to *Hispaniola*, from whence the governor dispatched 300 men, with *Diego Ocampo* at their head, to reduce the barbarians. *Ocampo*, on his arrival at *Margarita*, ordered his men to conceal themselves in their ship, and appeared himself with but a very few upon deck. The natives, rowing about his ship in their canoes, demanded from whence he came; and he answered, from *Old Spain*; upon which, some of them, though they suspected the truth, went on board *Ocampo's* ship, where seeing but a very few sailors, they concluded that the news of their revolt had not yet reached

*Hispaniola*, and that their visitors came from Europe. They therefore, after exchanging with him some pearls, returned on shore, where they reported to the cacique, that the Spaniards on board were so few, that they could easily surprize their ship and cargo, and slaughter the crew. The cacique, upon this, ordered a great number of his people to go on board, which they did in such numbers, that Ocampo's ship was almost filled. He then gave a signal for his men to appear with their arms upon deck, where they massacred or hung on the yards of their ship, as a terror to their countrymen, all the rest excepting a few, who jumped overboard, and gained the shore. Ocampo then landed his men at the mouth of the river *Cumana*, where he committed the most horrible massacres upon the natives, and forced them to assist him in building a village, which he called *Tolosa*. The Dominican friars had by this time built two monasteries in those islands, where they were most hospitably entertained by the inhabitants. Charles V. was then king of Spain and the famous Bartholomew de *Casas* was kind of a missionary in the West Indies, where he saw the most horrible cruelties committed by the Spaniards upon the natives, who did not fail to make reprisals on every occasion. Motives of humanity prevailed with him to repair to Spain, where he laid before Charles all the misconduct and cruelties of his subjects, even to the extermination of the human race. According to my author, with whom de *Casas* is by no means a favourite, Charles bestowed upon him the government of *Cumaná* and *Altagarcia*, then called *Culagua*, and furnished him with 300 men, with particular distinctions and privileges, who were to be under his direction in the pearl-fishery. Our author expressly says, that this commission was granted to *de Casas*, at the intercession of count *Nassau*, father, as we apprehend, to the first prince of *Orange*. *De Casas*, at the same time, was provided with shipping, and every necessary for the discharge of his high office.

*Massacre* ARRIVING at *Cumana*, he produced his commission to the Spanish, who was by no means disposed to resign his government, and made a thousand pretexts for retaining it, till he could subdue the rebels (for so he called the natives); and pleaded, at the same time, that he could not leave the place without receiving his dismissal from the governor of *Hispaniola*, under whom he acted. Some high words followed on this occasion, but Ocampo still retained the command, upon which, *de Casas* went to *Hispaniola*, where he complained to the governor of the treatment he had received from Ocampo, who, it seems, had debarred him from entering his town of *Toledo*.

Toledo. Before his departure, he had run up some wooden barracks for the accommodation of the 300 Spaniards he had brought along with him; and soon after, Ocampo, whose men by this time were excessively riotous, and began to quarrel among themselves about dividing the plunder, left the island also. The natives were now free of all their tyrants, except the Spaniards left by de Cofas, and some stragglers whom avarice detained in the country. Thinking that a proper opportunity for recovering their liberties, they rose at a man, and put to death all the Spaniards but a few traitors who fled to Cubagua; and after that, they set fire to all their dwelling, temples, and monasteries; and in short, did every thing they could to abolish the very remembrance of their cruel invaders, even to the putting to death such of their countrymen as had turned Christians, and cursing their own native soil for giving shelter to so infernal a set of men as the Spaniards were. They even endeavoured to pass over from Cumaná to Cubagua to extirpate all the Europeans there; but they had not boats and canoes to carry them over, short as the passage is.

THIS tragedy of the Spaniards was effected by Ocampo, *It is reported, not hearing to be supported by de Cofas,* had left the *venged,* new-comers to be factured by the natives. As to de Cofas, finding that there was a conspiracy of all the other Spaniards against him, and that they paid no manner of regard to his commission, he took refuge in a monastery in Hispaniola. The governor of that island, understanding how matters had gone in Cumaná, immediately ordered a body of Spaniards to sail thither under his command (one Captain). He arrived at Trinidada in eight days, and the natives bravely defended themselves for forty, but were, at last, obliged to submit. He made a most cruel use of his advantage, for he hanged no fewer than seventy of the caciques, under the shameful pretext of their being rebels, and sent vast numbers of the natives to Hispaniola, where they were sold as slaves. He then applied himself to re-gild the town of Toledo, which had been demolished by the barbarians, and raised a town, consisting of seventy brick houses, in Cubagua, calling it *New Cádiz.* Soon after, the Dominicans erected a monastery upon Cubagua, which seems to have undergone a remarkable change of climate; for we are told, that in those days it was entirely barren, and without any trees, and so destitute of water, that its value was equal to that of wine. Later accounts inform us, that notwithstanding the scarcity of fresh water, the soil is fertile, produces maize and fruit, and that the island has upon it a great number of groves. Add to

this, that the pearl-fisher, for which this island was formerly so famous, is now entirely exhausted.

*Disobedience and Opulence of the Spaniards.* Soon after, *Lampugnani*, a Milanese nobleman, arrived at *Cubagua*, with a commission from his Catholic Majesty to be governor of that island. He brought along with him four ships which had been fitted out by Spanish merchants to fish for pearls on that island; and an instrument somewhat of the nature of a harrow, which, when let down to the bottom of the sea, served as a kind of drag-net for bringing up the oysters that contained the pearls. When *Lampugnani* produced his commission, the Spaniards upon *Cubagua* treated him in the same manner as they had done *de Lusus*, and flatly refused to give any regard to the royal mandate, which was to bestow upon a stranger the fruit of their labours. The truth is, the immense riches those Spaniards had acquired, had inspired them with strong notions of independency upon their European sovereign; and *Lampugnani*, perceiving they were unanimous in opposing him, and that no regard was paid to the royal mandate, fell into a frenzy through vexation of mind, being unable to return to Europe through the great debts he had contracted; and died on the island, in the utmost misery and distraction. This disregard of his Catholic majesty's orders prevailed so greatly, that he found, at last, there was no other method of retaining his American subjects in their duty, but by ballancing one governor against another; in which case, the royal authority generally turned the scale. *James Columbus*, son to *Christopher*, was then governor of *Hispaniola*, and was intent upon settling his colony of *Jamaica*. But, by this time, the greatest part of the American continent had been discovered, and his Catholic majesty had granted commissions to *Diego N'iquesa*, and *Alphonso Honduras*, commonly called *Alonso de Ojeda*, the former to be governor of *Veraqua*, and the other of *Cartagena*. *Ojeda* fitted out four ships, and hired 400 soldiers at his own expence; and both those governors arrived safe at *Hispaniola*. Their commissions were the most inhuman that can be conceived, as they were authorized to exterminate, by fire and sword, or by any other means they thought proper, all the Indians who did not become Christians, or more properly speaking, slaves to the Spaniards; in which case, they promised them his Catholic majesty's protection. The Indians, in a few words replied, that they knew nothing of his Catholic majesty, and that they were determined to live independently. Upon this, the Spaniards butchered all the Indians who fell into their hands, till being tired with murder, they saved some to work as slaves in their mines. The Imperial court issued an order

ordinance in their favour, by which the Indians were declared to be free; but this did not happen till after the Spaniards had gone far towards exterminating the very species of the Americans.

OUR author mentions his being in Hispaniola in 1545, when this edict was proclaimed there, and that it was received with great dislike all over the Spanish America. Nay, that in Mexico, and some other provinces, it was utterly disregarded. Niquifa and Ojeda, whom we have mentioned, raging after gold, still continued to butcher the Indians, or to torture them, in hopes of discovering where it was to be found; but they met with a spirited resistance, so that Ojeda, having lost the greatest part of his soldiers, was obliged to return to Cartagena. We have from Benzo, several instances of great magnanimity exerted by the Indians during this expedition, which proved very fatal to the Spaniards. Upon their return to Cartagena, a kind of mutiny happened among Ojeda's men; but the governor of Hispaniola loading ship laden with all sorts of provisions to their number, kept them in temper while they last. When they were consumed, they again grew outrageous, and deaf to all that their commanders could say to pacify them. ~~Ojeda upon this, threw himself into a ship, and sailed for Hispaniola, leaving the famous~~ and other Spanish adventurers. Francisco Pizarro for his deputy, with this condition, that it he did not return in a certain number of days they were at liberty to dispose of themselves as they pleased. The fate of Ojeda was remarkable; his men had seized upon the wife of a cacique, who pretended to come to the Spanish camp to ransom her, and for that purpose demanded audience of Ojeda, promising to give him whatever treasure he demanded for his wife. Ojeda no sooner appeared, than the cacique, apprehending that the honour of his bed had been violated, let fly a poisoned arrow, which struck him in the thigh, while the Spaniards cut in pieces the cacique, his wife, and all his attendants. The fire, which is the common antidote to those poisons, was applied to Ojeda's wound, yet he died soon after his arrival at Hispaniola; some say in the habit of a Franciscan friar, which he assumed through despair and vexation.

OJEDA not returning in the stated time, Pizarro, with ~~who ob-~~ fifty Spaniards, the remains of 300, embarked on board two ships, one of which perished at sea; and Pizarro, in the ~~time~~ to other, after undergoing inexpressible misery, fell in with two ~~murder~~ ships that were coming to his relief, under one ~~Anciso~~, who, ~~themselves~~.

\* Ibid. p. 82.

instead of carrying Pizarro and his crew to Hispaniola, as they earnestly desired, forced them back to Cartagena, where the Spaniards quarrelled with one another. In the mean while, the governor of Hispaniola, understanding the vast distress his countrymen were in at Cartagena, dispatched Roderigo Colmenares with two ships to their relief, and he found them in a most miserable condition. Upon the death of admiral Columbus, the government of Hispaniola was given to his son Diego, with the title of viceroy, and with the same powers which his father and grandfather had enjoyed. But the Spaniards still considering the family of Columbus as being foreigners, rendered the viceroy's government extremely uncomfortable to him; and at last, his Catholic majesty ordered him to repair to Spain, to answer the complaints against him, and there he died without being able to obtain common justice from an ungrateful court. Upon his death, a variety ofSpaniards succeeded, some of them laics, and others clerks, & &c., & all of them monsters of cruelty. So that according to my author, "the wretched native of Hispaniola, came to a general resolution of putting his enemies to death, which they executed by torture or poison, and allegate<sup>r</sup> means of self-delusion." The Benzo Indians, whom he was upon that island, of two millions of natives who inhabited it in the days of Columbus, scarcely one hundred and fifty were alive, and that the other islands suffered the like depopulation from the same cause.

NOTHING remarkable occurs concerning Hispaniola, but the many expeditions that were fitted out from thence for discoveries on the main land, and which do not belong to this part of our work; but though Hispaniola continued to be the capital island, and indeed, seat of the Spanish government in America, few attempts were made against it, even in the active reign of queen Elizabeth; for in 1585, though Sir Richard Grenville touched there with five ships, we know of no attempt he made against the island, which, if more the Spanish colonies increased on the continent, decreased the more in its riches and importance. Notwithstanding all the arts the Spaniards made use of to discredit the character of the natives, and to exalt those of their countrymen, the former appear to have been not only a harmless, but a moral, people, and this leads us to treat of their religion, institutions, and manners.

*Account of the religion of Hispaniola.* ACCORDING to Oviedo, as well as Benzo, the Indians of Hispaniola and likewise of the neighbouring continent, wor-

shipped most tremendous images, in whom they are pleased to affix the names of demons; perhaps with no great propriety, and to them they prayed for all the blessings of life. Their priests in some places were called buhitu, and in others caribes, and possibly, they imposed upon the ignorant natives much in the same manner as Roman catholic priests do upon their votaries. *Peter Martyr*, one of the oldest historians we have of American affairs, informs us, that no sooner did the Spaniards land in Hispaniola, than the power of their zemi (for so they called their gods) ceased, which the elders of the island looked upon as an omen of their subjection to a foreign power. *Ovid* remarks, that those demons were not long idle, for he says, that when he was in India in 1548, they raised a storm, which killed almost all the four-footed creatures, destroyed the harvest, and overthrow houses, as if such calamities did not daily happen in the course of nature. The truth is, the Indian priests were ~~good~~ the disconcerted by the attempts the Spaniards made to introduce their religion into the island; but perceiving that they had, in fact, no god but gold, which led them to the commission of all kinds of crimes, they securely returned to the practice of their former impurities. When a cacique of Hispaniola intended to celebrate a festival in honour of his god, he signified the same to all his subjects, both male and female, with an order that they should meet half a certain place, and walk in procession with him at their heads to the temple of his deity. As soon as the cacique entered the temple, he beat a drum as a signal for his subjects to follow him, which they did in their best accoutrements, with great order and regularity, the men walking first; and it is remarkable, that on this occasion, the women were obliged to appear without a grain of paint, of which they were at other times very fond, upon their bodies, as a mark of their purity. Another ceremony was performed on this occasion, which, however ridiculous it may appear to some, may be considered by others as exhibiting an allegorical meaning, though barbarously expressed. The cacique, who appears to have been the high-priest, thrust a little instrument down his throat, which obliged him to vomit before his deity, as an emblem that he concealed within him no sentiments of rancour, revenge, or hypocrisy. After this, all the assembly joined in a hymn in honour of the god, while a fresh company of women came into the temple with baskets of odiferous flowers and perfumes, which they strewed all around. They then changed their notes, and sung by turns in concert, and next they sang to the praises of their cacique. After this, they offered bread

offered bread to their idols, and the under priests after consecrating it in their own way, most ceremoniously broke and divided it among the assembly, and then each returned to his own home with great joy and satisfaction.

*Manners.* "SUCH was the worship paid by the Indians to their deity, as represented by writers, who were far from being favourable to their customs and religion. It is true, some of them, and *Bento* in particular, attribute to them several very ridiculous actions and customs; but we are to observe, at the same time, that one of those capital charges he brings against them is, "their smoking that hellish diabolical weed called tobacco"\*. The same writers frankly acknowledge, that the native Americans were far from shewing any dislike to the Christian religion, and that many of them were baptized, but relapsed into idolatry, upon seeing the scandalous and infamous lives that were led by the Spaniards, whose priests and *Dominicans* were in matters of true religion and sound morality, ~~were~~ <sup>were</sup> even informed with the barbarians themselves. One of the first complaints of religion with the natives was, an exact adherence to the honour of the marriage-bed, of which the Spaniards, who first invaded this country, had no idea; and we have already mentioned how signally the violation of it was punished in the person of *Ojeda*. Another instance of the same kind occurred in 1519. A cacique, who took the name of *Henry*, or *Henry*, had been, when he was young, baptized, and growing up he took to wife one of his country women, and went to live at a village called *St. Juan de Aguana*, which was likewise the residence of *Vadiglio*, one of the Spanish deputies. *Henry*, though he lived with the Spaniard in a state of servitude, observing that one of them had taken a fancy to his wife, complained of the injury done him to *Vadiglio*, who was so far from punishing the Spaniard, that he abused and imprisoned *Henry*, but at last released him, on condition that he never should make the like complaints for the future. *Henry* carried complaints to the Spanish court of parliament, ~~in~~ <sup>so my author terms it</sup>; which sat at *St. Domingo*, but all the satisfaction he got was his being remitted for justice to his former judge. *Vadiglio* then once more threw him into prison for his insolence in repeating his complaint. *Henry* dissembled his resentment so well, that he once more obtained his liberty; but all the use he made of it was to murder every Spaniard, with the most exquisite torments, who fell into his hands.

\* *Tetri illius & vere diabolici fumi.* Ibid. p. 117.

† *Indus ad Curiam Parlamenti quæ erat S. Domini i se consert.* R.

for thirteen years; nor could the Spaniards with all their art and industry ever lay hold of him.

AMONG the natives of Hispaniola, it is agreed upon on all hands, even by authors, who in other respects differ from one another, that theft is considered among them as a monstrous and unnatural crime, that was punished with the most exquisite tortures, even that of impaling alive, which was performed by them in the same manner as among the Turks and other *Afghans*. In this their justice is so exemplary, that the criminal, let his rank or condition be what it will, never is pardoned, even for the slightest offence. The reason which authors give for this extraordinary severity, is, because those barbarians look upon avarice, which they esteem the prompter of theft, as being a prodigy in nature, and therefore, of all crimes the most detestable. We are farther told, that for this reason, they make use neither of locks nor bolts, as they do not suppose any one to be capable of committing so monstrous an offence. In short, the Spanish writers admit, that when America was first discovered, the natives were free, even to prodigality of whatever they possessed, and that the Spaniards needed but look upon any thing to become masters of it. We are, however, given to understand, that they did not long continue this state of ignorance, and that their *Guestroom* instructed them in the value of money, and other commodities; so that they quickly became as expert as the Europeans themselves in the arts of pilfering.

SOME particulars of moment to the history of Hispaniola, *History of prove, that the females of that island are susceptible of tender Indian passions. A young Spaniard of Arragon, one Michael Diaz, lady, happening to quarrel with a domestic belonging to the governor, and wounding him, though not mortally, fled from Isabella, which was the only town the Spaniards then possessed upon the island, and rambling first to the east, and then to the south, with five or six of his companions, who followed his steps, they pitched upon the spot where St. Domingo commands, and where they found some Indian cottages. This quarter of the island belonged to an Indian lady, who fell violently in love with Diaz, and having several children by him, she was baptized by the name of Catherine; and she discovered to her lover some rich mines which lay about twenty miles from the place of their habitation. The fame of this spreading abroad, brought other Spaniards to settle with Diaz, and, the lady at last encouraged him to give a general invitation to all his countrymen at Isabella, and elsewhere, upon the island, who were willing to settle on her estate,*

which was the finest in the whole island, and sufficient to produce them all kind of accommodations. Diaz accordingly went to *Isabella*, where he was soon received into favour by the governor, who finding his residence at *Isabella* to be attended with many inconveniences, paid a visit in person to ~~the~~ <sup>an</sup> estate, which he soon perceived exceeded in beauty and utility the most favourable reports that had been made ~~to it~~. There pitching upon a convenient spot, at the mouth of the river *Ozama*, he began to build the old city of *St. Domingo*; but so as no way to incommodate their generous benefactors. Afterwards, the waters of the *Ozama* being found brackish, the capital of the island was removed to a more convenient situation.

*and of the expedition against Hispaniola by the English,* We have little besides what may be found in other parts of this work to add to the history of *Hispaniola*. In 1586, while the English and Spaniards were at war, the importance of *Hispaniola* had been greatly reduced through the discovery and conquest of the rich kingdoms of *Peru* and *Mexico*, by which the great seats of the Spanish empire in *America* were transferred from *St. Domingo* to those countries. Sir Francis Drake, therefore, found no great difficulty that year in surprising and conquering *St. Domingo*, of which he kept possest on about a fortnight, till the inhabitants agreed to raise 60,000 pieces of eight, to ransom't from being entirely burnt down. After this, *Hispaniola* recovered somewhat of its former splendour; but not through any encouragement given it from Spain. The convenience of its situation, its ports and harbours, for carrying on a clandestine trade with all the European settlements in *America*, invited thither vast numbers of smugglers and buccaneers, who amassed large estates. That Cromwell, in 1655, fixt his eye upon *Hispaniola* as a most desirable object of conquest. One Gage, who had been a Roman Catholic priest, but afterwards pretended to turn protestant, had travelled over the greatest part of the *West-Indies*, and was well acquainted with the strength and weakness of the Spaniards there. One Simon Laffers, a Spaniard, was likewise consulted on the same subject, and Cromwell received such a variety of intelligence, that he was in a manner bewildered in his choice of the place ~~against~~ which he was to direct his arms. The advice given him by Gage was to attack both *Hispaniola* and *Cuba*, by which he demonstrated if successful, he would soon become master of all the Spanish treasures in *America*. Cromwell was pleased with the greatness of this enterprize, the success of which he concluded must depend upon secrecy, he ordered a fleet immediately to be equipped, consisting of thirty ships of war, under

vice-admiral Penn, and gave the command of 4000 land-forces, to be employed in the same expedition, to general Venables, as we have already seen in the history of Jamaica. It is said, that in the instructions given to those two commanders by Cromwell, they were tied down to no fixed destination; and that they were at liberty to attempt the Magdalena, the Havannah, or Porto Rico, or even to run along some part of the continent to the windward of Carthagena.

*CROMWELL* had this expedition so much at heart, that *and Cromwell* *Mazarine* and all the other ministers in *Europe* remained in well, the dark as to its object, notwithstanding their most earnest applications: but the secret jealousy which he entertained of the two chief commanders, whom he suspected of having a warm side to the royalists, seem to have defeated his main intention, for he appointed such a number of commissioners, whom he thought he could trust, as so many checks upon them; and this introduced the utmost confus~~n~~ and disagreement in the service, both by sea and land. After touching at *Barbadoes*, they sailed to *Hispaniola*, where the inhabitants were so much alarmed at their appearance, that it was thought they would have abandoned the island, had it not been for the unaccountable conduct of *Venables*. *Venables*, is, perhaps, unjustly blamed, on this occasion, for ordering a proclamation to be read at the head of his troops, prohibiting them, under severe penalties, to enter the island, or to leave their ranks during their march. The prohibition damped their ardour: they had embarked in the expedition chiefly from the prospect of plunder, which they imagined *Venables*, by his proclamation, intended to engross to himself. They likewise found great fault with his having carried along with him his wife, who was said to have the entire management of him, and who had the character of being proud and rapacious. No good reason has as yet been assigned, why the army was landed at forty miles distance from *St. Domingo*, the main object of their destination; but it is certain, that this occasioned the miscarriage of the expedition. The roads, through which the men were to march, consisted either of deep scalding sands, or thick impracticable woods, all the way destitute of water, and all kind of refreshments, in a sultry season, not to mention, that they were entirely unacquainted with the country. All those discouragements spread an irrecoverable damp on the troops, and gave such spirit to the Spaniards, that they returned to *St. Domingo*, and made such dispositions for harassing the English upon their march, as frustrated their undertaking. The soldiers, oppressed with heat and thirst, scarcely attempted to defend themselves against *proves un-* *their successful*.

their enemies, who butchered them as they dropped upon the ground through fatigue and faintness. Major-general *Haynes*, an excellent officer, and colonel *Holmes*, with about 700 soldiers, perished in this manner, besides great numbers who were cut off in straggling parties. As to the sequel of the expedition, it has been already related; as has the moment in which the French came to fix themselves on the western part of the island.

The French settle on Hispaniola.

THE frequent minorities that happened in the Spanish monarchy, and the weakness of their administrations, made them guilty of capital oversights in the affairs of Hispaniola. When that island could afford them no more gold, they never attempted to avail themselves of the inexhaustible riches which might have been made by cultivating the soil in tobacco, sugar, and other such commodities. Instead of that, they suffered the *French* to acquire new strength every day, till by degrees they were able to make head against all the Spaniards on the island, which, they, at this very time, possess the most cultivated part. Three sorts of French at first resorted to Hispaniola: the first were buccaneers or hunters, who lived by killing swine, cattle, and selling hams, tallow and hides to vast advantage; the second species of adventurers, the *Aubustiers*, so called from the Dutch fly-boats, in which they generally sailed; but are commonly confounded with the buccaneers. Those *Aubustiers* were, properly speaking, no other than free-booters, who, as we have seen in the history of Jamaica, being deprived of the protection of the English government, repaired to Hispaniola, where they found shelter, and married in a very great number. The third and last set of adventurers were those who settled in the island, and by attaching themselves to the cultivation of the soil, were properly speaking, planters. The French court at first intended to discourage those settlers; but they took no effectual means to suppress them, or to oblige them to leave the island, though their trading and settling there was directly contrary to the spirit of the treaty of *Maastricht*; and, indeed, it is surprising, if the Spaniards were too weak to drive the French from Hispaniola, that they were not assisted by the other powers of Europe, England in particular. The Spaniards at last began to open their eyes so far, that they made some attempts for dislodging their troublesome visitors, but it was too late. Those intruders being secretly supported, and supplied with arms by the French governors of the other islands, made good their footing, and had they been encouraged, they might even have acted offensively against the Spaniards; but their government not chusing to drive the Span-

Spaniards from the island, because of the vast profits they made by them, and fearing least they should rouse the jealousy of other powers, contented themselves with a peaceable settlement. At the same time, perceiving their own strength, they no longer disavowed the proceedings of their freebooters, but regularly sent them governors, of whom M. de la Guerra, we have already mentioned, was one; and in 1697 we find an article in the treaty of Ryswick, "the Spaniards made over great possession of the north-west part of the island to the French, containing one of the finest territories in the world." The vast improvements since that time that has been made upon this acquisition, are almost incredible; and some have computed, that their settlement at St. Domingo, exceeds in value those of all the others they possess in America. Far from imitating the policy of the Spaniards, they have not even begun to search either for gold or silver, though it is the general opinion, that their part of the island contains both, as thinking that the riches acquired by commerce and industry are preferable.

It is not easy to account for the reason why, during our brave and late wars with France and Spain, no attack was made upon St. Domingo, unless we can suppose that the British government thought their enemies too strong that island to attack, and that they had no opportunity of doing so. In 1758, captain Arthur Forrest, who commanded the Augustus, a British ship of war, had an opportunity of distinguishing himself to great advantage on the coast of Hispaniola. A French squadron, under one M. Kerfin, had arrived from Africa at Cape François, where a large fleet of valuable French merchantmen lay at the same time waiting for an opportunity of sailing for Europe. This coming to the knowledge of rear-admiral Cotes, he ordered captain Forrest to sail from Port-Royal with his own ship, the Dreadnought and the Edinburgh, under the command of the captains Suckling and Langdon, and to cruise off Cape François, which they did. The French at the Cape perceiving that Kerfin's squadron was far superior to the British, reproached him for not fighting, or rather, for not bringing all the British ships in as prizes, and their crews prisoners. No longer able to withstand those reproaches, he gave orders to put to sea; but had the precaution to reinforce his squadron with some storeships, which

## The History of America.

which he mounted twenty guns, and converted into armed vessels on this occasion, and took on board an additional complement of soldiers and seamen from the garrison and the merchant-ships. This rendered the party very unequal; Kerfin having under his command four large ships of the line and two stout frigates. The British commodore saw them approach, and after a short consultation with his captains, it was decided to fight them. By this time, the shore was covered with the French inhabitants, who were in full expectation of seeing their ships victorious almost without fighting. The action began between three and four in the afternoon, and the French exerted themselves with unusual vigour and activity during an engagement of two hours, in which they were so roughly handled, that their commodore and their captains were obliged to make signals for their frigates to tow them off; and a long breeze springing, they escaped back. The British troops had suffered too much to be able to follow them, and were obliged to return to Jamaica, with the loss of about 200 men, that of the Frigat was 300 men killed, and about 2000 wounded, besides their best ship being disabled for future service; but their commodore took advantage of the absence of the British squadron to sail with his convoy for Europe.

~~against the Spaniards.~~ SOON after this engagement, Captain Forrest's ship being refitted, admiral Cets, beating up to, the windward front Port-Royal in Jamaica, understood that another French fleet (so intrepretate was the French trade in Hispaniola at that time) was at ~~Port au Prince~~, a French harbour, at the bottom of a bay, on the western part of Hispaniola, ready to sail for Europe. And Forrest's advice taken, has place would immediately have been attacked, but he was directed to wait for two days only off the island of Gonave, and if nothing extraordinary presented, to rejoin the squadron at Cape Nicobar. Proceeding up the bay, that divides Gonave from Hispaniola, with the greatest caution, under Dutch colours, he discovered seven sail of ships steering for the westward; and at night he chased with all the sail he could carry; about ten he discovered two sail more, one of which fired a gun, while the other steered towards Leogane; and now captain Forrest began to understand the meaning of the gun—that had been fired; for he discovered eight sail to the leeward, near Petit Guaves. Having taken the ship that fired, he manned her with his own men, and dispatched her to prevent any of the enemy's ships that might attempt to get into Petit Guaves. Next morning he found himself engaged with all their fleet, which, after making some faint resistance, he took,

ook, one ship after another, to the number in the whole of nine; a success hardly to be paralleled; considering how near they lay to their harbours, where, could, they have reached any one of them, they might have been safe. The prizes thus taken, were found to be very rich, as indeed all the French ships, during that war, bound to St. Domingo were, and there sold for the benefit of the captors. The ~~rest~~ of the military operations upon the coasts of Hispaniola are too inconsiderable to deserve a particular relation; but they were numerous, and every action did great honour to the British commanders.

THOUGH the climate of Hispaniola is hot, yet it is not reckoned unwholesome; and some of the inhabitants upon it are said to live to the uncommon age of 120. It is sometimes refreshed by breezes and rains, and its salubrity is likewise, in a great measure, owing to the beautiful variety of hills and vallies, woods and rivers, which every where present themselves. Upon the whole, Hispaniola is reckoned incomparably the finest and the most pleasant island of all the Antilles, because it is the best accommodated for the ordinary purposes of living, when duly cultivated. It contains forests <sup>of</sup> ~~its~~ <sup>pro-</sup> cabbage-trees, palms, elms, oaks, pines, &c. besides several ~~ducks~~. other woods, not common, and hardly known, in Europe; and it is generally agreed, that the pine-apples, grapes, oranges, lemons, citrons, limes, dates, apricots, and the like fruits, have a finer taste and flavour in Hispaniola, than those that grow upon any other of the Antilles Islands. As to the other products, both animal and vegetable, they are pretty much the same with those of the other West Indian islands; only it is said, that the French part of Hispaniola breeds horses sufficient to supply all the West Indies, besides infinite quantities of black cattle. Crocodiles and alligators infest its coasts and rivers; but they abound, at the same time, with tortises. Besides the commodities already mentioned, Hispaniola produces vast plenty of indigo, cotton, cocoa, coffee, ginger, tobacco, salt, wax, honey, and ambergrise, besides a variety of drugs and dyers woods. It is thought, that the soil is improper for corn; but we learn by the earliest accounts of the Spaniards, that the natives, with very little tillage, raised upon it maiz, and other Indian corn; and it is imagined, that if the French would now apply themselves to that culture, they would succeed. The truth is, the population of this island bears no proportion to its extent; so that the inhabitants cannot spare hands for the cultivation of corn-grounds. The French are said to be more numerous upon the island than the Spaniards; but the whites of both nations

*The History of America.*

in 1726, did not exceed 20,000, while the negroes and mulattoes, as they are called, amounted to 100,000. It is, however, reasonable to presume, that the infinite pains which the French government has since taken upon this island, have doubled that number. The profits they make from the produce of this island are immense; and, according to some authorities, in sugar, indigo, tobacco, and coffee, twenty years ago, their exports amounted to above twelve hundred thousand pounds annually. During the last war, their exports, as appeared from the prodigious value of their ships that were taken, must have considerably exceeded that sum; and since the peace of 1763, nothing has been wanting on the part of the French to render their settlement on St. Domingo a counterbalance for all the cessions which they were obliged to make to the English in America by that treaty. In this they are greatly assisted by the Spaniards themselves, who, possessed of great treasures, but without industry, lavish the former to purchase from their French neighbours the returns of the latter.

THE advantages of situation, which the French in this island enjoy, may be judged from the numerous harbours, many of them more capacious and convenient, than any in England, which their territory contains. Originally, the St. Domingo company, established by the French government, had a grant of all their part of the island; but when the value of it became better known in 1720, his most Christian majesty revoked the grant he had made to that company of the south-west part of this country, from Cape Tiburon to Cape Mognon, so that his governor-general, who is count O'Etaign, has under him the governments of Cape François, St. Louis, Port-Paix, and Petit Guares; a tract which contains about 150 miles in length; and this brings us to a treat of the particular French settlements on or near this island.

**SAINTE LOUIS** has a harbour on an island, with a fort, but the town is no way remarkable, it having been ruined by a hurricane in 1737, and the inhabitants are put to great inconveniences for fresh water. **Vache Island** lies about three leagues from the main land of Hispaniola, and is about nine in compass, though voyagers are strangely divided as to those calculations. It was formerly the chief rendezvous of all the pirates and free-booters who resorted to those seas; and it contains two or three ports, one of which can receive ships of 300 tons. The chief excellency of this island consists in the conveniency of its situation for a trade with **Cayenne**, (the only settlement the French have upon the continent of South America).

America) and with the Spanish settlement: This island serves now as a kind of magazine or live stock, particularly black cattle and hogs for the St. Domingo company. *Donna Maria Donna Bay*, at the west end of the island, is a famous watering and Maria watering-place for the ships of all nations which pass that way. Bay About eight leagues from *Petit Guaves* is a negro-settlement called *Fond de Nigros*, where they rear coccas. In 1634, the French buccaneers made themselves masters of *Petit Guaves*; so that it is the old-established French <sup>town</sup> upon the island, and it is now a place of considerable trade. Upon the same bay lies *Leogane*. This town and territory, while it was held by the Spaniards, was thought to be of so much importance, that it was erected into a principality, which gave title to a natural daughter of Philip III. of Spain, and it is said, she died here in a castle, the ruins of which are still to be seen, as is an aqueduct, of half a mile long, which supplied it with fresh water. In 1637, the French built a new town here, and obliged the inhabitants of two neighbouring towns, *L'Esterre*, and *Petite Riviere*, to repair thither. After this, *Leogane* became the residence of the French governor-general, and of the royal judicature, with that of the supreme council, whose jurisdiction extends from *Cape Mognon* to the river *Artibonite*. The town of *Leogane* itself, however, is but very indifferently situated, in a low, boggy, ground. The air of the territory is otherwise said to be pure, and such was the vanity of the inhabitants formerly, that they inserted the principality of *Leogane* among the French king's royal titles, till they were checked. The plain of *Leogane* is a most delightful spot, extending about twelve leagues from east to west, and four from north to south. Its fertile soil is watered with rivers and brooks, and is full of sugar, and cocoa-plantations; but being bounded by mountains, it is excessively hot, so that they are obliged to cover up their pot-herbs in beds, to preserve them from burning. Notwithstanding this inconvenience, the plain is the paradise of the French part of the island, and great numbers of inhabitants keep their equipages.

*LA PETITE RIVIERE*, which lies in the same principality, is beginning to recover from its depopulation; and though a mean place, is the seat of a considerable trade. *L'Esterre* is likewise repeopled, and is become the country-residence of the most polite French in that district, who have houses of pleasure there, and its avenues and inlets are so nobly laid out, that it is said to be exceeded by few places in Europe. The citron-trees, particularly, are trained and cultivated in such a manner, as to afford a shade, impenetrable

## The History of America.

to the weather; and the inhabitants, in all the magnificence and elegancies of life, rival those of *Old France*. *Port Paix*, which faces the island of *Tortuga*, has been already described, and before it was ruined by the English, in king William's time, it was the seat of the French government in *Hispaniola*. Its neighbourhood is well watered, its soil is rich, and the French having repaired the town, it is now a place of considerable strength. The island of *Tortuga*, which we have so often mentioned in the preceding part of this work, lies off *Cape St. Nicholas*, thirty-five leagues east from *Cuba*, and is by nature fitted for what it formerly was, a harbour for pirates, it being surrounded for the most part with rocks, and the access to it very difficult to find. The free-booters of all nations, who settled here, proved so troublesome to the Spaniards, that in 1638, the latter drove them from their haunts with fire and sword. The conveniency of the situation invited one *Willis*, an English pirate, to repair thither with his crew, but he, in his turn, was dispossessed by the French, who returned in such numbers, that after various conflicts with the Spaniards, they made good their footing in *Tortuga*, and received such supplies from their other islands, that they were enabled to pass over to *Port Paix*, which they built, and extended themselves all along that coast. This little island formerly abounded in turtles, from which it took its name, and is six or seven miles distant from the main land of *Hispaniola*, and is six leagues from east to west, and three, where broadest, from north to south, being about sixty leagues in compass. It produces all the commodities found upon the neighbouring *West-Indian* islands, but lies under the disadvantage of having little or no fresh water, but what the inhabitants French to live in caverns. The wild-boars, with which this island abounds, are saved for provision, in cases of necessity. Only the fourth part of the island is inhabited, and is now a flourishing, flourishing settlement, with a convenient harbour, which receives large ships. The town here is called *Cayeno*; and is defended by a fort, which takes its name from one *D'Ageron*, who is esteemed the father of the settlement. The north part of the island is almost uninhabited, on account of its unwholesome air, and rugged coast. The town of *Cape St. Francois*, which is situated on the north side of the island, is, properly speaking, the capital of the French *Hispaniola*. It has a fine harbour, and though the town was twice destroyed in king William's time, it is now in a flourishing, opulent condition. The streets are well laid out, and though the town lies in a miserable situation, and is but indifferently fortified, yet its convenience for trade, and the fertility of its neighbourhood, render it a valuable possession.

neighbourhood, has drawn hither about 8000 inhabitants. This quarter is, by way of distinction, often called the *Cape*; and the French government has established here a superior council, to judge of appeals from other parts of the island.

SUCH is the flourishing condition of the French part of Hispaniola. But, besides all the riches we have already mentioned to arise from it to Old France, we are not to forget, that by the contraband trade carried on between the natives and the Spaniards, French manufactures, to the amount of two millions of dollars annually, are disposed of among the latter, and paid for in ready money, which goes directly to the mother-country. Add to this, that the French have upon St. Domingo such vast quantities of excellent sugar-grounds not yet cultivated, that it is in their power, at any time, to double the quantity they raise of that commodity, and the consideration of this was the true reason that induced the government of England to restore the islands of Guadalupe and Martinico by the late definitive treaty; as the French inhabitants of those islands would, in general, have removed to St. Domingo, and, in a short time, have raised more sugar than both of them produce. The court of Spain itself, has of late expressed great uneasiness on different occasions at the power of the French in Hispaniola, which, they say, has been established contrary to treaty. This consideration, on some future occasion, may be an object well worthy the attention of Great Britain, when her interests shall be thoroughly consolidated with those of Spain.

NOTWITHSTANDING the many blows that the city of ~~Dominica~~ St. Domingo has received, it still continues to be the capital of ~~in~~ Hispaniola, and contains several magnificent edifices, which would make a figure in Europe itself. Though its trade has been long gone, yet though the veneration attached to it by the Spaniards, it is still in a respectable condition, and its inhabitants are thought to amount to 30,000, of whom 7000 may be real Spaniards, the rest are mestizoes, mulattoes, and Albatraces. The city itself is large, and well built of stone, its port is safe, and defended by batteries, with a castle at the end of the pier, and other works of considerable strength; and here some remains of the former trade of the city still subsist. It is the residence of an archbishop, who has for his suffragans the bishops of La Concepcion in this island, St. John's in Porto Rico, St. Jago in Cuba, Venezuela in New Castile, and of the city of Honduras. Here the governor-general of the Spanish Indies, and the judges of the royal court hold their supreme seats of justice; and the audience of St. Domingo has the precedence of all the other royal audiences.

## The History of America.

dences belonging to the Spaniards in America. The president, who holds the first place in the law here, purchases his place, which formerly was very gainful, because an appeal lay to him from all the Spanish provinces in America; but his jurisdiction is now confined to their West-Indian islands. The clergy here are numerous and rich, and the hospital has a revenue of 20000 ducats a year. St. Domingo boasts of a Latin-school, and an university, seven large monasteries, two nunneries, a college, with a revenue of 4000 ducats, besides a power of coinage. Its cathedral is spacious and magnificent. The market place lies in the middle of the city, in the form of a square, from whence the principal streets run in direct lines, and are crossed by other streets at right angles. The town, which is almost quadrangular, has a fine navigable river on the west, the ocean on the south, and is bounded on the east and west by a fruitful country. In short, this city owes its present support to the lawyers and clergymen, whose professions oblige them to reside upon it.

*and the Spanish part of the Island,* The city of *Conception de la Vega* is a bishop's see, founded by one of the family of Columbus, and is 25 leagues north of St. Domingo. It contains a cathedral, and several parish churches, besides convents. St. *Joseph los Caballeros* lies 10 leagues north west of La *Conception*. The air of this town is greatly commended by father Charlevoix, who was there in the year 1722. He observes, that the mountains, with which the plain of *Cape François*, which we have already mentioned, is bounded to the southward, will soon, on account of the wholesomeness of their air, be better peopled, than the plain itself, which he says is watered with innumerable brooks, and would be more delightful than the valley of *Troy*, of the antients, did it not lie within the torrid zone. Notwithstanding this, such sick people of the island as resort to those mountains, after all other remedies have failed them, are soon cured; and Charlevoix remarked that few of their natives have any disease. Thirty-five leagues north of St. Domingo, lies *Porto de la Plata*, or the Haven of Silver, built by *Ovando* in 1502, upon an arm of the sea, and defended by a castle: formerly it was reckoned the second place of consequence in the island, but is now no better than a fishing village. *Monte Christo* has a commodious harbour, 19 miles west from *Porto de la Plata*, and 40 north-west from St. Domingo. On the banks of the river *Yaguey*, which washes it, are several outworks. Some little islands of no great note lie round *Hispabiola*. The most considerable of them is *Savona*, which is naturally fertile; it produces guajacum and cassava, and its coasts abound with turtle; but, through the unaccountable indolence of the Spaniards, it is next to uninhabited, few

or none but fishermen and freebooters repairing to it, and that in the turtle-season. It is not distant above five leagues from one part of *Hispaniola*, and is about seven leagues in length, but not so broad. *Mona*, another island, due east from *Hispaniola*, is only about three leagues in compass, but of so excellent a soil and temperature of climate that it is populous.

\* *Porto Rico* may be said to be the only large island of the *and Porto Antilles*, that now remaineth to be described. It lies eight-Rico teen leagues from the most north easterly point of *Hispaniola*, <sup>island.</sup> and extends from longitude 65 to 67, and from latitude 18 to 18. 40 min. being about 15 miles from east to west, and between 40 and 50 in breadth. The antient name of this island was *Briban*. It was discovered by *Columbus*; but the history of his successors upon the island admits of no diversification, being made up of massacres and murders, the most unbounded cruelty and insatiable avarice. The first discoverers gave it the name it now bears, which implies that of *St. John*, with the rich port, on account of the treasures they found there. The island, at that time, is said to have contained 600,000 inhabitants, who understanding that the *Spaniards* had made themselves masters of *Hispaniola*, an island far more powerful & populous than their own, concluded that they must be immortal. One of their petty princes, it seems, had some doubt with regard to this point, and questioned, though they came from the east, whether they were really the children of the sun as they pretended to be\*. He communicated his doubts to the other caciques of the island, upon which about 300 *Spaniards* had landed; and it was agreed, that before they resigned their liberties they should make an experiment upon the immortality of their invaders, but, in the mean time, to treat them with great complaisance & hospitality. *Salsedo*, a domestic of *Columbus*, whom we have already mentioned, happened to be the unfortunate object of this experiment. As the behaviour of the savages had given the *Spaniards* no room to doubt of their submissiveness, the latter carelessly strolled through the island, and *Salsedo*, falling into the territory of *Jaguoca*, belonging to the cacique *Vraican*, he was entertained in the most sumptuous and humane manner; and upon his departure, an escort of fifteen or twenty savages was appointed to attend him and to carry his baggage. When they came to the river *Guarabo*, in the eastern part of the island, the *Indians* desired the honour of *Salsedo* to carry him over on their shoulders, which he very

\* *Bonanni*, apud de Bry. p. 21, 22.

*Upward  
drawn  
for ex-  
posure.*

readily agreed to, proud of having so many ready slaves. Some of the strongest of the savages accordingly took him up; but while they were in the deepest part of the river they threw him into it, according to their instructions, and, by keeping him down, soon dispatched him. When he was dead they dragged his body ashore, and under the firm persuasion that he was immortal, they remained about it for three days, asking pardon for what they had done, till the carcase began to putrify, and then they informed their cacique of what had happened, and he repaired to the spot to examine the body, which being then quite corrupted, convinced him and the other caciques that the Spaniards were mortal; upon which they fell upon them, and, almost in an instant, put 150 of them to death, while they were rapaciously plundering the natives of their gold; and the rest must have undergone the same fate, had not *Diego Salazar* arrived with a fresh supply of Spaniards and relieved them.

*Cruelty of  
the Spani-  
ards.* THIS massacre gave the Spaniards a plausible pretext for exterminating the natives, which, in a short time, they effected, but this inhumanity was far from answering their purpose; for the vast treasures of the island disappeared with the natives. This was not unusual, as we have already observed; and it gives some credit to the report of the Indians having the secret of discovering and working their mines, which secret perished with themselves. Notwithstanding this, the island of *Porto Rico* was still a most desirable object, on account of its fertility and situation. In the year 1514, its chief town, which goes by the name of the island, was founded, and *John Ponce de Leon* appointed its governor. In 1594, while it was in a very flourishing condition, it was attacked by *Sir Francis Drake*, the English admiral, who destroyed all the ships in the harbour, but could make no farther progress against the island. In 1595, the Earl of *Cumberland* received a privy seal from queen *Elizabeth*, by which he was empowered to attack and destroy the territories of her enemies, and to distribute among his men all the plunder he should make, saving only such customs as were due to the crown upon all goods brought into any of its dominions. We have been the more particular as to this commission, because it was a very singular one; the crown in other cases reserving to itself a large portion, sometimes a fifth, of the plunder. The ships equipped upon this occasion, were, the *Malice-Scourge*, the *Royal Merchant*, the *Affection*, the *Samson*, the *Alcodo*, the *Confert*, the *Prosperous*,

\*MSS. History of the family of Clifford.

the

the *Gallion*, the *Ceuturion*, the *Affection*, the *Pegasus*, the *Anthony*, the *Frigate*, the *Scout*, the *Guyana*, and the *Musketa*. From the curious manuscript, quoted in the note, we have the following journal of his lordship's expedition.

" His lordship being prepared, at his chiefeſt charge in his own person, embarked himself in the *Malice-Scourge*, admiral, being his own ſhip, wherein he was general of the fleet, on Monday, March 6, 1597; from then he ſet ſail with all his fleet.

" SATURDAY the 18<sup>th</sup> of March, at six o'clock in the ~~Earl of~~ evening, there came a great *Fleming* towards them, as they Cumberland were at anchor at the *Burkings*, which as ſoon as they espied, land's they ſent the ſhip caſled the *Scout* to ſee what ſhe was. She being come near the *Fleming*, he ſet upon her, and fought with her. The fleet hearing them in fight, they ſlipt their cables and man'd towards them, and within half an hour they fetcht up the *Fleming*, who fought about three hours, flew two, wounded two or three more, and cut off one of captain *Thomas Greenwell's* legs, and the English ſhot it through in eight ſeveral places, and boarded him, who at laſt yielded. She was loaded with corn, copper, cotton, &c.

" MONDAY the 20<sup>th</sup> of March, kept his course towards Capitcher, a foreland of Portugal, where beating up and down, waiting for the ſhip king's caracks coming from *Liſbon*, until Tuesday the 4<sup>th</sup> of April, 1598; in which time, they ſpoke with five *Flemings*, and took two carvels, who all agreed in one affirming, that the ſhip caracks were in readiness to come out with the first wind, during which time the *Affection* took a *Fleming*, loaden with wheat, and ſent her to England unknown to the earl. The rest of the fleet took three other *Flemings* loaden with wheat, and a *Frenſhmen* loaden with wine.

" SATURDAY the 8<sup>th</sup> of April, they were informed that one *Melch*, an English master of a ſhip, of *London*, (who brought certain prisoners out of *England*) certify'd them the earl of Cumberland lay waiting for them, whereupon their caracks ſtaid their voyage till the earl's departure.

" SATURDAY the 13<sup>th</sup> of May, they made towards a small island ſhort of *Dominico*.

" Monday the 22d of May, they came to anchor in the harbour of *Dominico*, and ſtaid the rest of the month.

" THURSDAY being the 4<sup>th</sup> of June, they landed to muſter their men, and after ſetting ſail they directed their course towards *St. John Porto Rico*, a very strong island in the *West-India*.

" *TUESDAY* the 6th of June, in the morning the fleet landed, marching towards the fort twelve or fourteen miles distant from th'ir landing, and by night came within a mile of the bridge, where they rested themselves till midnight, and then they marched down to the bridge thinking to have entered there; but it was so strong of itself, and so well defended, that they were forced to retire with the loss of twenty persons, and as many wounded.

" The next day they lay all about the bridge, where playing with their muskets at another fort called the Red-Fort, they killed most of the enemy, and forced the rest to forsake the fort, by which means the boats landed their men that evening.

" *THURSDAY* morning the 8th of June, the earl marched to the bridge, where they entered without resistance, and so the English captains, meeting together, marched to the town, where they encamp'd in like manner; the enemy being likewise fled; but the governor, with 2 or 300 soldiers betook themselves to a fort for refuge, and there kept the earl's men in play, with their great ordnance, until they made barricadoes, and planted four or five great pieces fetched from their ships.

" *SUNDAY* the 18th, and *Monday* the 19th of June, he made a battery in two or three places.

" *TUESDAY* the 20th, the enemy beat a parley, and on Wednesday yielded the fort and town.

" During their stay in the town, there came from Angoile a frigate loaded with negroes into the harbour. There came another into the mouth of the harbour, but seeing the fleet she tack'd about and made her escape.

" AFTERWARDS the earl sent away all the Spaniards in Spanish bottoms, some bells, some good value of gold, silver, sugar, and other good spices, and shipped them away, and so set sail from Porto Rico the latter end of July, 1598, carrying taken eight great and small ships, which he brought away with him; all he got falling far short of the great expences he had been at in this expedition.

" He lost 700 men, whereof sixty, or thereabouts, were slain in fight at Porto Rico, 600 died of the bloody-flux, and about forty were cast away in their return.

" The old frigate was cast away upon the Upant. One of his barks was sunk in the harbour of Porto Rico on purpose; another was cast away at the island of ~~the~~ <sup>the</sup> ~~island~~ <sup>island</sup>, but not a man lost. The Pegasus was cast away at his return upon the Goodwin-Sands, but the men were saved.

" He arrived at Portsmouth in good health and safety on the first day of October, 1598, with fifteen good ships, one bark, and 1000 men."

In 1615, the Dutch invaded the island of *Porto Rico*, and *Porto Rico* took the town, but without being able to ~~take~~ themselves off taking matters of the castle, which, by all accounts, is exceeding ~~by the~~ strong. Infinite pains have been taken by the Spanish government to prevent an illicit trade at this place; but all to no purpose, because of the mutual convenience that accrues to the Spanish, as well as to the *English*, and other nations, who carry it on. In the war between Spain and England, which commenced in the year 1739, *Porto Rico* was the chief seat, or rather in the English prizes, made by the Spanish guarda costa. The consequence of its situation for a ~~con-~~ Descriptio-  
trading port is such, that all the secret counsels of the Spanish ~~on~~ <sup>of</sup> *Porto Rico* government have been found in vain to prevent it, and the city of *Porto Rico* is thought to be the very center of the illicit commerce in ~~of~~ <sup>with</sup> *America*. It is well built and populous, and the seat of a governor as well as a bishop's see. The cathedral has a monastery clinging to it, but the heat of the climate renders it inconvenient to make use of glass windows, and their canvas and wooden lattices disfigure their buildings. The city is often in distress for water, all they have being what which falls from the heavens and preserved in cisterns, though we are told by those who have described it, that two-thirds fall into the harbour. This scarcity of water, it seems, does not prevent the island itself from being extremely fruitful, and enjoying all the benefits of the most temperate climate. It is beautifully diversified with wood, hills, and valleys, and meadows are very rich; and the cattle, of which they feed great plenty, were originally imported from *Peru*. All those advantages are owing to a number of brooks and rivers that descend from the mountains, which run from east to west of the island, and which are clothed with woods of all kinds, especially such as are proper for ship building.

The ~~Spanish~~ <sup>Indians</sup> have been at great pains in fortifying the ~~island~~ <sup>city</sup> and island of *Porto Rico*, the latter of which, with its harbour, is defended by a citadel and a castle. After all, nothing but the immense profits accruing to the traders upon this island, could compensate for its many inconveniences. The rains which fall in *June*, *July*, and ~~August~~, though they cool the excessive heat of the season, render it unwholesome, and the ~~country~~ <sup>in general</sup>, is subject to violent hurricanes and blizzards from the north-east wind. The north part of it, which is the most barren, is said to contain various mines, some of them of silver and gold; but we know of none that are worked at present, though it is confidently affirmed that gold dust is often found in the sands of their rivers. Ten sugar-

sugar mills are built on the banks of the *Caribon*; and the island produces all the different fruits which we have so often mentioned to be common in the *West-Indies*. Its grass is long and coarse, and such is the indolence of the inhabitants, that they scarce cultivate any one art or manufacture that can render life comfortable, for even their bread is made of the cassava root, and they have but little other liquor than what is made of molasses and spices, excepting wine, which they import at an excessive expence. The woods are stored with parrots, wild-pigeons, and other fowl. European poultry is found here in plenty, and their coasts afford abundance of fish. A breed of dogs, which the Spaniards brought over to America for hunting and tearing in pieces the defenceless inhabitants, are said to live here wild in the woods, near the sea-shore, and subsist upon land-crabs that burrow in the earth. The principal trade of the natives consists in their sugar, ginger, hides, and cotton, both raw and manufactured, cassia, mastic, salt, oranges, lemons, and sweetmeats.

THE place of greatest note in this island, besides the city of *Pors Rico*, are as follows; *Port d'Agnada*, where the flota provide themselves with water and other necessaries in their voyage to Spain; *Bomba d'Inverno*, famous for an excellent turtle fishery; *Crab's Island*, so called from the number of crabs there found, which is so agreeable and fertile, that some English settled there in 1718, but in 1720, they were dispossessed by the Spaniards, and transplanted to other parts of their dominions, or went back to the British islands. The *Virgin Islands*, which lie to the east of *Pors Rico*, belong likewise to the Spaniards, but are of little value, because they are barren and sandy; for which reason the Spaniards, when they possessed St. Christopher's, banished thither the negroes. One of them is called *Bird-Island*, from the multitude of booby-birds, it contains, which are so tame, that a man, can catch them with his hand. St. Thomas is generally ranked one of the *Virgin Islands*, and being nominally subject to his Majesty, it is the staple of a large contraband trade carried on by all the European nations resorting to the *West-Indies*.

*Lands described.* The plan of this work does not admit of our describing every little island which the Spaniards, or any other nation possess in America, and which are of so little consequence that they can be esteemed only as large rocks: we shall, therefore, just touch on those not already mentioned, that are of the greatest consequence. The Isle of *Pinguine*, which lies on the east part of the *Terra Magellanica*, is remarkable only for taking its name from a white-headed bird as large as a

goose, but it belongs to antiquaries to account for the similarity between this *American* word and the *Welch* penguin, which likewise signifies a white head. On the S. American coasts of the same country lie several other islands, some say to the number of eighty, but are too inconsiderable to be described. The *Terra del Fuego*, which forms one part of the straits of *Magellan*, is represented as being a cluster of islands, several of which furnish capacious bays and roads, and contain fertile pasture grounds, but subject to violent hurricanes. The natives are as white as the *Europeans*, but paint their bodies in the most fantastic manner. They are savages of the most uninformed kind, being little different in their intellects from brutes. If they shew any signs of humanity to strangers, it is that they may have an opportunity to massacre them. Some travellers, however, represent those savages in a better light; but all agree that they live without religion, laws, or government. The islands on the *Brasil* coast are of little importance, excepting that of *St. Catherine's*, which is represented as being a continued grove of trees which enjoy a permanent verdure. The inhabitants, who acknowledge themselves to be subject to the king of *Portugal*, are so idle at *Catrina's* accustomed to the modes of civilized life, as they have no Island. part of their island unclear, but the neighbourhood of their scattered dwellings, which lie in fifteen or sixteen spots upon the shore. With the *Catrina's* inhabitants are mixed some European fugitives, and all of them are under the government of a *Portuguese* captain; but their assisting him against the savages of the continent is to the benefit his master or he receives from his government. They are, in consequence of this exemption from taxes, a people so free, that they live like savans in their original state of society. Though they know the use of火藥, they have among them scarcely gunpowder; so that they supply the use of them with bows and arrows. Hence is at once their diversion and employment, and the chief use of their impassable woods is their security against surprises or attacks. *Fraser*, the French ad. found them in such want of common necessaries, that he refused to accept of money for the provisions they furnished him with, and preferred a piece of linen or woollen stuff, a shirt, or breeches, to gold or silver, which they said, should not protect them from the weather; and coloured warr-wat and hat, completed the dress of the most opulent and sumptuous among them. ~~abounding~~ of tyger-skin guard their legs during their excursions into the woods, and fish and game, with potatoes and fruit, furnish their common meals; but we perceive that monkeys are their chief venison.

## The History of America.

venison. After all, they may be considered as a race of philosophical savages. They have opportunities to know enough of European manners to enable them to value their own happiness, in the more laborious and dangerous pursuits after gold and silver, and to pity those who follow them. A Portuguese chaplain, who comes from Lagoa, on the continent, has as much religious duty as serves to keep up among them the name of Christianity, by saying mass on the principal festivals of the year, for which he receives a stipend, the only tax which those islanders are subject to. The air of this land is wholesome, the climate good, and the inhabitant enjoys an excellent share of health, being subject to few or no diseases, but what the vegetables of their own soil can cure. Sassafras, and guiacum, oranges, lemons, citrons, cotton, and other trees, grow here to vast perfection; and the peacockes of St. Catherine's are esteemed to be the best in the world.

**Chiloe.** In the South Sea lies the island of Chiloe, off the coast of Chili, in south-latitude, 44, or rather from 42 to 44 deg. It is about 150 miles in length; and 21 in breadth; but is only remarkable for giving shelter to ships during the tempestuous weather, and two miserable defenceless towns, in possession of the Spaniards, who had been long accustomed to think themselves secure from all attacks in the South-Sea. The island of Chiloe produces all the necessaries of life, and is surrounded by forty more, which all go under the same name. The other islands, in the South Sea, belonging either to the Spaniards or the Portuguese, are too inconsiderable to be mentioned, and even that of Isla Fernandez, can be considered only as a fortunate landing place for distressed mariners.

ACCORDING to Sir Walter Raleigh, the inhabitants of the Orinoco river are inhabited by the Tumtavas, a people divided into two nations, the Crawaris, and the Warruas. The bread they make is of the pith of the palmetto-tree. Their other food they acquire by hunting and fishing, but they are at perpetual war among themselves. The island of Trinidad forms the strait of the gulf of Paria, to the north of Orotava, and has been several times occasionally mentioned. It is the largest not only on the coast. Its eastermost point lies in north latitude 10 deg. and 23 minutes, and the island itself is about twenty-five leagues in length, and twenty in breadth. By the best accounts, the climate is very wholesome, but produces not plenty of fruit, and the roots that are most common in America; and tobacco and sugar-canapes might be here cultivated. This island is in a great measure unpeopled, and seems to be held by its proprietors in very little estimation.

mation. The island of Margarita, which we have already Marg-  
mentioned to have been discovered by Columbus, who prized it.  
it highly for its great pearl-fishery, is about ~~300~~ <sup>3</sup> leagues  
in compass. In the time of its splendour, it was very rich and  
populous; but the rapaciousness of the Spaniards has de-  
stroyed the pearl fishery; nor do pearls bring the same price  
now as formerly, when America was discovered. The greatest  
inconveniency of this island is the want of fresh water, which  
the inhabitants are obliged to bring from the main land; and  
yet the island abounds with pasture and verdant groves, and  
is fertile in maize and fruits. According to Bynko, while Co-  
lumbus first came upon the coasts of this island, he found the  
inhabitants busy in fishing for oysters, and ordered some of  
them on board his own ship, where the savages, far from  
being terrified, became familiar with the Spaniards, who at  
first imagined, that the oysters they fished for served them  
for food, but on opening them, they found they contained  
pearls. This discovery gave inexpressible pleasure to the  
Spaniards, who immediately made to the shore, where they  
found all the inhabitants drenched in those valuable pearls,  
which they disposed of to the Spaniards for the mere trifles.  
In process of time, the Spaniards built a castle, called Mon-  
padre, and employed prodigious numbers of Guiney and An-  
gola negroes in the pearl fishery, cruelly forcing them to tear  
up the oysters from the rocks, in which they stuck, through  
which, many of them were destroyed by sharks, and other  
voracious fishes. In the ye 1610, this island was invaded  
by the Dutch, who demolished the cattle upon it, since which  
time it has been, on a manner, abandoned by the Spaniards,  
and it is now wholly inhabited by the natives, who had  
some <sup>time</sup> earlier indulged in the court of Spain for their  
submission to Capitalia. North-west from Margarita,  
at a latitude of ten degrees, thirty-five minutes north, lies  
the island of Salt Tortuga, so named to distinguish it from the Salt-  
other <sup>islands</sup> islands on the coasts of America, on account of Tortuga,  
a large salt-pond at the east end of it, within two hundred  
paces of the sea, where merchant ships take in cargoes of  
salt in the months of May, June, July, and August. But  
though there is a small harbour in the island, it is barren,  
rugged, and uninhabited. The island of Dicelles north  
of Margarita, in latitude 11 deg. 15 min. north, has a remark-  
able on-<sup>shore</sup> turtle-fishery.

\* Bynko, apud *Max*, p. 44.

*Sequel to the History of VIRGINIA. (A).*

*Negroes  
imported  
into Vir-  
ginia*

WE have, in former volume, deduced the history of this colony to the year 1620, when its government was settled, and the colony was in a flourishing condition. This was in a great measure owing to the care of the earl of Southampton, who was one of the company at London, and through his means, principally, Sir George Yardly carried with him to Virginia 132 men in twenty-eight ships. In August, also, the meeting of the first assembly, a Dutch ship arrived there with negroes from Guiney, who were the first ever imported into Virginia. New settlements were now formed in place of those which had been deserted. The boundaries of Jamesown were marked out; the borders of James and York rivers, were peopled, and means were found to ascertain both public and private property with greater precision than before. At Cape Charles a salt work was set up, and an iron one at Falling Creek. Sir George Yardly was, in 1621, succeeded in his government by Sir Francis Wyat, who carried over with him from England a fresh supply of planters. The colonists were now so industrious in raising tobacco, that the market for it was over-stocked, and the planters greatly out of pocket; so that James I. ordered that no planter next year should raise above one hundred pounds worth of tobacco, and enjoined them to apply themselves to other manufactures.

THE colony now became so populous, that the assembly found it necessary to appoint inferior courts, for the trial of small causes, while the large ones were determined by the governor and council. All this while, no proper police was introduced into the colony, for regulating matters between the English and the natives. The latter appeared to be tractable and submissive, till they became masters of all the mystery of fire-arms, and other particulars, from the knowledge of which they ought to have been carefully excluded. Their chief commander, at this time, was Oppeccanough, one of whose subjects had been put to death by the English, for robbing and murdering a planter. This Indian happening to be a favorite of the emperor, his death hastened the execu-

(A) The history of this colony, and especially of one of the subjects of this work, was left imperfect in page 247. vol. XXXIX. through the

tion of a scheme, which he had been long meditating, for a general massacre of the English, which was fixed to the 22d of March, 1622, and almost all the natives entered into the conspiracy. It is hard to pronounce, at this distance of time, the provocation which the natives, who, in all other respects, are represented as a harmless, inoffensive people, might have for this barbarity; but we are apt to think, what some provocation must have been given. It happened fortunately for the English, that some of the natives had by this time become converts to christianity, and one of those discovered the conspiracy to one Mr. Pace, a few hours before that appointed for its execution. Pace gave the alarm to all round him; some fled to James-Town, others stood upon their doors, till they could retreat to their forts; and, in general, they took fire to their houses and out-houses. The discovery, however, did not reach the remoter plantations time enough to prevent about 334 English from being butchered; for the Indians, having been entirely familiarized with the planters, found means to seize upon their utensils and arms, and to employ them against them as instruments of murder. All the manufacturers near Iron Creek were cut off, excepting a boy and a girl, who secreted themselves. This was an irreparable loss to the colony, because those works never could be restored, and all knowledge of the lead-mines, which had been just discovered, was lost. The scheme for erecting glass-houses at James-Town, was likewise frustrated. The English, having somewhat recovered themselves, quelled their resentment to the like scheme, for they destroyed all the natives who had made ready, and drove the remainder into the woods. Even the authority of the government could not put a stop to their rage; for, after the governor of Virginia, by his promise of peace and nation, had prevailed with them to return to the cultivation of their lands, they burnt them in pieces, and destroyed Oppecanough's palace. The news of the Indian massacre reaching England, excited such a spirit against the natives, that supplies of arms and ammunition were sent from the Tower of London to the colonists, who soon drove the savages from all the cultivated parts of the province.

New measures were then taken for the benefit of the colony, and the natives were once more reduced to their possessions; but the tyrannical disposition of the colonists still continuing, the savages again combined against the planters, and cut off all the roads they had made with. This was in a great measure owing to the differences and disputes that prevailed among the colonists, and encouraged

*The History of America.*

the natives in their insurrections; and when Charles I. came to the crown of England, the English property in Virginia was reduced to so low a pass, that his majesty dissolved the company, revoking all patents and processes to issue in his own name, instead, giving a quit-rent of two shillings for every hundred acres. Charles, on this occasion, acquired great honour in America, while his affairs were going to wreck in England. The assembly, which consisted of representatives from the towns and counties, was continued, and the government vested in a governor and twelve counsellors, with the assembly. The same powers as the proprietors had formerly, were granted to several noblemen and gentlemen, among others, as we have already seen Maryland, which formerly was a part of Virginia, was vested in George Calvert lord Baltimore. This appointment was complained of by the Virginians, as establishing separate interests in the same colony; for when the Virginian planters prohibited the exportation of bad tobacco, the tenants of the independent proprietors, not being under the same restrictions, sent it to England, to the great discredit of that commodity. Sir John Harvey was the first governor of Virginia appointed by Charles I. after the dissolution of the company; but he behaved in an arbitrary manner, that the gentlemen of the colony ventured to seize his person, and to send him prisoner to England in the year 1639. This was a measure so contrary to the arbitrary principles of Charles I. that tho' the Virginians sent over two gentlemen to make good their charge against him, the king re-espoused him in his government, without their being admitted, so far as yet appears, to a hearing. He, on the other hand, had his complaints likewise against the planters, some of whom were sent for from Virginia, and subjected to great inconveniences by their frequent attendances upon their council board. At last, the growing very serious between Charles and his parliament, he was displaced and Sir William Berkley was appointed governor of Virginia in his room.

These intercations between the governor and the planters gave the character of the English greatly in the eyes of the Indians, who encouraged Oppecanough to meditate a fresh assault. He was a man of uncommon abilities both of body and mind, but it is uncertain whether he was descended from their native chiefs, or was a foreigner chosen into the government of the nation. He complained that the English had, in the time which he gave them, made many encroachments upon his country, of which he had received no satisfaction, and no regard paid to his representations.

Perceiving that the English had spread themselves over a vast extent of country, he ordered his subjects to attack the out-settlements, where they murdered about 200, <sup>and</sup> left him self and his followers cut off all the English who were settled in York River, in the neighbourhood of his capital. Sir William Berkley understanding, that in prosecution of his designs, he had advanced into the English territory at some distance from his own residence, surprised him in Henrico county, with a party of horse, and intended to have sent him to England, but a brutal Englishman gave him a mortal wound in the back. He was at that time so aged that he was unable to move without being assisted, but he behaved with a magnanimity that would have done honour to the greatest heroes of antiquity. Understanding by the help of a servant, that he was exposed to the diversion of a rabble, "Had it been my fortune (said he to Sir William Berkley) <sup>Death of</sup> to have made thee a prisoner, thou shouldst not have been exposed to the insults of a rabble." <sup>pecan-canough.</sup>

The spirit of the natives seems to have died with Oppcan-canough, who, by all accounts, was an extraordinary genius, and had long maintained himself against all the power of the English, by uniting the various nations of the Indians in a common interest which his death dissolved. Sir William Berkley had good sense enough to improve this incident, by making a pacification with the natives, who could find none to supply the place of their deceased chieftain, but there is some reason to believe that the English did not make every war among them of their advantages. At the time the civil wars in England broke out, the English settled in Virginia, exclusive of women and children, are computed to have been about 150; but a most remarkable difference then took place between the loyalty of the governor, and the interests of the planters. Berkley, who appears to have been a man of great resolution, stood with the royal party, and prohibited the intercourse between the Virginians and the reigning party in England, to the infinite prejudice of the former. Their tobacco, which was their sole commodity, and of which vast quantities were, at that time, raised in England, lay upon their hands, for though they had great stores of provisions for their immediate subsistence, yet were they destitute of manufactures, and the want of money suffered exceedingly; nor were they able to supply themselves even with such necessaries as were required. The English parliament, which at the time of the revolution, was composed of very few men, where Cromwell was made protector, resided in Virginia, as well as their other

American plantations, to their subjection. Sir George Aylleugh being appointed with a fleet, as we have seen in the history of *Part 2*, to reduce that island, sent, pursuant to his instructions, a small squadron under captain Dennis, with some land troops on board against the Virginians. The Dutch were then upon bad terms with the English, and Sir William engaged some of their ships to assist him in resisting the Dutch, which he did so effectually, that Dennis despairing of success had recourse to stratagem. He sent a messenger to the province, importing, that he had on board his squadron a very valuable cargo of goods belonging to two leading men of the colony, which he was resolved to detain if they continued to hold out. It is not very important, whether this report was a pretext or a reality, for the interest of the colony directed them to a suomission, which Berkley was not able to prevent, and therefore he retired to his own plantation; and thus the parliament was left in quiet possession of Virginia.

*Col. Diggs governor.* To do thi English government at that time justice, it must be acknowledged, that they made a very moderate use of their success, as none of the Virginian royalists were persecuted for their resistance, loyalty, or principles. Colonel Diggs was appointed by parliament to succeed Berkley in the government of Virginia; but nothing remarkable happened during his administration. After that, the unsettled state of affairs in England seems to have introduced some confusion into the government of Virginia, to which one Mr. Bennet, and one Mr. Matthews succeeded by Cromwell's orders. Upon the death of Matthews, the people of Virginia gave up a sense of Sir William Berkley's government, that they applied to him to resume the same but he refused to comply, unless they would promise to stand by him in their allegiance to their lawful sovereign against Cromwell and all the powers of the opposition. This they actually did, though they thereby incurred all the penalties of rebellion; and King Charles II. formally proclaimed all over the province. It happened luckily for Sir William, and the Virginians, that during these transactions Cromwell died and Charles was restored; but Sir William Berkley received no other reward for his unprecedented loyalty than being constituted in the government of Virginia, and made one of the proprietaries of Carolina. The firmness with which the Virginians exposted in the royal cause, drew from the king a particular mark of his favour; for it is said, that soon after his return to the time of his coronation, was composed by Virginian friends him from the colony. Upon Sir William Berkley's going over to England to congratulate his majesty upon his restoration, he was admitted colonel Mori-

son in his government, and he proved a most excellent deputy. He collected the laws into one book, and had them confirmed by the assembly. He passed laws for promoting and encouraging manufactures of all kinds, particularly those of silk, linen, woollen, salt, and tanning, and had the parish settlements so well regulated, that all their ministers were comfortably provided for.

THE welfare of *Virginia*, at this time, was so favourite a *Regulatory*-measure with his majesty, who was himself, when he chose ~~ons.~~ to give application to such matters, a most excellent judge of his people's interest, that Sir *William Berkley* had many audiences from him upon that head. Among other things the king recommended to him was his peopling *James-Town*, by giving all possible encouragement for inhabitants to settle there. This was a wise provision had it been followed; but the planters were so fond of living upon their own estates, that it was disregarded, which is the reason why, to this day, the towns of *Virginia* are so poor in people. In 1662, Sir *William Berkley* returned to his government, and obtained an act of the assembly for enlarging *James-Town*, by each county in the province building a certain number of houses; but this, for the reason above-mentioned, proved of little effect. If Sir *William Berkley* was deficient in any part of conduct, as a governor, it was in his prepossessions against the puritans, and procuring too severe laws to be made for conformity to the church of *England*, which drove many of our inhabitants into other colonies.

THE restoration having ~~and~~ place in *England*, many of *A confi-* the republican and *Cromwellian* soldiers, were, in their turns, *racy*. ~~and~~ : banished to *Virginia*, and their principles gaining ground in the colony, had almost ruined her; for the servants entered into a conspiracy to murder their masters, and render themselves masters of the province. *Biddenhead*, one of the conspirators, ~~was~~ <sup>left</sup> with reinforce at a bloody purpose, revealed it to the government; and a party of militia-horse was immediately dispatched to intercept the conspirators as they were marching towards *Poplar-Spring*, the place *They* had agreed upon for their rendezvous. This precaution had the desired effect; for the conspiracy was defeated, four of the ~~young~~ leaders were hanged, and *Biddenhead* was rewarded with 200*L.* and his freedom. This conspiracy awakened the attention of the government in *England*, and orders were sent over for the *Virginians* to build fort ~~and~~ a church in *James-Town* for the protection of the government, in case of another conspiracy or insurrection of the same kind. No money being ordered for those purposes, the *Virginians* forgot their

danger, and the measure was neglected; all but the raising a small battery of cannon for the protection of *James Town*. As the government in *England* thought they had a right to all the advantages that could arise from their colonies; the execution of the navigation-act was enforced with some rigor, and no foreign goods were imported into *Virginia*, that were not first landed in *England*. This necessarily raised the price of European commodities, and lowered that of tobacco, which created great discontents in the colony, especially, as upon all occasions the planters were undermined by the governors of *Maryland*; which being under a separate government, undersold them in their tobacco, and were not liable to any of the acts they passed for discontinuing the planting of it, till its value should rise. The *Virginians*, for some time, remonstrated against this opposition of the *Marylanders*, which they considered as being unnatural, but to no purpose.

#### *Discoveries.*

ORDERS were sent from *England*, that all ships trading to *Virginia* should ride under certain forts that were to be built upon rivers, and which alone were to be deemed there the ports of trade. In speculation, this was an excellent constitution for fortifying the colony; but little regard was paid to it by the planters, who considered their own interest alone, and carried on their trade in such places as were most convenient for themselves. This, for some time, weakened the colony, & so during the war between *England* and *Ireland* in the reign of Charles II. the Dutch, &c. made frequent insults on its coasts, and they sometimes even cut ships out of its harbours. Sir *William Berkley* continued to be governor of *Virginia*, and set a most execrable example, by his own practice, for the colonists to imitate; their manufactures of silk, linsey, pot-ashes, and hemp, &c. were sent out to make discoveries upon the continent, which they found to be very plentiful. They waited for seven days under the command of one captain *Batt*, but coming to a certain boundary, the *Indians*, who attended him, refused to go further, because the nations who lived beyond it, destroyed all the strangers who came among them.

Upon *Batt's* return, Sir *William Berkley* was so pleased with his report, that he resolved to go in person, and to improve these discoveries, but was prevented by an unexpected rebellion which broke out in the colony. The causes of complaint among the *Indians* were, that the price of goods imported into *Virginia* was very high, on account of the imposts laid upon them in *England*, where their tobacco scarcely bore a price to defray their expence of sending it.

Their

Their next ground of complaint was founded on the grants of lands, included within the original charter of *Virginia*, made to noblemen and others, by which they were not only dispossessed of what they conceived to be their property, but thwarted in all the measures they took for advancing the interests of their own colony. They likewise complained of the vast taxes they were obliged to pay, and of the molestation they met with from the *Indians*; all which they attributed to the severity of the *English* government, which had no regard to the interest or condition of *Virginia*. Those complaints had but too just foundation before the flame of rebellion, which they occasioned, broke out. One colonel *Park*, and Mr. *Lockett*, who was secretary of the colony, were sent to *England* at a considerable expence, to petition for redress; but the spirit of the *English* government, at that time, could bear no such application, and it was turned without the smallest prospect of success.

THE *Indians*, who for some years had been very quiet, still considered the *English* as intruders upon their country, and finding great discontent among the planters, they began to move toward the head of the bay of *Chesapeake*, and the planters of *New York*, and other *English* settlements, forming separate interests from those of *Virginia*, they encouraged the savages to rebel. The conduct of Sir *William Berkley*, though otherwise an excellent governor, gave them but too great a handle for this. They complained of frequent inroads which he made into their country, as habitation and preparatives for exterminating them, and that encroachments were every day made upon their properties. Those complaints, whether well or ill-grounded, induced the savages to commit many barbarities upon the *English*, which provoked so much, that without regard to government, they obtained arms, & rich the prerogative principles of the *English* governor, denied to them, deeming it unlawful for the people to judge of their own interests. One colonel *Nathaniel Bacon*, a personable young man, of parts and spirit, and one, who, perhaps, though his merit had been neglected, struck in with the reigning discontent of the colony, and took every opportunity of exaggerating their miseries. His address and abilities soon gained him followers, and the inferior people of the colony, almost to a man, chose him for their leader against the *Indians*. *Bacon* knew the danger of accepting such a commission, without leave or authority, which he demanded from Sir *William Berkley*. The governor, who was an enemy to the least appearance of democratical power, but at the same time sensible of the dan-

ger of the province, from the spirit of the people, trifled with Bacon, though without giving him any flat refusal, on pretence that he must consult his council. Bacon knew the meaning of that language, and that it tended only to disappoint him. He therefore strengthened his interest among the lower ranks of the people so greatly, that he bade defiance to the governor himself, and came to *Jamestown* with forty people, not to solicit, but to demand his commission.

**Bacon as-  
signed.** It was now appearing, as a ref<sup>d</sup>, he took his seat at the council board, where he laid open the dangerous state of the colony, which was provided with sufficient powers for its own remedy, were the inhabitants properly armed and authorized. Berkley ordered him and his followers to return home, and absolutely refused to grant the commission he demanded; but he was no sooner gone, than the governor reflecting on what had passed and on Bacon's behaviour, arrested him at *Danby-Point*, and brought him back to *Jamestown*. The principles of the two parties were incommutable. Bacon was sensible of his interest with the people, and dudained the royal commission, which he seemed to solicit for. The governor, on the other hand, considered Bacon's demand as an insult upon his master, and though he treated Bacon with the greatest regard and tenderness towards his person, yet he continued to refuse granting him the commission. In the mean while, the murders and depredations of the Indians still increasing, & the people being thereby exasperated beyond all bounds, <sup>2d. 1616</sup> made his escape from *Jamestown*, but soon reached aridly head of *Shenandoah* hundred men, and laid a kind of a siege to the *Wyomoule*, where the assembly met.

**Proceed-  
ings of Ba-  
con a-  
gainst the  
governor.** MANY of the members in their private sentiments favoured Bacon's cause and if <sup>it</sup> had been necessary, they in a manner forced Berkley to sign a commission, appointing *Bacon* to the command of all the forces in *Virginia*. Bacon no sooner obtained this commission, than he withdrew, and he no sooner withdrew, than the governor revoked his commission, proclaimed him a traitor, and commanded all his attendants to despatch. Bacon had now two enemies to deal with, the Indians and the English. The murders committed by the former, were numerous, but <sup>the</sup> thought that his greatest danger would be apprehended from the governor, and his men demanded to be sedulously to *Jamestown*, where the militia had been raised, and all preparations had been made against an open rebellion. In their march, they treated the governor's friends and abettors as rebels, by destroying their estates & plantations. Berkley could not assemble a force sufficient

to oppose them, and he fled to ~~Accomack~~, where he hoped to form a party: In doing this, he in effect abdicated his government, which *Bacon* took upon himself; and when he came to *James-Town*, he, by his own authority, and that of four of the council, summoned the assembly, which accordingly met. Here it was declared, that *Berkley* the governor had fomented the civil war in the province, and by his withdrawing himself from *James-Town*, had left the people at liberty to shift for themselves, and likewise that they justified *Bacon* in all his proceedings, and that his army was raised for the good of the public.

THE governor, all this while, remained at *Accomack*, where *Bacon's* interest was but weak; and he found means to raise ~~sent from~~ some forces to oppose him. This produced various skirmishes, England. to the great detolation of the colony; and *Berkley* wrote to *England* for supplies of every kind. The rebels, for so *Bacon's* people were called, finding *Berkley* exasperated against them by ~~all~~ all measure, affirmed that he had abdicated the government; that *Bacon* was their only lawful governor; and that they were determined to stand by him at all events. Both parties made their appeals to *England*, where the newspapers were every day filled with their exploits; but their interest at court was in the parliament admitting of no committee, *Berkley* received encouragement to persist in making no concessions to the rebels, and orders were given for the equipment of a large body of men of war, ~~other~~ <sup>habitants</sup> Sir *John Berkeley*, which was to carry over a regiment of soldiers for suppressing the rebellion. By this time, the colony was almost completely ruined. The rebels destroyed the estates of all the royalists with the most unrelenting fury; and at last, *Leicester* was obliged under compulsion, finding his men somewhat backward, to turn his own hands ~~set~~ to fire to *James-Town*. All that part of *Virginia*, which lies to the west of the bay of *Chesapeake*, was now fully in the power of the rebels, and had they continued to be united among themselves, the consequences must have been absolutely irretrievable; for the Indians, against whom the rebels had declared in the beginning of their insurrection, taking advantage of the distractions among the *English*, under pretence of settling *Berkley*, fell upon the frontier settlements, where they gave no quarter to age or sex, and indiscriminately destroyed the plantations of both parties to effectually, that it is said, ~~the~~ <sup>the</sup> colony ~~have~~ <sup>had</sup> not, to this day, recovered their devastations.

IT must be acknowledged, that Sir *William Berkley* discovered great firmness on this occasion. He animated the officers and gentlemen, who stood by him, to a very noble

*Death of  
Bacon,  
and*

*bis reb:  
tion sup-  
pressed.*

resistance, till *Berry's* squadron should arrive; but in the mean time, *Bacon* died at a friend's house in *Gloucester-County*, and his party foreseeing, what soon afterwards happened, buried his body so secretly, that it was not afterwards exposed to public ignominy, when sought for by his enemies. The miseries which desolation occasioned, and the death of *Bacon*, brought down the spirits of the party. Supplies of provision were denied them from *England*, and all her colonies in *America*, and the armament under *Berry* was daily expected. It is to the honour of *Sir William Berkley's* memory, that he behaved with more moderation after the rebels were in a manner at his feet, than he had done when they were his superiors in number. It is, however, to be observed, that *Bacon's* cause had at this time many advocates among the people of *England*, and even in the parliament itself; so that the court-party, though they disliked the principles of it, behaved with lenity towards its authors, who were by far the greatest number of the colonists. Colonel *Ingram*, and colonel *Walklate*, who had been the chief officers under *Bacon*, submitted, in the receiving from *Berkley* a promise of pardon; but it does not appear, that he had any formal authority for this from *England's*; nor were any of the chiefs of the party admitted into their former posts under the government. The arrival of *Sir John Berry* with his squadron and the soldiers, which happened in February, 1677, completed the tranquillity of the province; and two commissioners, (of whom *Lord Collepper* was the first) were appointed to enquire into the causes of the late rebellion, and to try the delinquents; yet nothing was done in consequence of the commission, as we shall have occasion soon to observe.

THOUGH the rebellion was thus suppressed, it was thought proper to keep in pay the leaders who came over with *Berry*, and *Sir William Berkley* resolving to visit *England*, appointed *Herbert Jeffreys*, Esq; to be his deputy-governor; but *Sir William* died so soon after his arrival in his native country, that he had not the honour he so ardently wished for, of receiving in person his master's thanks for the services he had done him. It must be acknowledged, that he was a very enterprising man, by being able, during the space of almost three years, to keep up the spirit of loyalty in *Virginia*, under the most trying circumstances he had to encounter, and at last to leave it with a full heart, without shedding a drop of blood after the rebellion was quelled. *Jeffreys*, after the departure of *Berkley*, had given orders for his removal to *Middle-Plantation*, now called *Williamsburg*, which had been lately the chief seat of rebellion, and the ~~rebels~~ had an

invitation there to treat of a peace, which they joyfully accepted. Care was taken that this meeting should be as <sup>the Indian</sup> splendid as possible, to impress the savages with a high idea <sup>ans.</sup> of the English; and it was fixed for the 29th of May, the birth and restoration-day of Charles II. that they might have a greater opportunity to express their loyalty. The queen of *Pamauke* accordingly appeared in the assembly, at the head of the chief Indians. Silence was proclaimed, the articles of peace, which had been drawn up by the deputy-governor, were read and explained by <sup>the</sup> presters, and the queen being admitted within the bars of the court, most chearfully signed the treaty in behalf of herself and the other chiefs; and all other ceremonies of ratifying and exchanging it being performed, the whole of it was concluded by a general discharge of all the artillery. After this, her majesty and the chiefs were highly regaled by the English; and next day returned home in the best of humours. The terms of this peace had been dictated, as well as drawn up, by the deputy-governor, and whatever the inclinations of the savages might have been, they never have had it in their power, since that time, to give the English any material disturbance.

This year after this treaty was made, Mr. Jeffreys died, and was succeeded, as deputy-governor, (for lord Colepepper, who was then in England, had been appointed chief governor) by Sir Henry Chickley. This gentleman prevailed with Chickley, the attorney to build forts at the head of <sup>other four great depa-</sup> rivers, where garrisons were kept for bridling <sup>habitants</sup> Indians; <sup>governor,</sup> and the same attorney observing that the people of *Carolina* and *Maryland* yearly shipped off from *Virginia* large quantities of tobacco, they passed an <sup>act</sup> against such practices for the future, that they might possess to themselves all the advantages of their situation. In 1690, the lord Colepepper arrived at his government of *Virginia*. The state of this province had been well considered in England, and besides the commission we have already mentioned, for trying *Bacon's* followers, he carried over with him such instructions from the English ministry, as in fact unhinged the constitution of the colony, and changed its government into a precarious dependence upon the crown. The assembly were sensible of the vast powers with which he was armed; and therefore without putting him to the trouble of <sup>convincing</sup> him of <sup>the</sup> impossibility, they passed many of his bills into law, which were to be such bills that were preparatory to the final subjection of the colony. His own salary was now increased, instead of contenting himself with 1000*l.* it had been, and been the appointment of his predecessors,

he in a manner obliged the assembly to grant him 2000*l.* besides 150*l.* a year for house-rent. As presents of wine, and provisions had been usually made by the masters of ships, to the governor, this lord converted that custom into a ~~casual~~ revenue. He obliged every master to pay him twenty shillings for each ship under 100 tons burden, and thirty for all above it; and this imposition has prevailed ever since, though it was founded on no act of the assembly.

*Lord Colepeper's arbitrial proceedings,* he resolved to make the best, of his powers, for his own interest. The current coin of the colony was in value far lower than the same pieces were in the neighbouring countries. This proved so irresistible a temptation for traders to export it, that the assembly saw their colony in danger of losing all their currency in specie, and therefore they ordered in a bill to raise the value of it to a par with their neighbours. The lord *Colepeper* very properly told them, that it was not in his power to pass such a bill, because it interfered with that part of the prerogative which gave the king a right to alter the value of money as he should think proper; but he added, that he was empowered as his majesty's representative to answer their ends equally as well, by issuing a proclamation, which would have the same effect in that particular as an act. The assembly saw the tendency of this doctrine, but durst not oppose it; and his lordship made the best use of the intermedia-<sup>re</sup> in buying up all the light pieces of eight at five shillings, and then raising their value to six by proclamation. This happened to be an unsuccessful expedient. It is true, he fixed his currency at the advanced price, and obliged the English regiment, that had been brought over by *Sir John Berry*, to receive them at that rate; but when he came to be paid his own pay, his duty, and shipping, and the other parts of the revenue, in those light pieces, he found that he had lost more than he gained by his proclamation, not to mention that his government was endangered by a mutiny of the soldiers.

Illustrate this arbitrary proceeding in the affair of coinage, his lordship was daily giving the Virginians fresh provocation, by repealing, by proclamation, the acts of the assembly, and giving them to understand that their validity depended only on his pleasure. Two considerations prevented the Virginians from revolting into a rebellion. The first was, that the Virginians had no means to touch by that which had been but lately imposed, as they had neither the means nor the spirit, to enter into a rebellion. The next was, that his lordship, in all matters that did not concern his

own powers as governor, shewed himself very ready in promoting every measure that could be of service to the colony. But those considerations did not prevent the assembly from ~~refusing~~ coming to some very vigorous resolutions against his unwarrantable stretches of power. Upon his leaving *Virginia*, ~~where he did not remain for above a year, he appointed Sir~~ *Henry Chickely* to be his deputy-governor. The colony had now recovered so well from its late losses, that the planters made more tobacco than they could get vent for. This glut was in some measure as detrimental to them, as a scarcity would have been, and the poorer sort perceiving that the commodity fell so much in its value, that it did not afford them the same profits as heretofore, entered into a combination to destroy all their own and their neighbours plants. This frantic resolution was in part executed by the lower ranks of the inhabitants, who first destroyed their own plants, and then fell upon those of their neighbours; but the desolation they made, presented such scenes, as damped their courage, and many of them being seized, were tried and executed for felony; the cutting up tobacco-plants being adjudged to be such. We have several times had an opportunity of animadverting on the arbitrary disposal of *American* lands by the crown, or rather the favourites of the crown at home. It is true, the first adventurers being under contracts with the government, the crown had a right to stand upon the performance; but after the lands so discovered were settled and improved at the expense of the colonists, under the grants of the government, none but the inhabitants themselves could have any property in those lands; but this capital maxim of justice was often set aside; sometimes by the forfeiture of the patentees, sometimes by neglects or inability to perform their engagements; sometimes by finding flaws in their patents, and other frivolous pretences. A large tract of land in *Virginia*, called the *Northern Neck*, had been granted Northern Neck to the earl of *St. Albans*, and other proprietors; but it was now re-granted to lord *Coldopepe*. This tract contained several counties, which had a right to send representatives to parliament; but the inhabitants conceiving that they might suffer by being put under a proprietary direction, brought an appeal before the assembly against his lordship's claim.

This was a tender point, considering the ~~independent~~ ~~situations~~ of the *Virginians*. ~~But~~ ~~he~~ ~~had~~ ~~no~~ ~~right~~ ~~to~~ ~~do~~ ~~such~~ ~~things~~; ~~so~~ ~~he~~ ~~seems~~ ~~to~~ ~~have~~ ~~procured~~ ~~the~~ ~~assembly~~ ~~to~~ ~~yield~~ ~~to~~ ~~his~~ ~~injustice~~; ~~for~~ ~~he~~ ~~satisfied~~ ~~all~~ ~~the~~ ~~assemblies~~ ~~demands~~, ~~though~~ ~~he~~ ~~had~~ ~~no~~ ~~right~~ ~~to~~ ~~do~~ ~~such~~ ~~things~~; ~~and~~ ~~he~~ ~~had~~ ~~no~~ ~~new~~ ~~authority~~ ~~from~~ ~~England~~, ~~nor~~ ~~had~~ ~~he~~ ~~any~~ ~~right~~ ~~to~~ ~~bring~~ ~~the~~ ~~assembly~~ ~~over~~

over to his views. For that purpose, he formulated an emulation between the assembly and the council, by encouraging the former to insist upon the sole right of judging appeals, but at the same time, he represented matters so at home, as to procure an order, vesting that right solely in the governor and council. This order entirely altered the powers which the assembly had hitherto thought themselves possessed of; but lord Colepepper, far from making any undue advantage of a circumstance so much in his favour, did not seek to avail himself of the royal grant, but endeavoured, by all means, to conciliate the minds of the inhabitants of the Northern Neck to his proprietaryship. Several gentlemen, of great property, who had been settled there, joined with him, and undertook to bring over the inhabitants, but all was to no purpose, for the majority of them carried their complaints before the assembly, and they petitioned the king; but having no agent in England, they met with no success. At last, the inhabitants perceiving that they maintained a desperate cause, compounded with the proprietor, and paid him their quit-rents, and this estate is now in the possession of lord Fairfax, a descendant of that lord who married lord Colepepper's daughter, whose son immediately went over to Virginia to settle all matters relating to this valuable acquisition.

In the mean while, the lord Colepepper omitted nothing that could contribute to the prosperity of the province of Virginia. He banished from their courts of law the low practice, which had long oppressed the subjects, and are a reprehensible profession. He reduced the public expences of the colony, principally by demolishing Chickely's forts, which had been found to be very burdensome, without answering the great expence of maintaining them, and in their place he substituted certain troops of horse, which scoured the country, and checked the natives who were now too much reduced to make any dangerous efforts against the colony. In 1683,

~~Lord Colepepper returned to England, after having, by his own authority, appointed one Mr. Spender, in preference of older members, to be president of the council; by which the administration of the province fell upon him during the absence of the governor and his deputy. Lord Colepepper was succeeded in his government by the lord Howard of Effingham. This nobleman was accused of having espoused lord Colepepper in all his administration of the colony, without receiving the like benefit from him. As lord Colepepper was too imperious, he figham obliged to give him a share of their fees. In consequence of this induction in England, he obliged to leave the colony before he~~

they could please, and schoolmasters before they could teach. He introduced exorbitant expences into all the testamentary proceedings, and keeping up to the full of his prerogative powers, he imprisoned the inhabitants by his own authority, without bringing them to a trial. He substituted his proclamations instead of laws, and even pretended that they could repeal standing laws. The judges, however, without regarding those proclamations, paid the same regard to the laws as formerly. In the governor's patent he had a power of exacting the quit-rent in money; but by an act of the assembly, the planters were at liberty to pay it in tobacco, at 2 d. a pound. When that commodity fell in its value, the governor issued a proclamation, repealing that law, and insisted upon the quit-rents being paid either in money, or tobacco at 1 d. a pound, a hardship to which the Virginians, on account of the express words of the patent, were obliged to submit to. They had the spirit, however, to send over one colonel Ludwicke, as their agent to England, to petition his majesty for redress of the grievances which they suffered under lord Effingham's administration; but they were so far from obtaining it, that upon the accession of James II., the imposts upon tobacco were increased to such a sum, as must have entirely ruined that trade, had not other countries, both French, Spanish, and English, discontinued the railing of tobacco, because they found more account in other commodities.

LORD Effingham, during his government, finding that the state-house at ~~James-Town~~ had not been rebuilt, as it was laid in ashes by colonel Lawrence, prevailed with the assembly to lay a duty upon all liquors imported from other plantations for rebuilding the same. Under pretence that he was, by his patent, invested with a chancery-power, he erected a court, under that name, in which he sat himself, employing his counsellors as masters in chancery, exacting most exorbitant fees, and setting aside all the chancery-jurisdiction, that had always, since the first constitution of the colony, resided in the general court, who, notwithstanding, remained it upon his lordship's departure for England. This happened soon after the Revolution, when his lordship, upon his departure, appointed colonel Nathan el Bacon, father to the famous rebel of that name, to be president of the province. During this gentleman's administration, the president's college was presented to him, but his majesty, after approbation of it, and referred it to the assembly.

Francis Nicholson, who succeeded his excellency as lieutenant-governor, Nicholson, of the name of the former, was a son, governor.

un-

## The History of America

unexceptionably well qualified for this post, and brought over with him a scheme of government far more liberal and public spirited than any that the Virginians had yet experienced. Among the first exercises of his government was his refusing the college plan that had been proposed for a college, and which remained to have been suspended, for a short time, for want of money to carry it on. By Mr. Nicholson's advice and assistance, books were opened, and 2500*l.* was soon subscribed, and other considerable donations came over from the Virginian merchants in London. Upon so fair a foundation the affair was moved in the assembly, where, it was so well received, that an address was drawn up to king William and queen Mary, praying for a charter to establish it; and the reverend Mr. Blair was sent over to England to solicit it. The address met with all the encouragement which the most sanguine of the projectors could have expected. Dr. Thomas Bray, a zealous clergymen of the church of England, was appointed president of the future college; and he laid out a considerable sum for a library which he was to carry over with him, besides engaging several learned gentlemen who were to be fellows and professors. It happened, however, that either the money which had been subscribed was insufficient, or had not been paid in, which put a fresh stop to the project; but this inconvenience was likewise removed by their majesties, and some of the principal nobility, clergy, and gentry in England, generously contributing their benefactions. A sufficiency of money being thus provided, the scheme was afterwards carried into execution, and the building itself was erected in a very noble plan, drawn by Sir Christopher Wren, with all the magnificence, conveniences, gardens, walks, porticos, apartments, and other decorations, that are to be found in European institutions of the same kind, with moderate appointments for the professors, among whom is a master for teaching Indian youths. This college has been since greatly improved, and by the measures that have been taken since the accession of his present majesty, under his royal patronage, it bids fair to be one of the seats of science, and the polite arts. It is, notwithstanding, to be hoped, that this passion for learning never shall carry our colonists into pursuits inconsistent with those of industry and commerce, and that they never will make use of the generous engagement that has been furnished them by their mother country, for flouting or evading the dependence and allegiance due to her.

Mr. Adams, in his defense of his predecessor in separating the interests of the government from those of the people,

Good government  
of Mr. Nic-  
holson.

He omitted no means to ingratiate himself with the proprietors. He invited and encouraged all schemes that were laid before him for improving the soil or territory of the colony; and he exhibited prizes to such of the common people as excelled in athletic exercises; a most excellent policy in a country that lies in the neighbourhood of savages. Notwithstanding all his cares, the *Virginians*, like the *Canadians*, never could be brought into the practice of cohabitation, that is, of living together in large towns, and for the same reason; because every one chose to cultivate that spot of ground that lay most convenient for his own ease and interest. But in this the *Virginians* were far more desensible than the *French Canadians*, they having, by this time, no reason to apprehend those dreadful irruptions of the savages that had so often depopulated *New France*. During Mr. Nicholson's government, a cohabitation-act passed; but it was so far from having effect, that the greatest part of *James-Town* still continued to lie in ashes, or to be uninhabited, and no new towns were built. After all, though cohabitation may be extremely commodious for the revenue, and the great traders, yet some have doubted whether it would contribute to the real interest of the colony, as the living in separate dwellings keeps the price of labour low, and prevents that luxury and those vices that prove so detrimental, and often destructive, to many individuals in large cities. During Mr. Nicholson's government, several acts likewise passed for the encouragement of the linen, leather, and other manufactures; and he acquired the esteem of all the inhabitants by his affability, and the great attention he always paid to the legislature of the province.

In 1692, to the amazement of the public, lord *Effingham* being removed from his government of *Virginia*, Sir *Edmund Andros* succeeded him. He had been, as we have already seen, extremely obnoxious for his arbitrary proceedings at *312*, *313*. governor in other provinces of *America*, during the late *Andros*, reigns, and it was thought would have been severely, if not *governor*, capitally punished, instead of being rewarded with the government of *Virginia*. We can account for this extraordinary step only, by supposing that the *English* ministry was then held by tories, which often happened to be the case in king *William's* reign; and that *Andros* was possessed of abilities for a governor, which he had prostituted only in the interests of his superiors. Somewhat of this kind seems to be true; for it is generally allowed, that he was free from being a bad governor of *Virginia*, where he arrived in *February*. As the *English* merchants, and masters of ship, trading to *Virginia*,

*His administration,* disliked the cohabitation-act, which, in the end, would have restricted them to certain ports, Sir Edmund carried over with him instructions to procure the repeal of it by the assembly, in which he succeeded. A patent was laid before the same assembly, for making Mr. Neal, a projector of those days, postmaster-general of *Virginia*, and other parts of *America*; but though the assembly passed an act in favour of this patent, it had no effect; it being impossible to carry it into execution by reason of the straggling situation of the provincial dwellings. In 1693, so dreadful a storm happened in *Virginia*, and its neighbourhood, as seemed to reverse the course of nature, by some rivers being stopped up, and channels opened for others, that were even navigable.

THE great objection which lay against the government of *Andros*, was, his attempts to reduce the constitution of *Virginia* to a nearer conformity with that of *England*. This was vigorously opposed by the *Virginians*, who thought it would weaken the authority of the assembly, whose acts they looked upon to be the best security they had for their estates. In other respects, Sir Edmund discharged the duties of a good governor. He encouraged manufactures of all kinds, fulling-mills, and the propagation of cotton. He regulated the public offices, into which great abuses had crept since *Bacon's rebellion*. He collected, and put in order, all the registers and public papers of the province, and shortened the expence of time in law and commercial proceedings. In short, he was in a fair way of retrieving his character when he was recalled. About this time, viz. in 1697, the English squadron under admiral *Nevil*, which had gone in pursuit of *de Pointis*, was obliged to stop at *Virginia*, carrying with them an infectious distemper, which killed the admiral, and the most considerable officers of his squadron, both Dutch and English, and communicated itself to the *Virginians*, of whom great numbers died, especially at *James-Town*. A whig-administration now prevailing in *England*, Mr. *Nicholson*, who was in *Maryland*, was nominated to the government of *Virginia*, and he immediately removed the courts of justice, his own residence, and the seat of provincial business from *James-Town*, to *Middle Plantation*, to which he gave the name of *Williamsburg*. He then laid out a town in the form of a W, either from the low conceit of paying a compliment to the initial letter of that monarch's name, or because the ground best admitted of a city in that form. It was here the college we have already mentioned was erected, as was, opposite to it, by the governor's direction, a stately fabric which he termed the *capitol*, and the foundation

*Mr. Nicholson, chief governor.*

tions of many new, and in that province, magnificent buildings were laid. All this could not be done without great expence, which fell upon the colony. Such of the planters as had few or no ideas of public elegance and magnificence, repined at the sums levied, and the rather, because the crops that year were remarkably short, and their labourers sickly. A tax of fifteen shillings was imposed upon every Christian servant, and twenty upon every negro; and those expences grew the more insupportable by the war, which was then ready to break out between France and England, and the swarms of privateers and pirates that infested the coasts of Virginia.

AMONG others, in the year 1700, a French pirate, or, as Pirates he was called, a privateer, arrived at the mouth of James-<sup>barged.</sup> River, where he intercepted some merchant-ships bound for London; but a small vessel slipping by him, advertised captain Passenger of the Shoreham man of war of what had happened, and he getting his ship ready, came up to the pirate and forced him to surrender. It was about this time, that a fort was projected at New-York, which was to be provided with a regular garrison. The people of New York, unable of themselves to be at this expence, represented, by their agents, to king William, that as the province of Virginia would be greatly benefitted by the erection of the said fort, which would secure them against the invasions of the French and Indians, they ought to be at some part of this expence, at least as far as 900*l.* Governor Nicholson, happening himself <sup>His gen-</sup> to be of the same opinion, undertook to carry this affair <sup>through</sup> ~~affay.~~ through the assembly, to which he was referred from England: but here it met with a very different reception from what he expected; for the assembly remonstrated, "That neither the forts then in being, nor any other that might be built in the Province of New-York, could in the least avail to the defence and security of Virginia; for that either the French, or the Indians, might invade that colony, and not come within an hundred miles of any such fort." This disappointment did not relax the zeal of the governor for the good of the province; and looking upon himself to be in some measure answerable for the money, he immediately set out for New York, where he gave his bills for the same; and threw himself entirely upon the generosity of queen Anne, who was, by this time upon the throne of England, <sup>to his indemnification,</sup> In all other parts of his conduct, he shewed himself equally generous and publick-spirited, having laid it down as a principle, and a most excellent one it was, that all the English provinces on the continent of America, ought to be confederated in one

common interest, and contribute equally, according to the abilities, to defend themselves against the French and Indians.

*The Earl of Orkney.* DURING his government, the Virginians having received accounts of the benefits that would arise to the province from the introduction of camels, who are able to carry 1200 weight, gave a commission to some Guinea traders, who brought over several of them to Virginia; but there, as in *B. & W. bados*, the climate was unfavourable to the constitution of those animals, and the project came to nothing. About this time, the war breaking out between France and England, the governor found it necessary to lay an embargo upon the shipping in Virginia, to prevent their falling into the enemy's hands. Some time after, an unusual hurricane happened at Virginia, which did prodigious damage to the ships belonging to the province, as well as to its plantations. In other respects, the government of Virginia, at this time, enjoyed a greater degree of tranquillity than any of the neighbouring colonies; and the ministry of England thinking proper to employ Mr. Nicholson in more active branches of its service, he was called to England in 1704, and succeeded in his government by the earl of Orkney. The truth is, as the Virginians were less exposed than many other of the English colonies to the attacks of the enemy, the ministry appropriated from that time 1200 l. of the 2000 granted to the governor, as an appointment for some nobleman or other, during his life, whom they could not provide so conveniently for in any other manner; and his lordship happened to be first who obtained this sinecure. That this government is such, appears from the arrangements made by the ministry at home; for the lieutenant-governor who resides in the province, has his commission from the crown, under the great seal, equally as the chief governor, and is invested with the same powers as the latter would be, was he actually upon the spot. The Virginians complained that they were loaded with the payment of 12,000 l. a year, without receiving from it the smallest benefit; but all the redress they received, was an intimation that they would find it highly for their benefit to have a powerful protector in the name of chief governor, always residing in England to favour their suits. This, however, was far from being the case with regard to the earl of Orkney, who had no commission in the colony, and generally was upon service in Flanders. He held the nominal commission for above thirty-six years, and his first lieutenant-governor was Edward Nott, Esq. Nothing memorable happened during the administration of the latter governor; but his prevailing with the assembly to provide a fund for

erected a handsome house for the governor at *Williamsburg*; and, upon his death, brigadier *Hunter*, whom we have already mentioned in the history of *Jamaica*, succeeded him. He was a gentleman of great abilities, but he had no opportunity of distinguishing himself in this government, from which he was removed to that of *Jamaica*. He was succeeded as lieutenant-governor of *Virginia*, by colonel *Alexander Spotswood*, nor indeed could the crown, through all its dominions, have pitched upon an abler man for this department. Lieutenant-governor He thoroughly understood the interests and nature of the principals he was to govern; and, being an excellent mathematician, he laid out the spots for new plantations and roads, which rendered the province far more commodious and secure than it had ever been before. Observing the great disadvantages of trading with the *Savans*, without proper regulations, he formed schemes for that purpose, which proved of infinite service to the colony; and he even found out means to give the children of those negroes such an education as to render them useful to the *English*, by raising a fund for that purpose.

As tobacco was the staple commodity of *Virginia*, Mr. *Spotswood* observed, with no little concern, that by the abuses introduced into that trade, it had come into some disrepute <sup>his excellent administration.</sup> at the *English* and other markets. Had those practices continued, the province must have soon been ruined; for which reason, Mr. *Spotswood* carried through a law, which, though afterwards repealed, was undoubtedly well-intended for the general good of the colony; for it provided, that all tobacco which were to be carried from *Virginia*, should be lodged in warehouses, and were examined as to its quality and goodness. After the peace of *Utrecht*, it was thought high time for the *English* inhabitants of *Virginia*, if possible, to acquire some knowledge of the countries lying beyond the *Appalachian* mountains; and governor *Spotswood* resolved to prosecute that important discovery in person. This was the more necessary, as the *French* had made it a capital maxim in their *American* policy, to conceal all the country between the mountains and the *Mississippi* from the *English*, who knew no more of them than what they had from a few straggling travellers and Indians. Having performed this painful journey, when he returned to *Williamsburg*, he gave orders for trying eight pirates, four of whom were executed, who had appeared in the province, but were discovered in the disguise of traders. When the war with *Spain* broke out about the year 1718, a project was set on foot for raising a great continental force of the *English*, which was to attack the Spanish settlements to-wards

## The History of America.

wards the west ; and governor Spotswood was, in the opinion of the public, and indeed of the government, pointed out as the most proper person for heading that momentous expedition. He had drawn up a plan for that purpose, which, with the assistance of the British insular colonies, would probably have shaken the Spanish dominions in those parts ; but the politics of Europe, at that time, did not so much as admit of its being attempted. A peace being clapped up, it was thought Mr. Spotswood did no service to his private fortune, by insisting upon the practicability of his plan, and requiring that the people and friends he had employed should be indemnified for their expence and trouble. On the other hand, some of the Virginians themselves thought that governor Spotswood was too well concientant in their affairs, and practised several low arts to obtain his removal, which was Mr. Drysdale at last effected ; and Hugh Drysdale, Esq; was, under the Earl of Orkney, appointed lieutenant-governor of Virginia, where he arrived ~~in 1723~~. As to the late lieutenant-governor, he remained in America, and upon the breaking out of the war with Spain in 1739, the government thought fit to adopt his projects ; and orders were issued for a very great force to be assembled on the continent of the English America ; the command of which, it was generally believed, would have been given to colonel Spotswood, had he not died in the mean time. The French soon after entering into the war, and new alterations happening in the affairs of Europe, all the thoughts of this expedition were likewise dropped, that the operations might be the more vigorously carried on against the French.

**Gooch, Lieutenant-governor.** MR. GOOCH succeeded Mr. Drysdale as lieutenant-governor of Virginia, and bore a great share in his own person, of the war with France and Spain, that was terminated by the peace of Aigle la Chapelle in 1748. But as the particulars of that war are to be found in the preceding parts of this work, we cannot repeat them here, and the province affords, during that period, little or no other historical matter. Under the government of Mr. Dinwiddie, during the late war, Virginia happened to take the lead in the alarms which were sent over to England concerning the encroachments of the French upon that province. Mr. Dinwiddie, upon important occasions, behaved with great address and spirit, and it is but doing him justice to say, that he was the first of the British governors in America who penetrated into the real designs of the French to cut the English off from all the Indian trade to the westward, and even encroach upon their back settlements. So early as October 1753, he dispatched a

**Dinwid-  
die, lieu-  
tenant-go-  
vernor.**

senger to the banks of the *Ohio* to observe the progress of the French there. The messenger was very well received, and entertained by the French, who made it no secret that they were settled there to the number of 1500 regulars; that they had built three forts, which they were determined to keep, and that too upon lands which the government of Great Britain had thought to belong to them, and which they had actually granted to some gentlemen in London and Virginia, who were to be incorporated under the title of the *Ohio* company; and then they dismissed the messenger with a guard of 200 men, to protect him from the savages. These facts being established beyond all contradiction, Mr. *Dinwiddie* transmitted them to the government of Great Britain; and Sir Thomas Robinson, then secretary of state, directed Mr. *Dinwiddie* to procure, in his province, a sufficient quantity of fresh provisions for the use of the forces that were to be immediately employed against the French, and to be commanded by general *Braddock*. In consequence of his instructions, Mr. *Dinwiddie* called together the assembly of *Virginia*, and laid before them the dangers that threatened them, with a detail of the measures which they were to pursue, especially in keeping up a proper correspondence between their army and *Williamsburg*, and for furnishing provisions to the subalterns in the camp in time. At the same time, by command of his majesty, laid before them an injunction he received for passing and continuing. The reader, in parts of this work, may perceive the glorious effects of this vigorous exertion well attended with, and which terminated in the reduction of all the French territories in North America, and their cession to the crown of Great Britain. We shall, therefore, proceed to give some account, and that too from better authorities than have been hitherto published, of the antient inhabitants of this province, at the time when they were first visited by the English, and this from the Memoirs of Mr. *Hariot*, a domestic of Sir *Walter Raleigh*, and by him sent to take a survey of this country.

WHEN the English first arrived off *Virginia*, they were received by the natives with the utmost animosity, but the new <sup>Account of</sup> visitor that accompanied them, as he perfectly understood the Virginia-language of signs, that they carried with them no hostile intentions, and therefore they returned to their ships, from whence the English were conducted to the mansion of one of their antient petty kings, whose the most authentic accounts term their <sup>the most</sup> authori-ties.

weroans, who was, it seems, master of only one town, to which they were guided. This prince, though at first, terrified by the appearance of the strangers, entertained them hospitably ; and the *English* had leisure to become acquainted with the habits, and dispositions of the natives. They were, in general, dressed in the skins of deer, or other wild beasts, which hung before their middle, but all the rest of their bodies was naked. Their arms were bows, made of hazel, and arrows of reeds ; but how these were pointed, we are not informed. They likewise wielded bludgeons, each about three feet long ; but all their defensive armour consisted of shields, made of the bark of trees, and a kind of wicker-armour, which they made use of in time of war. Notwithstanding this, it is certain, that those savages were far from being so barbarous as those the *French* found in *Canada*, or as they have been represented by our own writers. They of *Secost*, one of their provinces, had among them, besides their king, a degree of nobility, who were more elegant in their dresses, particularly their hair, which they formed in various shapes, and adorned with the finest feathers they could procure. From their ears hung either large pearls, the feet of birds, or such other ornaments, as the wearers fancied ; and they painted both their faces and bodies. Round their neck, and upon their arms, they wore chains and bracelets of pearl, to which, after their acquaintance with the *English*, they preferred bits of silver, and their skins were so neatly fitted round their middle, that the tail of the creature always hung behind between their buttocks. Such was the dress in which they appeared on solemn occasions ; but when they went to war, they painted themselves in as horrid a manner as they could.

THEIR women were naturally well-shaped ; and when their married ladies came abroad, their skin-coverings were more elegant than those of the men, and concealed the whole of their bodies, behind as well as before. They cut the fore-hair of their hair short, and wore a kind of a chaplet round their temples ; but they took care to disfigure their faces, legs, and arms, with punctures and painting ; and their chains and bracelets were full of the same. The better sort wore pearl bracelets, and silver bracelets, exquisitely well polished. They took great delight in walking by the sides of rivers, and in hunting and fishing. Their priests were generally very advanced in age ; they suffered the fore hair of their heads to grow, and kept all the rest closely cut ; and they wore a cloak, that reached from their neck almost to their knees, of the very finest skins their country afforded,

afforded, and went quite round their bodies. The dress of the young ladies in general resembled that of the married ones, only their hair was more elegantly plaited, and tied up behind. In some provinces, the ladies wore long strings of triple or quadruple rows of pearl round their necks, in which they slung their left arm. Their old men were more comfortably cloathed than their youth, for they wore cloaks of skins, that reached from their shoulders almost to their feet, but leaving their right arm naked and at liberty. The women had a peculiar way of carrying their children at their backs; but we find, that in some of the provinces, their bodies were without punctures or painting. The people, in general, were much addicted to a set of jugglers, who pretended to predict future events, and by sometimes going right, obtained great credit. But the most extraordinary circumstance, (and which we believe has not been taken notice of by late accounts) attending the antient *Virginians*, was their having the use of characters, the forms of some of which we have, in *de Bry*, copied from the originals by Mr. *White*. Those characters are various, and far from being inelegant; but were impressed upon the bare backs of the natives, as so many signatures, to denote the province, tribe, or prince, to which they belonged. The stamp of four arrows denoted sovereignty; the stamp of one, a relation to the prince. How far those characters reached, we are at a loss to say.

~~Now the native Virginians knew not the use of iron, Their~~  
~~yet they had a w<sup>o</sup>d<sup>r</sup> art of letting the bodies of large m<sup>a</sup>n<sup>s</sup> of~~  
~~trees, and of excavating them by the force of fire, which cokery.~~  
~~they managed w<sup>o</sup>d<sup>r</sup> surprising skill, by means of small~~  
~~stones, rendering them either or gentler, to the very pitch they~~  
~~wanted. They polished the excavation by shells, which~~  
~~they sharpened, and made use of, for that purpose, till a perfect~~  
~~canoe was made; and, indeed, considering the simplicity~~  
~~of their utensils and materials, their operations in all the me-~~  
~~chanics they practised, is almost incredible. The chief use~~  
~~to which they put their canoes when fabricated was to~~  
~~go a-fishing in them, in which they were so dexterous that~~  
~~they excelled all the Europeans in that exercise. Now their~~  
~~favourite diversion, as well as employment, among women and~~  
~~men, was applied themselves to it, sometimes by fishing in~~  
~~such places, as by the side of ponds, sometimes~~  
~~by spearing them, and often by driving them into wooden~~  
~~cribs, which were constructed no more art than we see in use in many parts of Europe, and where they gene-~~  
~~rally took immense numbers. Those fish were dressed upon~~  
~~wooden grilles, and they managed the fire so, that the~~  
~~flame,~~

flames never took hold of them. Sometimes they boiled their fishes in clay-pots, which were made by their women with so much dexterity, as to equal the art of any European potter; the round part being as exact as if it had been turned upon a wheel; but at those boiled entertainments, they dressed in the same pot or kettle, not only all kinds of fish, but of flesh and roots, which, when sufficiently boiled, they served up in a kind of baskets. Mr. Hariot observes, that they were very moderate in their repasts, to which he ascribes the longevity they enjoyed when the English first discovered their country; but their ordinary food was maiz, which they eat from a mat, sitting on the ground, the man on one side, and the woman on the other.

*Their solemn occasions.*

UPON solemn occasions, such as the finishing a war, or escaping from some great danger, they expressed their thank-givings, by seating themselves round a large fire, and beginning a rude concert of vocal and instrumental music; the latter being performed by a hollowed dried gourd, cucumber-shells, or those of some other fruit, which they filled with small pebbles, and rattled with great vehemence. Besides those temporary rejoicings, they had their anniversary jubilees, which were celebrated by virgins, the particulars of which are so extraordinary, that we should not have ventured to transcribe them, did they not rest upon the most unquestionable authority. They marked out a circle in the midst of a plain; round this circle, at certain distances, they placed posts, each about a man's height, and resembling Roman Termixi, ending in the head of a woman carved, with a veil hanging from her brow down the side of the face. The time for this anniversary celebration arrived, the inhabitants of all the neighbouring country assembled, each with his rank and quality, and the name of his country, tribe, and village marked upon his back. The young ladies, who are the only actors in this exhibition, next ranged themselves at proper distances round the circle in the most fantastic dresses, and then there began a dance, with the most extravagant gestures, that could contrive; extravagance of motion being at that time looked upon as doing the highest honour to the assembly. To qualify the ridiculousness of this circular chorus, three virgins, of the most exquisite form and beauty, who had been selected from the rest, were placed in the middle of the circle, in the very attitudes in which the patients represented the three graces, gaily embracing one another, and in that form became tame with their feet to the rude music, which was composed of the cucumber-shells and pebbles we have already mentioned.

In all those particulars, there was a great resemblance between the manners of the Virginians and the Floridans. The like was observable in the construction of their villages. The spot, on which they were built, was sometimes a circle, the circumference of which consisted of strong pallisadoes, but not so strong as those of the Floridans. Of the few buildings this circle contained, one was always a temple, covered with fine mats on the top, and admitting of no light, but by the door : opposite to that stood the dwelling of the head man of the village. All their houses were built of slender piles, driven into the ground, and covered with mats, so as to admit, according to the season of the year, just as much air and light as the inhabitant pleased. Near their village they always took care to dig a pond, which supplied it with water ; but some of their towns, that of Secota particularly, that were not inclosed within those pallisadoes, were by far the most pleasant. In them, the houses were laid out so as to form a main street ; and they had behind them gardens, fields, and paddocks, in which they raised tobacco, Indian corn, and other vegetables, besides feeding-deer, and game of all kinds. Of those improvements they were so careful, that they had watch-houses for their fields, where a man was placed, to deter the birds from devouring the corn. In the same township, they had their places of devotion as well as fasting. The idol they worshipped, was called *Kiwasa* ; it was carved out of wood, about four feet high, and seemed to be copied from the Floridan idols. The head was of a flesh colour, the breast white, and all the rest of the body black ; it was placed at Secota, in the sepulchre of the deceased princes ; but we did not find that the natives were originally impressed with any great degree of devotion towards it ; for it remained in the tomb as an object of terror rather than of worship. In other public repositories two, and sometimes four, or more of those idols, were placed for the same purpose, but all of them in the darkest part of the building, to give them the more tremendous appearance. As to the temple or place of sepulchre itself, it is no other than a scaffold, raised upon piles, nine or ten feet from the ground, covered with mattings, upon which they lay the bodies, they have been carefully embowelled, and the skin drawn, and all the flesh is taken from them, all which, with the entrails, they wrap up together, and place in the body of the Indians ; but they have none of coverings, and stand with them so artfully fitted, as to make no appearance of its never having been dismembered. Below the scaffolding, the people have their habitations, upon the skins of wild-beasts, and

## History of Virginia.

and they were employed in constantly watching over, and guarding the sepulchre. The above are all the particulars which we have thought fit to extract from the oldest and most authentic accounts of this mother-colony, and which have been omitted by more modern authors.

WITH regard to other points of the religion of those natives, they are the same with what we are told of other savages, that they have general, but gross ideas of a Deity; but we shall not venture to enter upon the modes of their belief of his existence, as they are whimsical, and far from being universal amongst the barbarians, and perhaps are greatly indebted to the speculations and inventions of writers. As to the modern constitution of the colony, the reader can easily form a notion of it from the preceding history; and the laws, by which they are governed, are, as near as possible, conformable to those of *England*. The population of *Virginia* is not near so numerous as might have been expected from so ancient and flourishing a colony; nor are their towns of any considerable note. This last circumstance is owing to the vast commodiousness of water-carriage, which every where presents itself to the plantations of private planters, and the scarcity of handicrafts. *James-Town* is now scarcely to be mentioned, and *Williamsburgh* is considerable only as being the seat of provincial government, and of learning. *Virginia*, however, is distinguished by several magnificent public buildings; it still retains its original staple-manufacture and commodity of tobacco, and they carry on a great trade with the *West Indies*, in lumber, pitch, tar, corn, and provisions; and with *Britain* for hemp, iron, staves, and plank. The present number of ~~inhabitants~~ in *Virginia* is computed to be about 70,000, and that of the negroes 100,000; but by the good policy of the province, and temperature of the climate, they propagate here so well, as to require but few recruits from *Africa*.













